

➤: Ars :➤ Quatuor Coronatorum

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



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY J. R. DASHWOOD, P.G.D.

VOLUME LXVI

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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.
- 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 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati), the first Friday in January, March, May and October, and St. John's Day (in Harvest), June 24th.

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, 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.

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 3,500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and over 500 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The joining fee is £1 1s.; and the annual subscription is £1 1s., renewable each November for the following year.

Brethren joining late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all Transactions previously issued in the same year.

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

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

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

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

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Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

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

VOLUME LXVI

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

SATURDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1952



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., W.M.; H. C. Booth, B.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; J. R. Rylands, M.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), J.W.; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., D.C.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Dr. A. E. Evans, C.B.E., M.D., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.G.D., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., J.P., P.Dep.G.Swd.B., P.M.; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D., P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. Greenhalgh, C. W. Parris, P. Bower, J. H. Hartley, A. Waite, J. D. Daymond, L. C. W. Day, J. Towlson, T. D. Galloway, C. Marshall Rose, P. J. Watts, E. Smith, G. B. Gardner, G. F. Pallett, T. W. Marsh, L. Lucker, G. C. Rylands, F. L. Bradshaw, C. P. Beynon, M. R. Wagner, R. A. Pratley, E. G. G. White, C. G. des Graz, J. T. C. Hillman, A. I. Sharp, H. Jenkins, A. F. Cross, E. Worthington, M. R. M. Cann, A. M. R. Cann, Bernard E. Jones, W. Smalley, B. Jacob, E. B. Shaw, R. A. N. Petrie, B. Foskett, R. St. John Brice, M. Goldberg, F. E. Barber, J. E. Dodsworth, G. W. Watson, H. K. Hadler, E. M. Dring, A. Golson and S. E. Ward.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. A. Croucher, Lodge 1215; S. C. Kay, Lodge 1019; W. H. Coles, Lodge 154; T. Frazer, Lodge 3578; T. D. Cullis, Lodge 4760; G. Solomons, Lodge 1614; H. E. Crossley, Lodge 2033; W. H. Stanyon, Lodge 1670; A. A. N. Good, Lodge 3050; R. W. Reynolds-Davies, Lodge 2408; A. A. Taylor, Lodge 5038; A. Whitley, Lodge 5840; A. Parker, Lodge 3156; M. Hartog, Lodge 357; W. G. Hassell, Lodge 6778; A. Soldatenkow, Unatt.; D. T. A. Townend, Lodge 2418; A. N. Other, Lodge 298.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, O.B.E., Pr.G.Sec. (Co. Down); Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., P.M.; Dr. J. Johnstone, F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.; Dr. E. H.

Cartwright, *D.M.*, P.G.D.; W. Waples, P.Pr.G.R. (Durham); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dis.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland.

It was announced that a most generous donation of £50 had been received from Bro. R. Billington, who has been a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle for over twenty years; the cordial thanks of the Lodge were extended to Bro. Billington for his generous gift.

Six Lodges, two Chapters, one Study Circle and 77 Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. John Richard Rylands, Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and was regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

The following Brethren were appointed and invested as Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. S. Pope	S.W.
„ N. Rogers	J.W.
„ J. R. Dashwood	Secretary
„ Lewis Edwards	D.C.
„ A. E. Evans	J.D.
„ B. W. Oliver	I.G.

The Master gave notice that at the next regular meeting he would have the honour to propose that the Right Honourable the Earl of Scarborough, *K.G.*, M.W. Grand Master, be elected an Honorary Member of the Lodge.

The Master proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—“That Bro. Claude Dickason Rotch, Past Grand Deacon, having completed his year of Office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be, and are hereby, tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

The Master delivered the following:—

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY BRO. J. R. RYLANDS, M.Sc., P.A.G.D.C.



AY I, at the outset, express to you my sincere thanks for doing me this great honour. To be Master of this famous Lodge is indeed a high privilege, but it implies a weighty responsibility in the world of Masonic scholarship, and whilst I am grateful for the confidence you show in placing that responsibility on me, I am but too sadly conscious of my own shortcomings. I can only hope that a kindly and fraternal myopia will fail to measure my diminished stature against the shadow of the great ones who went before.

We live in troubled times. In the outer world the notion of even a limited brotherhood of man seems a fanciful conception; though within the Craft there is undoubtedly a certain sentiment of solidarity. I have, in common with my predecessors, read many of the Inaugural Addresses of the past, and have repeatedly been impressed by the breadth of scholarship so often displayed. The majority of these addresses have contained pronouncements which may be read with interest and profit to-day. I observe that there is, over the years, one quality common to them all—a restrained and hopeful enthusiasm. Always, with measured confidence, the future of the Craft in general, and of this Lodge in particular, is forecast in terms of sober optimism.

Can we display the same confident outlook to-day? About the prosperity of the Craft in general there will be something to say later, but what of Masonic study? Is there an increase in interest, or do we discern a growing apathy?

By what criterion shall we judge the issue? How far is the volume of membership of our Correspondence Circle an accurate index of interest in Masonic scholarship? It is difficult to say, but an examination of trends over the years may nevertheless be instructive. We have to bear in mind two important facts. Firstly, whilst full membership of this Lodge always has been and always will be regarded as a high Masonic honour, the existence of the Lodge is made possible only by the support of a large and strong Correspondence Circle. Secondly, we must remember that, whilst membership of the Circle is open to every regular Master Mason in good standing throughout the world, the ratio of actual to possible membership is exceedingly small. In our own Constitution not one Mason in a hundred joins us; in the Masonic world at large, not one in a hundred thousand.

Before considering in detail the implications of these facts, we may usefully examine the fluctuations in our Correspondence Circle membership in the last half-century. By 1900 we had reached a membership of 2,850. Seven years later the figure had grown by about 500, and we remained at a strength of about 3,300 until the outbreak of the First World War. We then suffered a slight setback, and our numbers fell to just below 3,000.

Between 1920 and 1930 our strength grew again, and in the latter year we reached our peak, namely, 3,577. Twelve years later, by 1942, we had lost more than half our members. What were the causes of this steep decline? We have tended to blame the recent war for many things, and it is certainly true to say that during the war we lost many members. But the decline set in long before the outbreak of war in 1939; we lost five times as many members between 1930 and 1939 as we did between 1939 and 1945.

I know that statistics can be deadly dull, but there must be an important significance in these figures. In the nine years preceding the war we lost 1,300 members, and in the first three years of the war we lost another 500. But by the end of 1942 the rate of loss was already beginning to diminish, and by the end of 1945 we had already regained 250 members. Our net loss during the war, therefore, was actually only 250.

It would seem that we can rule out war conditions as a major factor in the decline in our membership. Some other cause or combination of causes must be sought to explain the regression which commenced nine years before the war broke out.

A suggestion which at once comes to mind rests on the fact that the period 1930 to 1939 included the slump years, when depleted incomes and the general malaise of the times

imposed economies which may well have involved the withdrawal of subscriptions even so modest as ours. This could, no doubt, explain some of the decline, but we must remember that during the same period the number of Masonic Lodges, and presumably therefore the number of eligible Masons, continued to increase throughout the world. The rate of increase of Lodges between 1930 and 1939 did slow down in our own Constitution, but it was still three-quarters of the rate in the eight years preceding 1930. It does not appear, therefore, that Masons as a class were among those upon whom the greatest economies were forced, and I do not think we need infer an association between a disposition to Masonic study and a tendency to impecuniosity.

What then, is the underlying cause of the decline ? It is by no means evident. I have already said that, in our own Constitution, not one Mason in a hundred is interested in the serious study of Masonic history. In other words, laudable as our objects in this Lodge may be, 99 Brethren out of a 100 fail to share our enthusiasms. Despite the familiar injunction about a daily increase in Masonic knowledge, our particular aims are not those of the Craft at large.

Yet this divergence of interest need not really give us much cause for concern. We know the value of our work, and we are not unconscious of the service we render to the fraternity. It may be, indeed, that our labours are of some slight value to the wider community of mankind. The institutions of civilisation sway and crumble around us ; some which seemed to be founded on solid rock pass into decline, whilst our own institution flourishes in every land where freedom persists.

The study of the origins, evolution and history of such a society, flexible enough to survive and even to prosper in modern times, to resist the attacks, open or insidious, of its enemies, may well be of value to the troubled communities of the world. There may be lack of general interest in our particular work in the massed ranks of the Craft, but we ourselves are sure of the worth of our endeavours, and we shall pursue our objects in the future as our predecessors did in the past.

There is no lack of scholarly talent in the Masonic world, though our methods of encouraging and bringing it to light may be worth examination and perhaps revision. Our immediate problems in the Lodge are not, however, concerned with lack of ability ; they are, as we all know, mainly economic in nature. We feel it essential that our work should be available to the Craft at large, and this means that we must be in a position to print and issue our *Transactions*. Nowadays this is an expensive business. We have to accept steep rises in the cost of paper and printing, and in common with all societies which issue *Transactions*, we have very seriously to consider our future policy.

The average cost per copy decreases as the number of copies printed increases, so that the obvious solution of our most pressing problem is a substantial increase in membership of the Correspondence Circle. Such an increase is urgently needed ; in the meantime the only course is to reduce the length of the papers, and perhaps to adopt a smaller type face.

The picture is, however, slowly becoming brighter. Since 1945 we have gained a thousand members, and by the end of this year the total should again stand at 3,000. If by 1955 we can raise our numbers to 6,000, the work of the Lodge can go on, and there need be no more thought of that major Masonic tragedy, the return of the Quatuor Coronati warrant.

Let us now turn to other aspects of the matters in which we have a common interest. It has been customary in the Inaugural Address to avoid topics of high controversy, if only because discussion is impracticable. Yet where the prosperity and even the existence of the Lodge are concerned, the occupant of the Chair may, once in a while, be permitted to give expression to views he holds strongly. For what it is worth, I accordingly venture my own opinion on a tendency which may have contributed largely to the strange and heavy decline in our Correspondence Circle membership from 1930 onwards.

If there is apathy among Masons generally about the study of Masonic history, then that, I submit, may be to some extent our own fault, and the remedy ultimately lies with us. But I think there is something more, something positive, something which works against us.

In recent years there has again been talk of the various "schools of thought" among Masonic students. The early imaginative school of which Anderson, Oliver and Preston were typical, is again being contrasted with the authentic school of Hughan, Gould and Speth. The last half century saw the rise of other schools, not perhaps so rigidly "authentic", but sound enough by all historical canons. The names of Vibert, Songhurst, Knoop and Poole, and many others, come readily to mind. May we not add that the banner is still gallantly borne by our senior P.M., Heron Lepper ?

But alongside this modern historical group there has arisen, in the last generations, a new imaginative school whose activities may well give cause for concern. Freemasonry is unlikely to suffer much harm from the attacks of enemies outside its ranks, but it may well be damaged by the activities of misguided enthusiasts within.

It is difficult to assess the extent of the harm to the warm fellowship of the Craft which has been done and may in future be done by the activities of what we may call the pseudo-mystical school. It is indeed saddening to think that, after nearly seventy years of sound work by this Lodge, there can still exist the attitude of Masonic thought described by this expression. Yet exist it undoubtedly does, and in its utter rejection of every canon of genuine historical study, in its contemptuous dismissal of scientific method, in its extravagant facility of invention, in its substitution of individualism for fraternity, the efforts of this school are diametrically opposed to the objects and work of this Lodge. How can a spirit of critical enquiry exist where the Craft is regarded as a pseudo-mystical cult?

I feel that these things should be said, and said unequivocally; I feel that we should say where we stand. We acknowledged that there is room, in Freemasonry, for all sorts and conditions of philosophy within certain limits. The essentially tolerant atmosphere of the Union contributed largely to the great spread of the Craft, but I suggest that we must view with alarm the emergence of dogmatism where freedom of interpretation has hitherto prevailed.

In the world of to-day outside the temple doors, we are increasingly faced with doctrines and systems of thought essentially exclusive and intolerant. It is a sad sign of the times that this mental attitude should find its way into Freemasonry, yet it cannot be denied that dogma enters into the various "explanations" of Freemasonry which have wide currency to-day. With much parade of philosophical jargon we are told that Freemasonry is this and that, and we are invited to accept a host of deeper meanings and hidden symbolism. We are expected to believe without questioning. Yet we, of all Masons, know full well that most of this pseudo-mysticism is so much preposterous nonsense.

And still it spreads. How much is the fault our own? What do we do to prevent it? How often do we hear of the eager young Mason who can find no satisfaction of his enquiries about the origin, history, objects and meaning of the Craft? His P.M.s are interested in ritual performance and perhaps in social events; his fellows on the floor of the Lodge wander with him in the dark. His reading, if he reads, is indiscriminating and desultory. He may become an easy prey to the wild-eyed enthusiast who, in book or in person, guides him into those strange realms of phantasy where the neo-imaginists reign in cloudy majesty.

If he is of robust temperament he may reject the woolly dogmatisms, or he may reject Freemasonry altogether. Sadly, too, many of our Brethren never have any other aspect of Freemasonry seriously presented to them, and they spend their own Masonic lives palely loitering in search of hidden symbols and deeper meanings. The warm fellowship of the Craft is all around them; its simple precepts and tenets are plainly displayed and amply illustrated, yet in the vain pursuit of a pseudo-mystical personal experience they fail utterly to find the Masonic brotherhood.

I have said enough—perhaps too much—on this subject. But I believe it to be the duty of each member of this Lodge and Correspondence Circle to defend the ancient and fundamental character of the Craft, to encourage the critical acquisition of Masonic knowledge, and actively to discourage the perversions and false teachings of the neo-imaginists.

We are a small band; interest in the history, antiquities, personalia and evolution of Freemasonry is limited to a few. How can we add to our ranks?

Before we can convince others we must convince ourselves. What is the use of Masonic history? There are, no doubt, those among our Brethren in the Craft who share the view of history so succinctly expressed by the late Henry Ford. Has it any value beyond being interesting only to the few who find relaxation and diversion in pursuing its study? We of this Lodge and Circle may give an unequivocal "yes", but if asked for full reasons we may well stay to ponder. I myself have had the experience some years ago, when invited to address a Lodge, of being asked "to cut out all that history stuff and give us something interesting". On further inquiry, I gathered that something warm and woolly and meaningless about "hidden symbolism" was desired. I compromised by giving a talk about an eighteenth century Yorkshire Lodge which was a disguise and cover for a gang of coiners and counterfeiters.

I know a northern town where there are about 20 Lodges and 1,000 Masons. We have about a dozen members of our Circle in the town. Some years ago, just after the war, a "Study Circle" was founded to do what is called "research" into the "deeper meanings" of the rituals. This Circle already has a membership of 200.

I repeat—what is the use of Masonic history? We may agree, I imagine, that the subject matter of Masonic history is the story of a part of human activity. It is the story of Masons in action over the years, in and out of their Lodges; of things said and done by them, of how and why they were said and done. I think we can fairly add that a knowledge of Masonic history is needed for a full enjoyment of our cultural heritage in Masonry. This alone, to my mind, would be a sufficient justification for the pursuit of the study of Masonic history, but if we accept this point of view, I suggest that a wide new field opens out before

us. I suggest that the time is ripe for the examination of Freemasonry as one of the developing social institutions of our time. The membership of our own Circle may rise and fall, but the membership of the Craft never ceases to grow. Somewhere in our Institution are the springs of a healthy permanence. It is a peculiarity of our organisation that forms, procedures and traditions seem to outlive the conditions which gave them rise, and they retain a vitality and an appeal which the centuries cannot wither. Wherein lies the secret?

My late friend Douglas Knoop more than once suggested a critical approach to the exercise, and would, I think, have made some further endeavour himself in that direction had he lived longer. Towards the end of his life his energies were devoted mainly to seeing his "Genesis" through the Press, but he never regarded this as the completion of his Masonic work.

He had himself already made what he afterwards regarded as a false start. Early in the war he read a paper on *Freemasonry and the Idea of Natural Religion*, in which he examined the implications of the First Charge of a Freemason. This led him to the conclusion that the English Craft had shown a characteristic disposition to be satisfied with a somewhat illogical position, and he never cared to pursue to the end the mildly controversial issues he had raised. The paper produced a guarded discussion and an even more guarded reply, and some years later Knoop told me that he did not see how this particular path could well be explored further, at all events, in our Lodge.

One of Knoop's last references to the subject was oblique, and is contained in his short paper on *University Lodges*, where he drew attention to the

". . . need for teaching their younger members to distinguish the myths, legends and traditions, both medieval and modern, in which freemasonry abounds, from what may be described as the real or serious history of freemasonry as a social institution . . ."

It is to a wider aspect of this latter suggestion that I would draw attention. Not only is there need for the study of the history of Freemasonry as a social institution, but there is, in my view, a case for the study of Freemasonry itself by the methods of social science.

In this Lodge there is no need to call attention to the ordinary canons of historical research. The published *Transactions* over the years are the fruits of sound historical method, and on the whole, I think we may claim that we have faithfully pursued the aims and honoured the intentions of our founders.

It is true that a certain austerity in the matter of documentary evidence and of verification of fact produced the school which Chetwode Crawley called "authentic"; it is true that Knoop dubbed some of Poole's speculations as imaginative theorizing, but it is equally true that the Lodge has never easily tolerated expositions by authors who were careless about their facts or utterly uncritical in their interpretations. It is undoubtedly our duty to maintain our critical attitude, but we may well consider what extensions of our methods may be feasible and justified.

It seems to me that, just as the serious study of history calls for the methods of the critical historian, so the study of Freemasonry as a social institution would seem to call for the use of the methods of the social scientist. There is a distinction, although the two methods are similar in several respects. Both depend on the accurate observation and collection of data; both involve the formulation of hypotheses. The scientific attitude, however, lays emphasis on the verification of hypotheses, where possible, by empirical tests.

Can these methods be applied to Freemasonry as a social institution? I am not sure; there is still controversy about the extent to which scientific method may be applied to the behaviour, thought and activities of man. There are those who hold that scientific method may and should be adopted in the study of psychology, ethics, æsthetics and human values. I range myself on this side, though I know well that there are also those who vigorously contest the validity of the scientific investigation of human activities. This is no place or time, however, to join in these controversies; rather would I advocate a trial of the method.

In justification I would plead a current need of some importance. It is not merely a question of the full enjoyment of a cultural heritage; we have in Freemasonry, as I said earlier, an institution which, in the free countries of the world, has steadily grown and prospered, despite the venomous attacks of those with other interests to promote. That Freemasonry is a force for good, no Mason will question, yet it is but one of many institutions which exist and work for the benefit of humanity. Not all of them prosper nowadays; why should this be? I submit that an examination of Freemasonry as a social institution, by the methods of social science, might well have useful, timely, and certainly interesting results.

I do not lose sight of the illogicalities and inconsistencies, to some of which Knoop drew attention and which, as I think, turned him away for a time from further pursuit of the subject. Yet he pointed the way clearly enough. Our eighteenth century Brethren may have been unaware of the conflicts of ideas within the Masonic profession; alternatively, as

Knoop suggests, they may simply have sacrificed cold logical consistency to warm human fellowship. It is an age-old problem in the affairs of mankind, and none more pressing at the present time. Indeed, what logical consistencies might we not gladly sacrifice for the assurance of warm enduring fellowship !

I submit, therefore, that there is much to learn from the study of Freemasonry as a social institution. We have already amassed a great collection of facts and data ; there is a wealth of material ready to hand in our 63 volumes of *Transactions*. It becomes, as a start, a matter of re-examination by modern scientific and statistical techniques.

We can claim to know with tolerable accuracy much of the history of the Craft since the Union, though there remain, here and there, disputed points to delight the controversialist. We know much about Freemasonry in the eighteenth century, but as we move backwards in time, the outlines of the picture become less distinct. No final answer has ever been given to the old question—"What mote it be?"—and we may perhaps be forgiven for thinking that no final answer may ever be possible. And yet, who knows? Some fresh young mind, searching for a novel subject for a thesis, may tackle our old problems with a new outlook and a new critical approach, and may well surprise the small world of middle-aged Masonic students with a new and original answer.

We have tended, for example, to seek our origins in antique times. Are we sufficiently aware of our predisposition to look for something very like what we have now, when but little thought is needed to realise that the Craft in its early days must have been greatly different from the Craft of to-day? Have we quite grasped the significance of the fact that ancient landmarks can persist unalterable in form yet variable in interpretation and changeable in emphasis? Do we indeed realise that the philosophical ideals of modern speculative Masonry are foreign to the temper of mediæval thought?

There is still so much to learn about our Craft. We have at least one undeniable fact—it flourishes. What manner of institution can this be, which prospers under premises so apparently contradictory—a system of invariable landmarks and a measure of freedom of interpretation?

May I leave the matter there? I would conclude by repeating with all sincerity the assurance always freely and willingly given by every Master of this Lodge—that I will do all in my power to advance its interests, to preserve its traditions, and to assist the cause of Masonic scholarship.

At the subsequent dinner, "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" was proposed by the I.P.M., Bro. C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., in the following terms:—

BRETHREN,

Bro. John Richard Rylands was born in London in 1898, but his parents transferred to Leeds while he was quite small, and it was there that he received his education.

After leaving the local High School, he served an apprenticeship with a firm of engineers, and then saw service overseas during the 1914-18 War with the Middlesex Regiment. He then proceeded to Leeds University, where he took a B.Sc. with First Class Honours in 1921, proceeding to Master of Science in 1926. He then accepted the position as Assistant Engineer on a gold mining property in West Africa. After three years on the Gold Coast, he returned to England as Assistant Engineer to a world-famous firm of fuel-economiser manufacturers in Wakefield. He subsequently became Chief Engineer to the company and is now a member of the Board of Directors.

He has published a number of technical papers, and is a Member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers and the Institution of Electrical Engineers, from whom he has received high awards for his work on corrosion and allied problems.

Bro. Rylands has for many years been associated with voluntary hospital work, and was a Governor of the Clayton Hospital in Wakefield until the National Health Scheme was introduced. He is now a member of the local Hospital Management Committee, and devotes much of his time to this work. He is also a Justice of the Peace for the City of Wakefield. His Masonic career began on the Gold Coast, where he was initiated in the Taquar Lodge No. 3356 in 1923. On his return to England he joined the Chantry Lodge in Wakefield in 1929, and became Master in 1942. He was a Founder and First Master of the Richard Linnecar Lodge No. 6413 in 1947. He became Provincial Grand Treasurer of Yorkshire (West Riding) in 1950, and was promoted to Grand Rank as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1952. He was elected an Honorary Member of Unanimity Lodge No. 154 in 1943, and of the Wakefield Lodge No. 495 in 1944.

In our own Lodge, he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1936 and became a Full Member in 1947.

In the Royal Arch, he was exalted in the Chapter of Sincerity No. 1019 in 1927, and was a Founder of the Chantry Chapter No. 4065 in 1930, of which he served as First Principal in the years 1943 and 1944; became Provincial Principal Grand Sojourner in 1951, and Past Grand Standard Bearer this year. He is an Honorary Member of the Wakefield Chapter No. 495.

He was advanced in the Integrity Lodge No. 110 in 1926, and became Master in 1936; attained Provincial Rank as Junior Warden in 1941, and Grand Rank as Junior Deacon in 1948.

Installed a Knight Templar in the Chantry Preceptory No. 214 in 1930, he became Master in 1938, Provincial Grand Constable in 1942, and Past Great Standard Bearer (V.B.) in 1950.

He is a Member of the Order of the Secret Monitor, and of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, in which he holds the 9th Grade, and is Suffragan for Yorkshire. He has only comparatively recently become a member of the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

His Masonic writings have been mainly concerned with local history. His contributions to our *Transactions* consist of two papers on Early Freemasonry in Wakefield, and a third will be given at our next meeting. Other published works include:—

A History of the Wakefield Lodge No. 495

A History of the Wakefield Chapter.

The Chantry Preceptory of Knights Templar

And many papers delivered all over the Province of Yorkshire.



FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1953



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., W.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D., I.P.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), S.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P., P.G.D., P.M., as J.W.*; J. R. Dashwood, *P.G.D., Secretary*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., D.C.*; Dr. A. E. Evans, *C.B.E., M.D., J.D.*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C., I.G.*; and W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., P.Dep.G.Swd.B., P.M.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. Holloway, L. G. White, J. A. Grant, R. A. Pratley, F. L. Bradshaw, C. T. Beynon, A. H. Berman, S. H. Muffett, L. Lucker, T. W. Marsh, H. L. Harnett, G. D. Elvidge, C. G. des Graz, A. I. Sharp, R. W. Hunter, Bernard E. Jones, A. Golson, R. Gold, A. L. Bridgett, P. J. Watts, F. Ellis, R. St. John Brice, M. R. Wagner, E. E. Worthington, H. Carr, A. F. Hatten, A. F. Cross, B. Jacob, H. B. D. Evans, W. A. Hailey, A. F. Ford, H. Jenkins, F. D. Lane, H. R. Wright, H. Davies, W. H. Stanyon, R. Reynolds Davies, F. A. Greene, R. Abell, E. V. Winyard and A. N. Other.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. O'Hara, Lodge 6451, and M. J. Wood, Lodge 458, I.C.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E., Pr.G.Sec. (Co. Down)*; Col. F. M. Rickard, *P.G.D., P.M.*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W. (Derby)*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S., P.A.G.D.C., Pr.G.Sec. (E. Lancs.), P.M.*; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R., P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D., P.M.*; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E., P.G.D., P.M.*; H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B., P.M.*; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; Dr. J. Johnstone, *F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.*; Dr. E. H. Cartwright, *D.M., P.G.D.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R. (Durham)*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal)*; R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D. (Quebec)*; N. B. Spencer, *P.A.G.D.C., P.G.W. (New Zealand)*; G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland.*

The Master referred to the grievous loss which had befallen the Lodge in the death of our Senior Member, Bro. J. Heron Lepper, *P.G.D., Librarian to the United Grand Lodge of England*, and read the brief Biography which follows; after which the Brethren stood to order in silent respect to his memory.

IN MEMORIAM

JOHN HERON LEPPER

Brethren,—I have a sad duty to perform. With the passing of John Heron Lepper there has gone from this Lodge, and from the Masonic world at large, one of its greater figures—a man of distinction, of achievement and of enduring renown.

Many of us here to-day knew him; many knew him well. He was, indeed, held in high regard and even affection by a very wide circle of Masonic friends. He had achieved a long and honourable career, and had left his mark in many walks of life. Born 74 years ago in Belfast, he was educated in Scotland and at Trinity College, Dublin, where his academic path was strewn with prizes foreshadowing his eminence in scholarship and linguistic culture.

I will not at this present time recite his many achievements in the world of literature ; these and other things will be listed in our *Transactions* in due course. Nor will I draw special attention to his expert service to his country during the Great War. We all know that he was a barrister, and that for many years he was literary editor to an important firm of London publishers.

We would to-day pay tribute to some at least of his Masonic achievements. He was initiated in 1901 in the Acacia Lodge No. 7 in the Irish Constitution, in Belfast, and was a joining member or founder of many other Lodges in his native land. He had the rare distinction of being a founder of a Lodge bearing his own name, the John Heron Lepper Lodge No. 346, in Carrickfergus. He joined and adorned many Masonic orders, and became a member of our Correspondence Circle in 1913. He was elected to full membership in 1922, reaching the Chair of the Lodge in 1924. He was thus, at the time of his death, not only Treasurer, but also our senior Past Master. In 1932 he was Prestonian Lecturer, and it will be in the recollection of us all that he completed and delivered the Prestonian Lecture of 1951 on behalf of, and from notes left by, Bro. Chetwin, who died after his appointment.

In the Craft, Bro. Lepper reached the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and had been Librarian to the Grand Lodge of England since 1943. There are many who could speak at length of his magnificent work in that capacity ; for myself I would add that I always found him most approachable and willing to give of his time and experience to help the younger searchers after Masonic knowledge. It must have been a great day in his Masonic life when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, honoured the Library and Museum with a visit last October.

We cannot anticipate the judgment of posterity but if I might venture an opinion which I think will be generally shared at the present time, I should say that his two major Masonic contributions are his *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*—in collaboration with Bro. Philip Crossle—and his magnificent paper on *The Traditioners*. I think we should agree that there has not, in our time, been any greater contribution to the solution of the problem of the Transition from Operative to Speculative Masonry. His name will live for this if for no other of his many works.

Those who regularly attend the meetings of the Supreme Grand Chapter will need no reminder of the manner in which he contributed, with inimitable sparkle and profound knowledge, to those gatherings. I think it may safely be said that we have not yet heard the last of Heron Lepper's work on that elusive degree, the Royal Arch.

If I were asked to name his outstanding quality, I think I would say that, as I knew him, it was his generosity of spirit. Where a lesser man, or one without his steady courage, might well have expected to receive, it was his delight to give. The young and earnest Masonic student was always among his special cares ; to the older and more experienced workers he would often repeat the reminder that they must ever gently encourage and guide the younger generation. I think gentleness was another characteristic—the gentleness of great courage. To one so deeply learned in Freemasonry—and surely, as we so often said, he knew more about it than any man alive—a little occasional irritation might well have been forgiven. Yet a delightful serenity shines through—for example—his reviews of the works of others. He could be penetrating in his criticism, but he was always kindly, and above all, encouraging and constructive. His physical ill-fortune might have contented him with following the lead of others ; instead, it was he who took the van and became the guide and friend of many.

Time will show, I think, that there is a vital and enduring richness in his contribution to the Masonic life, not only of the constitution of his adoption, but of the fraternity of Masonic scholars throughout the free world. The native wood-notes of his Irish Origins will echo down the years ; ample, pungent, and above all, sound. A great man and Brother has passed beyond ; we mourn his memory. I thank those of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle who accompanied me that day to Golders Green, and I ask you all to accord him the tribute of a few moments' silent thought.

Among the high-lights of our Brother's Masonic life may be mentioned the visit a few years ago of the Officers of the year of the J. Heron Lepper Lodge of Temperance No. 346 in the Irish Constitution, who came to London and gave a demonstration of the Irish Third Degree in the Jubilee Masters' Lodge.

Some of his principal literary works were as follows:—

Non-Masonic—Novels: *A Tory in Arms* and *The Northeast Corner*.

Historical: *Famous Secret Societies*.

Verse: *The Testaments of Francois Villon*. Translations from the French, German, Spanish and Italian ; also translations in prose.

Masonic— Differences Between the English and Irish Masonic Rituals Considered Historically.

Fifty Years of Freemasonry in Antrim.

The Poor Common Soldier.

History of Harmony Masonic Lodge No. 555. Fermoy.

The Traditioners, a study in Masonic History in England in the 18th Century.

History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1725-1813, Vol. 1, in collaboration with Bro. Philip Crossle.

Numerous addresses before various Masonic bodies, and, in particular, before the Supreme Grand Chapter.

In accordance with the notice given at the November meeting, the Master proposed, and it was seconded by the Senior Warden, and carried unanimously, that the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Scarborough, K.G., M.W.Grand Master, be elected an Honorary Member of the Lodge.

Twenty-four Lodges, ten other Masonic Bodies and 134 Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 2nd January, 1953.

Present:—Bro. J. R. Rylands, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. Ivor Grantham, Lewis Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, S. Pope, A. E. Evans and J. R. Dashwood, and Bro. R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR, 1952

BRETHREN,

We have to record with regret the death of two of our older Members, Bros. S. J. Fenton and G. S. Knocker. This leaves the membership of the Lodge at thirty-one.

At the end of February, Miss Johnson retired from the service of the Lodge on pension, after being with us for nearly thirty-three years, including the arduous years of the late War; she took with her the most grateful thanks of the Lodge and of the members of the Correspondence Circle for her loyal and devoted work, together with a tangible memento of our gratitude in the form of a substantial cheque subscribed by members of both Circles. The Secretary has been fortunate in obtaining the assistance of a member of the Craft of great experience to fill the vacancy.

The Sub-Committee appointed in connection with the financial crisis caused by the rise in printing costs, after consultation with our Printers, recommended that papers should be limited to 10,000 words, and that our *Transactions* should be printed with reduced spacing and narrower margins, thus increasing the content of each page by about one third, and enabling a whole year's *Transactions* to be issued in a single volume of about 160 pages, and so effecting further economy in packing and postage. Volume 64, the first to be issued under these conditions, will be published shortly, and the cost is expected to be about £1,000, as compared with £2,050 for Volume 63. With the publication of Volume 64, ending October, 1951, our *Transactions* will be little more than one year in arrear.

We are glad to report that outstanding subscriptions are reduced to £255 for 1952, and £100 for the earlier years. For this excellent result we have to thank the efforts of our Local Secretaries, whose ranks have been swelled by a number of new volunteers during the year, to all of whom we express our grateful thanks; also to the members of the Correspondence Circle for the splendid manner in which they have responded to our appeal to bring in new members; a few outstanding individual results must be mentioned:—Bro. T. C. Rusling has brought in 26 new members from Brazil; Bro. A. Horne (United States) has also brought in 26; Bro. W. Waples (Durham) 24, in addition to many that he had recruited previously; Bro. M. J. B. Montargis (Hongkong) 23 from that small community; Bro. Chester Smith (New South Wales) 18; and Bro. G. C. Kingscott (Victoria) 16; while many others have recruited ten or a dozen. We also have to thank most sincerely several American and Canadian Masonic periodicals, who have given us gratuitous advertisement.

We have also received a legacy from the late Bro. R. A. Card, P.A.G.D.C., of £25 in cash, and all his Masonic Regalia and Books, which realised nearly £100 more.

Thanks to all the help that we have received, and to all the economies which we have made, we have more than covered expenses during the year in spite of the very heavy expenditure of Volume 63, and we are encouraged to hope that bright prospects are in sight for the future.

J. R. RYLANDS.

In the Chair.

For the Year Ending 31st October, 1952

[illegible]

An interesting paper entitled, *The Origin of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire (West Riding)*, was read by Bro. J. R. RYLANDS, W.M., as follows:—

THE ORIGIN OF THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF YORKSHIRE (WEST RIDING)

BY BRO. J. R. RYLANDS, M.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., Master



THE origins of the present Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) make a very human story. The Brethren of the old Lodge at Wakefield, now *Unanimity* No. 154, played a leading part in the negotiations and organisation, but to understand the stratagems and cross-currents of the early years, it is first necessary to consider the status and position of the original Provincial Grand Masters.

It is perhaps not generally realised that, under the English constitution, Provincial Grand Lodges, until a few years ago, had no independent existence of their own. The "Moderns" Constitution in force at the time of the Union had little to say about Provinces or Provincial Grand Masters. The relevant regulations were contained in four articles.

(Constitutions, etc. Edn. 1784, revised by John Noorthouck)

OF PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER

- Art. I. The office of provincial grand master was found particularly necessary in 1726 ; when the extraordinary increase of the craftsmen, and their travelling into distant parts, and convening themselves in lodges, required an immediate head, to whom they might apply in all cases, where it was not possible to wait the decision or opinion of the grand lodge.
- Art. II. The appointment of this grand officer is a prerogative of the grand master ; from whom, or in his absence from his deputy, a deputation may be granted to such brother of eminence and ability in the craft, as either of them think proper, not for life, but during pleasure.
- Art. III. The provincial grand master thus deputed, is invested with the power and rank of a grand master in his particular district ; and is intitled to wear the cloathing of a grand officer, and to constitute lodges in his own province : he is by his office a member of the grand lodge, and in all public assemblies to walk immediately after the grand treasurer. He is also empowered to appoint grand officers for his province, who are entitled to wear the cloathing, and enjoy every other privilege of grand officers, whilst they officiate within their particular district, but at no other time or place ; nor are they members of the grand lodge.
- Art. IV. He is enjoined to correspond with the grand lodge, and to transmit a circumstantial account of his proceedings, at least once in every year. At which time he is required to send a list of those lodges he has constituted ; their contributions for the general fund of charity ; and the usual demand, as specified in his deputation, for every lodge he has constituted.

After the Union, the position of the Provincial Grand Lodge was more clearly defined, though again the emphasis was on the Provincial Grand Master. In the "Corrected Edition of 1819", under the heading "Of Provincial Grand Lodges", it is laid down that :

"The provincial grand lodge of each province is to be assembled by the provincial grand master or his deputy at least once in each year for business."

But it was Section 8 which determined, for more than a hundred years, the dependence of the Provincial Grand Lodge on its Provincial Grand Master.

8. As the Provincial grand lodge emanates from the authority vested in the provincial grand master, it possesses no other powers than those here specified. It, therefore, follows that no provincial grand lodge can meet but by the sanction of the provincial grand master or his deputy; and that it ceases to exist on the death, resignation, suspension, or removal of the provincial grand master, until he be reinstated or a successor appointed, by whose authority they may again be regularly convoked.

The 1841 wording is much the same; the Provincial Grand Lodge emanates from the Provincial Grand Master, and on his death, resignation, suspension or removal, it ceases to exist. This principle, whereby the Provincial Grand Lodge emanated from the Provincial Grand Master by virtue of the terms of his patent of appointment, continued until the issue of the 1940 *Book of Constitutions*.

The other principle whereby a Provincial Grand Lodge ceased to exist on the death, resignation, suspension or removal of its Provincial Grand Master continued until the issue of the 1884 *Book of Constitutions*, which continued a revised rule. Under this, a Province no longer ceased to exist on the death of a Provincial Grand Master; his Deputy was to perform all the functions of Provincial Grand Master until a new appointment was made. This made for continuity of existence of a Province, though the latter still emanated from the Provincial Grand Master by virtue of his patent, and from the Deputy Provincial Grand Master in like manner on the death, etc., of the Provincial Grand Master. What happened, in strict Masonic law, if both these worthy rulers died at about the same time is difficult to decide.

It was not till 1940 that the position was altered to set up Provinces in their own right. Rule 62 states:—

The Grand Master has power to form any specified area in England into a Province and overseas into a District, whereupon a Provincial or District Grand Lodge shall be formed and given jurisdiction within such area, the Provincial or District Grand Master acting therein by the authority vested in him under his Patent of Appointment from the Grand Master.

There is no further reference to the cessation of a Province on the death, etc., of its Provincial Grand Master, and it is to be presumed that the conception of a Province had changed; it had come to have a territorial significance as distinct from being a personal charge.

Even in the years round 1816, however, the understanding of the matter amongst the Brethren in the Craft was clear enough. Whatever the Constitutions might say about the Provincial Grand Lodge emanating from its Provincial Grand Master, in the minds of the Brethren the expression “Provincial Grand Lodge” had a territorial rather than a personal significance. When the Halifax, Sheffield and Wakefield Brethren began their agitation for a West Riding Province, they were concerned more with the boundaries of the area than with the prerogatives of the Provincial Grand Master.

There had been an earlier Province of Yorkshire, West Riding, with William Horton as Provincial Grand Master in 1738, succeeded by Edward Rookes in 1740. It could be regarded as a Province in a territorial sense; it contained, however, only a single Lodge. The second Lodge to be warranted in the West Riding appears to have been the Talbot or Parrot, warranted in 1754 and erased in 1776.

T. W. Hanson gives a long account of these early Provincial Grand Masters and their activities in his *History of the Lodge of Probity*, and says:—

“Edward Rookes Leeds¹ did not reign as Provincial Grand Master in his later days, for Sir Thomas Tancred of Boroughbridge was appointed P.G.M., with the whole county of York as his Province, in 1771. In the thirty years 1741-1771, half-a-dozen Lodges were constituted in the West Riding, which shows that there was not much life in the Province.”

This reads as if Edward Rookes Leeds was active as P.G.M. during some years at least. Evidence in support of this view is wanting. There was very little Masonic activity in the West Riding between 1740 and 1760, and although the oldest Lodge, *Probity* in Halifax, has a warrant dated 1738, its active existence really dates from the '60's of the eighteenth century.

One of Sir Thomas Tancred's first acts as “Provincial Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons for the County and City of York”

¹ Edward Rookes took his wife's surname on his marriage.

was to authorise and issue under his hand the warrant constituting the *Apollo* Lodge at York. Hughan's well-known history of this famous Lodge gives a fair picture of its rise to a position of dominance in Yorkshire. For a generation the *Apollo* was, in effect, the Provincial Grand Lodge, and its officers were the officers of the Province.

Hanson has devoted a chapter to the formation of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding). His account, written in 1938, was necessarily based on the documents available to him; it is now possible to fill out the picture from the Wakefield records, and to give a more accurate narrative of the events. The part played by the Lodges in Sheffield and Halifax was important and helpful, but without detracting in any way from the contribution made by the Brethren of these towns, I shall show that the rôle of the Wakefield Brethren was at least of equal importance.

In 1779 Sir Thomas Tancred was followed by Sir Walter Vavasour. This gentleman did not take a great deal of interest in his Masonic duties, and readily responded to a suggestion that he might wish to relinquish his office. As his successor the Brethren of *Apollo* chose a young Wakefield gentleman, Mr. Richard Slater Milnes, who, at the early age of 25, had been elected as one of the representatives in Parliament of the City of York, holding the seat from 1784 to 1802.

I do not think he was particularly active in Parliamentary work; he seems to have spent most of his life in Yorkshire. It is not known when and where he was initiated into Freemasonry, but details of his further Masonic career were given in my earlier paper, where I recorded his somewhat hurried passing and raising in the Lodge of *Unanimity*.

Like Tancred, Milnes does not appear to have taken a very active part in the Masonic life of the day, although his signature appears on several Lodge warrants, and he occasionally visited the *Apollo*. He married early in life, and there were, according to Wemyss Reid, two sons and seven daughters of the marriage, the eldest son, Robert Pemberton Milnes, being born in 1784, when Richard Slater Milnes was 25. In 1803 the latter took his wife's name of Rich by Royal Licence. In some lists the name of Richard Rich appears as Provincial Grand Master for Yorkshire from 1803 onwards; he was the same person as Richard Slater Milnes. He died on the 2nd June, 1804, only 44 years old.

He had, however, already appointed his son, Robert Pemberton Milnes, as Deputy Provincial Grand Master at a meeting held on the 18th January, 1804. Pemberton Milnes was only 20 at this time, and cannot have been a Mason for more than a few months at the most. Yet the records of the Province show that he was appointed Provincial Grand Master on the 8th May, 1805, at the age of 21. There seems little doubt that his introduction to the Craft was as hurried as had been that of his father, and it is likely enough that at this period there were others, behind the scenes, who guided the course of events. Who they were and how they operated is not clear; the inner history of the Craft is yet to be written; the Duke of Sussex was a power in the Masonic world and the Milnes family and their friends moved in Court and high political circles.

We do not know who was responsible for the appointment, but, whoever he was, he chose a man of remarkable qualities and talents. At the age of 22, Pemberton Milnes was elected one of the members for Pontefract, and such was his impact on Parliament that three years later he was offered, and declined, the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. To quote Wemyss Reid:—

“In the romance of politics there are few chapters more interesting than that which tells us the story of how the young country gentleman, within a few months of his admission to Parliament, thrilled the House of Commons by his eloquence, and made for himself a reputation that seemed the certain stepping-stone to the highest place in the service of his country, and how, at the very moment when his utmost ambition seemed to be on the point of being gratified, and prospects of unexampled brilliancy were opened before him, he quietly turned aside from the glittering temptation and gave himself up to a life of comparative retirement and indolence.”

As “One-speech Milnes” he preferred to end his days in the quiet of the life of a country gentleman, steadfastly turning his back on that fame and power which had at one time been within his grasp. It was left to his son, Richard Monckton Milnes, born in 1809, to become eminent in public life, though his interests were mainly literary, philanthropic and cultural; he will be remembered as the first to recognise Keats as a great poet. Monckton Milnes was raised to the peerage as Baron Houghton in 1863. So far as I know he was never a Freemason, though it was said of him that he “knew everybody worth knowing at home and abroad”.

Robert Pemberton Milnes, appointed Provincial Grand Master for Yorkshire in 1805, seemed to have as little interest in Freemasonry as in politics. The pomp of office had no appeal for him. There were times when he did perfunctorily perform the tasks annexed to his appointment; there are letters in the Library at Grand Lodge and in the files of *Unanimity* at Wakefield which show that to some extent he did become involved in Masonic matters.

On the whole, however, it seems that his peculiar and fastidious temperament was not attracted by the duties of the office.

He seldom convened a Provincial Grand Lodge, and seldom troubled to make Provincial appointments, at all events, outside *Apollo*. As the Provincial Grand Lodge emanated from him, and as he cared little for it, the Brethren outside York were largely debarred from taking part in its affairs as Provincial Officers.

At the period of the Union there were about 45 Lodges in the whole county, of which 30 at least were in the West Riding, excluding York. The majority of these latter Lodges formed a fairly compact group, having regard to the travelling facilities of the times, and Wakefield occupied a geographically central position amongst them.

There seems to be no clear evidence to show who, or which Lodge, first thought of reviving the office of Provincial Grand Master for the West Riding. At the time of the appointments of the two early Provincial Grand Masters there were only two Lodges in the whole of Yorkshire, one at Halifax and one at Scarborough. As Bro. Makins pointed out in his *Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire, 1771-1821*, these appointments would seem to have been merely of a complimentary nature. It is unlikely that either of these Brethren was ever installed or invested in the modern sense of these words.

Neither is it likely, as Bro. Makins says, that a Provincial Grand Lodge was ever summoned by either William Horton or Edward Rooke; the only Lodge in the Province was that at Halifax. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the movement of 1815-1816 was for the formation and not for the revival of a Provincial Grand Lodge for the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The prime cause for the demand for a West Riding Province is to be found in the 1815 *Constitutions*.¹

These contained a new rule in regard to Provincial Grand Lodges:—

The provincial grand lodge of each province is to be assembled by the provincial grand master or his deputy at least twice in each year . . . The present and past provincial grand officers, with the masters, wardens and all past masters, if subscribing members of any lodge within the district, are members of the provincial grand lodge, and the master and wardens shall attend the same when duly summoned, or depute some brethren properly qualified to represent them.

Attendance at Provincial Grand Lodge had hitherto been voluntary. Now that it was to be compulsory, twice a year, the Masters and Wardens of Lodges at a distance from York would have a grievance and they would talk about it freely when they met members of other Lodges in their district. It is quite possible that the idea of a West Riding Province first arose in those Lodges farthest away from York—Sheffield and possibly Halifax. On the other hand, as I show later, a shade of vanity and ambition may have seen in the new regulation an opportunity for raising the issue of a new Province.

In the West Riding, the Brethren had various occasions for meeting and talking about current Masonic affairs. More than one such opportunity occurred in the summer of 1815, when the fate of Europe was being decided on the battlefields. To digress for a moment: it is odd that the *Unanimity* minutes contain no reference to Waterloo or to the campaigns of 1815, though they had taken note of the war news in the previous year.

13th Jan. 1814

In consequence of this day being appointed for a general Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Glorious Victories obtain'd over the French by Marquis Wellington and the Allied Armies, we Masonic Brothers have called this Lodge of Emergency, at our own Expence, to conjoin our Masonic Order with the General Thanksgiving.

I have been unable to find the tavern account with the Black Bull; the meeting being "at our own expence", nothing appears in the Cash Book. But no doubt the rejoicings would be appropriate to the occasion. The reference to expense is a little puzzling until we note that the Lodge had celebrated the Feast of St. John the Evangelist only a week earlier, when the expenditure entered in the Cash Book was £11 18s. 0d. The expenses of an ordinary meeting were of the order of £2 to £3. No wonder the Brethren thought it proper to pay the expenses of their "V.E." day out of their own pockets!

Perhaps delays in celebration were a normal feature of the more leisurely pace of the world in those days. The Union of the "Ancients" and "Moderns" took place on the 27th December, 1813. The Yorkshire Lodges began to organise celebrations in May, 1815. William Rowley, of the Britannia Lodge at Sheffield, wrote to John Robinson, the Master of *Unanimity* in Wakefield:—

¹ *Constitutions of the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons*, part the second, etc. Published by the authority of the United Grand Lodge, by William Williams, Esq., Provincial Grand Master for the County of Dorset. MDCCCXV.

Sheffield 31 May 1815

Worshipful Sir & Bro.,

In consequence of the Union of the two Grand Lodges of Antient and Modern Masons it has been thought proper in order to show our gratitude for the measure and to give a public Testimony of our approbation to have a procession—attend divine service and afterwards to spend the Day together in Harmony and Brotherly regard.

I am authorized by the Committee appointed to carry this busyness into Effect to render you the above information and to respectfully solicit the attendance of yourself and as many of the Brethren of the Lodge over which you have the Honor to preside as can with convenience come.

You will therefore communicate this Information at your next Lodge Night or at the Feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing and it is earnestly requested you will ascertain the Number that is likely to attend and inform me as soon as possible after the latter Day in order that we may be enabled to provide for the comfort and Accomodation of those who intend doing us the Honor of their Company.

The Procession will take place on Monday the 24th Day of July next when the Brethren attending will come prepared with the Insignia of the Order they have attained provided it extends no further than a Royal Arch Companion as the Grand Lodge acknowledges no Degree beyond that.

The Brethren are intended to Assemble at 9 o'clock in the morning—the place from which they mean to proceed with every other information will be given them at either of the Lodges here or on application to me.

Your particular attention to this will confer an Obligation on the Committee as well as on

Your obedt. Servt. and Bro.

Will: Rowley

Secretary to the Committee.

This letter was brought before the members of *Unanimity* on the 5th June, 1815.

The Worshipful Master read a Letter from Bro. Rowley of Sheffield requesting the Favour of the Brethren to attend a Grand Procession and Sermon at that place on the 24th day of July in Testimony of their Approbation of the Union which has taken place between the Antient and the Modern Grand Lodges.

To be finally determined on St. John's Day.

Unanimity celebrated the Festival of St. John on the 26th June. In the meantime, three of its members had attended a "Lodge for Promulgating the Instructions received according to the System of the Union" held by *Probity* in Halifax.

This was on the 22nd June, 1815, and the business, according to Hanson, seems to have been neatly organised beforehand. To a large gathering of members from several of the neighbouring Lodges, Charles Whiteley, a Halifax hatter¹ and Secretary of *Probity*, "suggested the propriety of congratulating His Royal Highness our Most Worshipful Grand Master the Duke of Sussex on the Re-Union". On the unanimous acceptance of the motion that an Address should be sent, Whiteley produced a Draft Address which he had prepared, and this was read, adopted and signed by all present.

Hanson reproduces the text of the document, which bears, amongst others, the signatures of David Dixon as W.M., Geo. Henry France as S.W., and Joseph Senior as J.W., of No. 252, the Lodge of *Unanimity*. Actually, Robinson was W.M. and Crawshaw S.W., but as nearly all the 39 signatures purport to be those of the principal officers of their various Lodges, I think the designations M., S.W. and J.W. were used to give the document a more imposing air.

As already stated, *Unanimity* met on the 26th June, 1815. Robinson was in the Chair, supported by Crawshaw and Senior as Wardens, with David Dixon as P.M. The Lodge was opened in the 1st Degree; the By-laws and Communications from Grand Lodge were read. Thereupon:—

The Worshipful Master then put the Question: How many Brethren intended to attend the Procession at Sheffield on the 24th of next month, when it was determined that the Master & Wardens and as many of the Brethren as could make it convenient should attend.

This decision was communicated to Rowley by Robinson, and the latter appears to have added a suggestion on his own account. Rowley replied:—

¹ The Lodge of *Unanimity* possesses a large black beaver hat bearing a ticket, "Charles Whiteley, Hatter, Halifax."

Sheffield 3 July 1815

Dr. Sir,

Your much esteem'd favour of the 29th June arrived to hand in due course and rest assur'd we shall be happy in your Company on the ensuing 24th.

I beg leave on behalf of the Committee to say that it would have given every Brother here pleasure to have had the office of Chaplain fill'd by so respectable and able a Brother as the Revd. M. J. Naylor but prior to my receiving your kind favour a Gentleman from Mattersea near Bawtry had agreed to fill the office—he I understand is Chaplain to the Pr. George's Lodge Doncaster.

Permit me to request you will make the Committee's kind respects to Mr. Naylor and inform him we shall be proud to see him along with the Brothers of the Lodge of Unanimity.

I remain respectfully,

Dr. Sir, Your Obedt. Servt. & Bro.

Will: Rowley.

Unanimity has no records of the meeting and procession, but possibly *Britannia* has preserved an account. The point material to the present discussion is that on this occasion, as at the "Lodge for Promulgating the Instructions, etc.," at Halifax. the Brethren from the West Riding Lodges would have ample opportunities for talking about a new Province.

But there were already minor rivalries and even jealousies. The *Unanimity* minutes of June 26th, 1815, continue:—

Bro. Dixon then brought forward a Motion seconded by Bro. Crawshaw that a Congratulatory Address should be presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex testifying our approbation of the Union which has taken place with the two Fraternities and the Measures taken thereon ——— which was carried unanimously and a Committee of five or seven was order'd to draw up the Address.

It is evident that Dixon was bent on taking action to counter the *Probity* move; the Halifax Lodge was not to be allowed to monopolise the lead in West Yorkshire Masonic affairs. I think it a fair inference that the preliminary skirmishings in the campaign for a Province had already begun; the two Congratulatory Addresses were among the first moves for position.

Unanimity held an emergency meeting on the 14th July, 1815, David Dixon taking the Chair, although Robinson, the Master, was present. Ordinary business was conducted and recorded by Crawshaw, acting as Secretary *pro tem*. Then the handwriting changes, and the next page-and-a-half are in Dixon's neat round hand.

A Committee of seven Brethren having been appointed last Lodge Night to prepare a suitable address, to be presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex: on the Glorious accomplishment of the Uniting the two Fraternities of Ancient and Modern Free Masons (I ought to have said Reuniting, since 'tis well known they were One Distinct Body previous to the year 1717 at which time the division took place) the Committee was composed by Brothers: John Robinson, Wm. Crawshaw, Joseph Senior, David Dixon, M. J. Naylor, G. H. France and Rt. Clarkson, who met on Monday the 3rd of July Inst., when the following Congratulatory Address, Drawn up by Bro. Dixon, was agreed upon, and ordered to be made ready for presentation as soon as possible which after having been handsomely wrote upon fine Vellum, was this Night signed by John Robinson, Worshipful Master, William Crawshaw, Senior Warden, Joseph Senior, Junior Warden, David Dixon, Past Worshipful Master & George Henry France, Secretary.

All business over, the Lodge was closed in due form.

Was this notion that "they were one Body previous to 1717" widely held? The Brethren at Halifax had spoken of "Re-Union". Was this part of the propaganda which may have been circulated to mould opinion in favour of the Union?

Dixon enjoyed drawing up the Address, and copied it out with gusto.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX,
GRAND MASTER OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND
ACCEPTED MASONS
OF ENGLAND

MOST WORSHIPFUL AND ROYAL GRAND MASTER

WE, the Members of the Lodge of Unanimity No. 252 Wakefield, assembled this Day, to celebrate the festival of our Christian Patron Holy St. John the Baptist,

have unanimously agreed, in full and open Lodge, humbly to approach your Royal Highness with our sincerest congratulations.

LONG have we viewed with deep regret, the Division existing among Free Masons, under the two Distinguished titles of Ancient and Modern, a Society which above all others in the World ought to know no dissention, and now having happily witnessed the abolition of every Invidious distinction, we beg leave most dutifully and respectfully to express our heart felt Joy, at the glorious accomplishment of the Union of the Two Fraternities.

PERMIT us respectfully to assure your most Worshipful Royal Highness of our unshaken fidelity and attachment to the Constitutions of our Order, of our cheerful submission and obedience to the rules and precepts they enjoin, of our ready acquiescence with whatever shall be legally promulgated through the United Grand Lodge, for the good of the Craft, of our Zeal for its welfare, and of our Utmost and constant endeavour, at all times to further and promote its honour and prosperity.

MAY the Almighty Grand Architect of the Created Universe give his Blessing to the Compact, and grant that it may forever remain firm and Indissoluble; that thenceforward all members of the Society who have been duly initiated under a Legal Constitution, may reciprocally and cordially take each other by the hand, as affectionate Brethren of the same great family; May the same Gracious Being give his Benediction to your ROYAL HIGHNESS, and to every Branch of your Illustrious House; May He grant you Length of Days that you may long govern the Craft; May He prosper all your laudable undertakings begun and carried on in His Service; May he add Felicity to your Terrestrial Life; — and, when this transitory scene shall have passed away, May He finally receive you into that Celestial Lodge, in which He Himself, Eternally presides as Supreme Grand Master. SO MOTE IT BE.

The Address was sent; there is a record of the cost in the Cash Book, but there is no record of an answer being received by the Lodge. Instead, on the 4th December, 1815, the minutes note the receipt of an

. . . Answer from His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to the Address sent from Halifax and signed by this Lodge . . .

Probity had printed and circulated the Halifax Address and the Reply. There is a copy in the *Unanimity* files. Halifax had scored the first point.

According to Hanson:—

“The long and tedious business of establishing a Provincial Grand Lodge for the West Riding began on 1 October 1816.”

This may be correct as regards the first official move by *Probity*, but, as Hanson himself records, Whiteley had already, on the 25th February, 1816, written direct to the Grand Secretaries suggesting that the County be divided Masonically to correspond with the three Ridings. Hanson does not quote this letter in full, but I think it most important that it should be placed on record. It gives a very plain hint about the motives which lay behind the movement, at all events in Halifax.

It is necessary to remember that this letter was written in February, 1816, that is, *after* the various occasions in 1815 on which the West Riding Brethren met together, and *before* the discussions of the formal proposals in the various Lodges. The letter in question is in Portfolio 7 in the Small Reading Room in Grand Lodge Library:—

Halifax Feb. 25. 1816

Messrs. White & Harper

Dear Sirs & Brothers,

I am directed by the W.M. of the Lodge of Probity No. 84 to transmit to you the enclosed Sketch of the situations of the Lodges in the County of York—together with the following remarks which we hope will not be taken amiss but be attributed to our wish to further the Interests and beneficial effects of Masonry. On examining the Map you will perceive that a many of the Lodges are a very great way from York and to attend the Provincial twice a Year by the Master and Wardens will be attended with such an expense as many of them will not be able to bear. It is our opinion that if the County was to be divided by Ridings & to have Three P.G.M. (same as they have Lord Lieuts.) it would in the first place allow of situations for respectable Brethren to fill the Offices of two additional P.G. Lodges. Secondly, if the P.I. Grand Lodge for the West Riding were to meet either at Wakefield or Leeds it would both lessen the expense but so diminish the distance to a very great

Majority of the Lodges as to enable them to go & return the same Day whereas to York for I believe the majority of the Lodges it will require three Days. In the Map I have pointed out Wakefield as being the most central and within a moderate distance of the Seat of the Provincial Grand Master. We make this communication the more freely as it cannot be considered any disrespect in us, as we shall retain the present P.G.M. in our Riding or Province. We conceive that a full and regular attendance in the Provincial Grand Lodge will materially benefit the Members of it & give them Ideas of Order and regularity which I fear many Lodges very much want in this Neighbourhood—for a number of Years York never could command a regular Attendance and indeed they have not met at all I believe for upwards of two years. In making this communication I am directed to observe—we do not do it with any Design of throwing any Obstacle in the way of *meeting at York* as if it is thought best to continue it there, we will endeavour to do our Duty—but the above object appears to deserve attention.

I remain,

Brethren,

for the Master & Brethren of the Lodge of Probity

Your most obedient Servt. & Brother

Charles Whiteley.

P.S. I am directed to mention that in this town we have a Brother Mason of the name of Thompson, a physician, who was formerly Master of our Lodge tho not at present a Member. He is a very respectable Man and a *Man of business* & I understand acquainted with the Pl. G.M. If he was to have the situation of Deputy P.G.M., I believe no one would be better enabled to conduce to the regularity of the different Lodges.

The letter is at once impudent and naïve. It was surely an invasion of the prerogative of the Grand Master to say “we shall retain the present P.G.M.”. It was an invasion of the prerogative of the Provincial Grand Master to suggest, to the Grand Secretaries, a name for consideration as Deputy. It was presumptuous to suggest that neighbouring Lodges wanted “Ideas of Order and regularity”. It was naïve to describe at length the difficulties of travel to York and then to add that the Brethren would be willing, after all, to go there if necessary. The plain fact is, that the Halifax Brethren were avid for Provincial office, and that the appointment of a Halifax man as Deputy would have suited them admirably.

Whiteley was a determined and forceful character. He meant to be in the foreground of the picture, and he was resolved to beat down all opposition. The Wakefield Brethren were a little impatient at his pretensions; Whiteley was very suspicious of Wakefield. The Brethren of *Unanimity* had no doubt voiced their own views at the gatherings in 1815, and it would be sufficiently evident that they were rather irritated at the tendency of *Probity* to assume leadership in local Masonic matters. Wakefield was the centre of affairs in the West Riding; the Provincial Grand Master had his residence nearby; his father had been a member of *Unanimity*, and the social standing of the members of that Lodge was higher than that of any of its neighbours.

Britannia, in Sheffield, was Warranted in 1765, and *Unanimity* a year later. These three old West Yorkshire Lodges, therefore, belong to a period when there was a revival of interest in Freemasonry—the 60's of the eighteenth century.

Probity, with the model of *Apollo* before it, suspected *Unanimity* of aiming at becoming the Provincial Grand Lodge for the West Riding, with its members taking most or all of the Offices. *Unanimity*, having no great respect for the date on *Probity's* Warrant, and being composed of men accustomed to rule and guide, calmly checked the pretensions of the older Lodge when necessary. *Britannia* watched them both, but being rather far from the centre of affairs could do little but engage in copious correspondence with all and sundry.

An example of this conflict of personalities and interests is given by the records in the keeping of *Unanimity* relating to the formation at this time of the ill-fated *Friendly* Lodge at Barnsley. There are no documents about the early negotiations; the first indication of the move in Barnsley is in a letter from William Rowley, of Sheffield, to John Robinson, the Master of *Unanimity*:—

Sheffield 29th June 1816

Dr. Sir & Bro.

I am favour'd with yours of yesterday this morning—in reply shall avail myself of the pleasure of visiting you the first Monday in August if in my power—regarding the Lodge intended to be open'd at Barnsley any information I can render you on the subject you may command and rest assur'd I shall feel a pleasure in meeting you there—indeed I hope that every member that can with convenience attend belonging to the Lodge over which I have the honor to preside will make

a point of so doing—at least I shall not fail to urge the necessity of the measure only should it happen on the 12th of August it will preclude many here from attending being the Anniversary of a Masonic Benefit Society held here for the relief of each other and in which myself and many others are particularly engag'd—I would also beg leave to suggest to you that the Brethren of the St. George's Lodge Doncaster have it in contemplation to hold a procession and attend Divine Service sometime in August also—it would therefore be desirable that matters should be so arranged as not to interfere with each other it being their intention of soliciting the attendance of the neighbouring Lodges—I have deemed it necessary to make this Communication in Order that as you have the management of the Barnsley Opening you may so far adopt measures for a full attendance as to you may seem best calculated for that purpose.

I should expect that you will in the course of next month have a Circular from Doncaster Lodge—notwithstanding if you wish other Information and more early I dare say they can furnish you.

I remain with every Sentiment of Respect to yourself and the rest of the Brethren of Unanimity

Dr Sir

Your obedt. Servt. & Bro.

Will: Rowley.

N.B. Shall feel a pleasure in your correspondence in any matter you may wish my poor assistance in.

It is not clear how the Wakefield Brethren came to be entrusted with "the management of the Barnsley Opening". The first reference in the Lodge minutes to a new Lodge at Barnsley, a town 10 miles to the south of Wakefield on the road to Sheffield, is on the 24th June, 1816:—

Brother Woodcock declared himself to discontinue any longer a member of this Lodge on account of a Lodge to be made at Barnsley.

This was the usual method of resigning. Woodcock, who later led a heroic, but futile revolt against Grand Lodge, was a joining member of *Unanimity*. The minutes of 1st May, 1815, record a ceremony of initiation and continue:—

Bro. France proposed Bro. Geo. Woodcock of Barnsley as a member of this Lodge, and likewise to be registered along with our New Made Brother at the next Communication, being omitted at Lodge No. 547 Sutton Cold Fields, where he was made.

Woodcock was a regular attender at Wakefield and seldom missed a meeting in the two years he was a member. After his resignation his visits became infrequent; the last occasion was on the 4th December, 1820, when he acted as J.W. It was soon after this that he was elected the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge at Liverpool.

There are several letters in the *Unanimity* collection about the beginnings of Lodge No. 521 at Barnsley, and as they have a place in the somewhat complicated story of the formation of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding), I record them here.

Rowley wrote from Sheffield to Robinson at Wakefield:—

20th July 1816

You no doubt ere this reaches you will be solicited by the Doncaster Lodges to attend a procession there on Monday the 12th August at which place I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, but being uncertain when you intend opening the Lodge at Barnsley, I have been induc'd to request you will inform me—I hope and trust several of the Brethren here will make a point of attending you—indeed several have intimated such a desire provided your being at Barnsley does not interfere with the Doncr. procession or our Masonic Benefit Society's feast which is fix'd for the 19th of August—if therefore you have appointed a Day be kind enough to inform me.

Woodcock was the prime mover in the Barnsley affair:—

Barnsley 13 Aug. 1816

Bro. Robinson

I have got the Warrant for the removal of Friendly Lodge from London to Barnsley ratified by the Secretary of the G.L. Bro. Rowley mentioned this to our Brethren at Doncaster signifying the opening would be on the 9th Septr. if the Lodge of *Unanimity* approved of it. I shall be obliged if you will signify to me as soon as

possible that Monday the 9th September will suit you. Please to send a form of circular letter of invitation and whi. I sho'd advertise it in the Leeds paper (mentioned a form for that also). The Music may be had at Sheffield better than elsewhere. Your answer will much oblige your Obdt. & faithful Bro.

Geo. Woodcock.

The "form of circular" was presumably sent; a copy of the printed communication is preserved in the files of the Lodge of Unanimity:—

Worshipful Sir and Brother,

I take the liberty of informing you, there will be a Lodge of free and accepted Masons, opened at the King's Head, in Barnsley, on the 9th Day of September next, under the Title or Denomination of the Friendly Lodge, No. 521; when your Company and as many Brethren of your Lodge as can make it convenient, are most respectfully solicited to be there, by 9 o'clock in the Morning; from which Place it is intended to proceed in order, to hear divine Service, at our Church, where a Sermon will be preached on the Occasion, by the Rev. M. J. Naylor of Wakefield.

Please to observe the usual Clothing, agreeable to the Order.

A Dinner will be provided at the King's Head Inn, where Tickets may be had of Mr. D. Peech at 10s. 6d. each, Wine included.

By Order of the W.M. of the
Lodge of Unanimity

G. WOODCOCK, Secretary, P.T.

Barnsley, August 19th, 1816.

There is a postscript in writing:—

It will be taken as a particular favor, if you will acquaint me by Wednesday the 5th Sept. how many you think will attend from your Lodge.

G.W.

The authority of *Unanimity* in the matter was clearly acknowledged by the other Lodges; whether this authority had been conferred or delegated, or whether it had been largely assumed, is still not clear. A letter from one of the Grand Secretaries to Robinson confirms that *Unanimity* was acting with the knowledge of Grand Lodge:—

Free Masons' Hall, London
31st August 1816

W. Master,

Your letter of the 27th Instant addressed to Brother Harper *individually*. I received at the Office here on the 29th Instant, but owing to its being addressed only to him I did not open it. He has been here today and opened it and has requested me to send an answer for him. In reply to your application for a Dispensation I have to observe that all Dispensations for Public processions &c in a County for which there is a Provincial Grand Master must be obtained from that Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy. I presume I need not say to you that R. P. Milnes, Esq., the Member for Pontefract, is the Provincial for Yorkshire and to whom therefore the application must be made.

A Brother in London who saw the Warrant of the Friendly Lodge before it was sent to Barnsley has just stated to me that the number inserted on the Indorsement is wrong. I shall therefore feel obliged by your looking at it when you go to Barnsley, and if that should be the case, that you will be kind enough to alter the number; it ought to be 521, as it stands in the Free Masons' Calendar, and at all events, whether it is right or wrong, I request the favour of your addressing a line to me on the subject.

I remain, W. Master,

Your very obedt. Servant
& faithful Brother,

William H. White, G.S.

The W. Master of
The Lodge of Unanimity No. 252
Wakefield.

Authority from Grand Lodge to alter the number on a warrant would certainly be regarded as a privilege nowadays. *Unanimity* had undoubtedly taken charge. Rowley, anxious not to be left out in the cold, wrote two more letters asking for instructions:—

Sheffield 1 Sep. 1816

I have been anxiously waiting during the past week for the occurrence of a Busyness which would have completely set me at liberty to have attended upon you on Monday evening. That not having happened I shall be deprived of the pleasure of so doing—Mr. Woodcock informed me that he expected you at Barnsley on Tuesday next in order to arrange for the intended procession—if so do write me by return which I shall receive on Tuesday morng. and tho' it is our Market I will do my endeavours to meet you—allow me to observe that if Tuesday is not of consequence to your being in Barnsley any other day (save Saturday) would be much more convenient to me.

When you write say at what Hour you intend being there—I informed Mr. Woodcock (who intimated to me that it was your wish I should meet at Barnsley and assist) that I should feel a pleasure in rendering every Information in my power—and now again say you may Command me—at some future period I still hope to have the pleasure of visiting you at your own Lodge.

This letter was endorsed:—

“This is requested to be deld.
immedy. after its arrival”.

But something went wrong. Rowley wrote again three days later:—

Sheffield 4th Sepr. 1816

I am at a loss to find words to explain to you the reason of my not meeting you at Barnsley—the mortification to me in not receiving your letter sooner was such as I have not experienced for a great length of time and more especially so as I had faithfully promised to be there—suffice it to say that I was not in possession of your kind favour until late yesterday (suppose it must have been overlook'd) consequently could not have reached Barnsley before you must have left it—I have no doubt but you have made every arrangement necessary and which I am persuaded will meet the approbation of those attendg.—I have only to regret the loss of an opportunity of spending a few Hours together in Friendship and Brotherly regard—from what I can at present learn there will be a numerous attendance from this place and for my own part shall make a point of being there as early in the morning as possible—I shall feel happy in any communications you may make regarding our bringing along with us any Jewels or Implements appertaining to the Craft and also in being inform'd whether the Body is intended to walk as one Lodge or in the Order they have attain'd—when we meet I am much at your service in any way you may conceive me useful and shall feel a pleasure in having an opportunity of making amends for being absent from you yesterday—I shall feel a pleasure in your commands.

Accordingly Robinson wrote to the Provincial Grand Lodge at York about the Dispensation for the Procession. York knew nothing about a Lodge at Barnsley, and therefore *Unanimity* were not acting on authority from the Province:—

Mr. John Robinson
W.M. Lodge of Unanimity
Wakefield

York 6th Sept. 1816

Sir & Brother

Your favour of the 2nd instant addressed to the Secretary of the P.G. Lodge has just come to my hands. I do not understand whether you want a Deputation to open a Lodge at Barnsley or merely permission to have a Procession. If the former it is not in our Power to send it as we are totally unacquainted with the name of the Lodge or of any other particulars related thereto. The Warrant of Constitution ought to have been transmitted for the approval and signature of the Provincial G.M. and have been accompanied by the proper Petition.

If the latter, you may consider this as sufficient Authority for the same.

I am, Sir & Bro.

Yours faithfully,

Samuel Cowling

P.G.T.

The Barnsley promoters needed no warrant. They had secured the removal, by some means now unknown, of the Warrant of Friendly Lodge from London. Lane says that this Lodge was first formed in February, 1790, at the Nag's Head Inn, Leather Lane, Holborn, and had the number 557. This became 466 in 1792 and 521 at the Union.

An account of this short-lived Lodge was written by the late Bro. J. E. Jaeger, of Barnsley, in 1915, and is contained in a booklet written some four years ago by Bro. W. P. Moulton, of the present "Friendly" Lodge No. 1513, founded at Barnsley in 1874.¹

Curiously enough, the Unanimity Journals have no mention whatever of the events of the 9th September at Barnsley. Bro. Jaeger, however, gives certain significant notes; in the old Friendly Lodge Treasurer's Book we find:—

			£.	s.	d.
1816	Feb 13	Postage of three Letters to London	2.	9.	
	Aug 18	Attending at Wakefield fixing the time and other matters	4.	0.	
		Treating Three Masons for assisting to obtain the removal of the Lodge	5.	3.	

I wonder just *how* the Warrant was obtained !

Sep 9	Music	6.	0.	0.
	Eight Ringers, 2/6 each	1.	0.	0.
	Six tickets for Brethren of the Wakefield Lodge ...	3.	3.	0.
	Their expenses & "broken glasses"	1.	0.	1.

Bro. Jaeger also quotes a newspaper account of the event:—

Yorkshire Journal & General Weekly Advertiser, Doncaster,
13th September, 1816

On Monday last, a new Lodge of the ancient Order of Free Masons was consecrated at Barnsley, by the name of Friendly Lodge No. 521.

About 100 Brethren attended from the following Lodges:—

Lodge of Unanimity, Wakefield; Probity, Halifax; Britannia, Sheffield; Three Grand Principles, Thornhill; St. George's, Doncaster; Amphibious, High Town; Nelson of the Nile, Mirfield; Harmony, Halifax; White Hart, Huddersfield; Fidelity, Leeds; Alfred, Leeds; and Phoenix, Rotherham. The Brethren met in the National School (a building admirably appropriate for the purpose) from whence they walked in procession to the church, preceded by the Sheffield local militia band of music, where the prayers were read by Brother the Rev. Charles Clapham, of Leeds, an anthem from the "Messiah" sung by Brothers Cann and Lodge, and an excellent sermon adapted for the occasion was preached by Brother the Revd. J. Naylor, of Wakefield from Acts: Chap. VII, v. 47, "But Solomon built him an house". The Brethren then returned to the National School, where the ceremony of consecration, and other business peculiar to the Order being gone through, they adjourned to the King's Head Inn, and partook of an excellent dinner, provided by Mr. D. Peech, and the day was spent with great conviviality and harmony.

Unanimity at the head of the list and in charge of the proceedings? Who performed the ceremony of consecration, and why was such ceremony necessary? We do not know; it is tolerably certain that the Provincial Grand Lodge had nothing whatever to do with the matter, and it is as likely as not that the Brethren of *Unanimity* did what was required.

But amidst the conviviality and harmony, other matters were being discussed. Rowley wrote to Robinson after the Barnsley meeting:—

Sheffield 12 Sept. 1816

Brother Whiteley of Halifax put into my Hands at Barnsley a plan of the situation of all the Lodges in the East, West, and North Ridings of Yorkshire intimating that a petition had been presented to the Grand Lodge for a removal of the Provincial Grand from York to Wakefield and that a resolution had been pass'd by the Grand Lodge that each Lodge within the Province should visit the Provincial Grand twice in each year—this was the substance of what he said I think—However as you are in possession of Information on this subject I shall feel obliged by your communication regarding the busyness as also when the above resolution alluded to was pass'd—last night being our regular lodge I laid the plan and explained the busyness as far as I was able to the Brothers present when it was unanimously agreed to act in concert with the Lodges in the west of Yorkshire—I shall this evening lay it before the Brethren of the Royal Brunswick Lodge to have their opinion of the busyness and in a short time will hand to you with every other information necessary—hoping you got well home from Barnsley.

¹ *History of Freemasonry in Barnsley prior to 1832, and of Friendly Lodge 1513.* Privately printed, Barnsley, 1949. Compiled from the Minute Books by W. Bro. W. P. Moulton, P.P.D.G.R.

Evidently the idea of a West Riding Province did not originate in Sheffield. Rowley's facts were wrong; no petition had yet been presented, though Whiteley, of Halifax, had written his letter to the Grand Secretaries in February of that year.

Rowley was eager to be concerned in the "busyness". He was untiring in his offers of help to Robinson, but he did not neglect approaches in other directions. He was indefatigable in collecting and passing on "Information"; he was a copious letter-writer, and there are some of his communications in the Halifax records. By sheer perseverance he worked himself into the position of general correspondent, and was soon passing round suggestions and requests for action.

The discussions about Whiteley's map showing the location of the Lodges in the West Riding, had led to the inevitable conclusion that Wakefield was, as Whiteley had said in his letter to London, the "most central" place. At the beginning the leadership of the Wakefield Brethren in the campaign does not seem to have been in dispute. It was arranged, probably at Barnsley, that Wakefield should handle the matter, and it was agreed that the various Lodges should pass resolutions petitioning for a West Riding Province. Robinson, the Master of *Unanimity*, was to present these petitions, not to Grand Lodge in London, but to the Provincial Grand Master at Fryston.

The authorship of the resolutions is uncertain. Hanson seems to take it for granted that they were composed by Whiteley in Halifax, and this is certainly possible. But if this is so, what is the explanation of the change of tactics on the part of *Probity*? Whiteley had undoubtedly made the first approach to London in February, 1816, and the key might lie in the reply he received from the Grand Secretaries. Unfortunately, there is no copy of this in Grand Lodge Library, and Hanson does not refer to it in his *History of Probity*. Perhaps Whiteley was told that the matter called for a petition from the various Lodges concerned, and that any such petition must be transmitted through the Provincial Grand Master.

Whoever drafted the resolutions, *Probity* were the first to adopt them at their meeting on the 1st October, 1816. *Friendly*, the new Lodge at Barnsley, followed on the 6th October. George Woodcock, the Master of *Friendly*, at once wrote to Robinson at Wakefield enclosing the resolutions, as instructed by Rowley:—

Bro. Robinson
Wakefield

Barnsley
6th October 1816

Dear Sir,

Having received a letter from Bro. Rowley relating to the resolutions I have sent you annexed to this letter, desiring me to forward them that you may present them along with others to our Worshipful Grand Master, I have taken the earliest opportunity. Wishing you success as I hope you are well,

I remain,

Your faithful Brother

Geo. Woodcock.

If you think it will be more respectful, please to put the resolutions under cover.

Unanimity met on the following day. The minute is given in full:—

At the Lodge of Unanimity held at the Black Bull Inn Wakefield on Monday the 7th October 1816

Present:	Br. J. Robinson	W.M.
	Br. J. Senior	S.W.
	Br. G. H. France	J.W.
	Br. D. Dixon	P.M. & S. p.t.
	Br. Tinnings	
	Br. J. Baumforth	Tyler

The Lodge was opened in the first Degree when the Worshipful Master read a letter which he had received from Bro. Woodcock, Worshipful Master of the Friendly Lodge, Barnsley, respecting the removing the Provincial Grand Lodge from York—afterwards Br. Dixon proposed that a Petition be drawn up and presented to the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master Robt. Pemberton Milnes, Esq., M.P., by the Members of this Lodge, Praying him to remove the Provincial Grand Lodge to Wakefield. Seconded by Br. G. H. France. The Worshipful Master proposed Br. Melton of this Town, Attorney at Law, to become a Member of this Lodge, seconded by Br. Senior, which motion was put to the ballot and passed in the affirmative. All business being over the Lodge was closed in due form until the first Monday in November next except upon Emergency.

This was an entirely different proposition. Nothing about forming a Province in the West Riding; simply a straightforward request to remove the Province from York to Wakefield. Unfortunately, the Wakefield resolutions were not entered in the Journal, and no copy has been preserved.

Rowley's Lodge, *Britannia* in Sheffield, was the next. They passed the resolutions on the 9th October, and duly sent them to Robinson:—

Britannia Lodge
Sheffield
9th October 1816

Dr. Sir,

Inclosed you have our resolutions which Bro. Whiteley of Halifax informs us you will present to the Provincial Grand Master along with others—we wish you every success and hope they will be cordially rec'd.

I have sent copies of them to Barnsley, Rotherham & Doncaster which will be submitted to their respective Lodges on the regular nights of meeting—I have also informed the Royal Brunswick Lodge here of the Busyness all of which if passed will in the course of the present month hand you their sentiments.

I remain with respectful comp^{ts} to all the Brethren of the Lodge
of Unanimity and particularly to yourself,

Dr. Sir,

Your obedt. Servt. & Bro.

Will: Rowley.

The *Britannia* resolutions differ from those sent by *Probity* in several minor particulars. It seems that they were rather hurriedly copied from an original and not checked. The *Friendly* version, preserved in the Grand Lodge Library, is again slightly different. I suppose that the copies were all made by Rowley, but we still do not know for certain who composed the original draft.

Rowley acted on instructions received from Halifax. Hanson quotes a letter received from Rowley to Whiteley, dated 1st October, 1816, *i.e.*, the day on which *Probity* adopted the resolutions. In it Rowley says:—

“I have, in accordance with your wish, forwarded Copies of the resolutions to Doncaster, Rotherham and Barnsley . . .”

He says also that these Lodges have been asked to send the resolutions, if adopted, to Robinson in Wakefield. Why did Rowley not send copies, on the 1st October, to Wakefield? There can only be one answer: Robinson must already have been in possession of a copy—or of the original. Did he and Whiteley compose the document together? If so, why does the *Unanimity* minute of October 7th read as if the matter was being raised for the first time, and largely because of a communication from Barnsley? It is quite obvious that Robinson, at least, must have known all about the matter. Until we have further light thrown on the subject, I think we must suspend judgment about the authorship of the resolutions.

During the month of October, 1816, the other Lodges dealt with the matter. At Rowley's suggestion, Whiteley wrote to Robinson asking him to defer action for a time.

Mr. Robinson

Halifax Oct. 22 1816

Dr. Sir and Bro.

As I expect some material information in the course of a few Days respecting the proposed Provincial Grand Lodge being held at yr. place, we shall defer forwarding our Resolutions & Map on that Subject to you and we wish you would not present *any* Resolutions you may have rec'd from other Lodges till you hear from us, which you may expect by the end of this Month at any rate, but probably next week.

The Information alluded to is this—as it will be extreamly desireable to furnish Mr. Milnes with a proper plan both how it ought to be conducted & how the Regalia, Furniture and other Expenses are to be born I have reasons to expect that I shall have some important comm^{ts}. from a very respectable source which shall communicate to you on their arrival.

I remain

Dr. Sir & Br.

Your Obt. Servt. & Bro.

Charles Whiteley.

At the same time as Rowley was offering his devoted services to Robinson, he was writing to Whiteley *about* him in a rather different strain. Hanson quotes Rowley's letter of the 24th October, 1816, and I take the liberty of repeating the relevant portion:—

. . . I most certainly from the commencement of the Busyness have thought that the Wakefield Lodge intended the P.G.L. should be attached to them, and I have no doubt in my mind, but that Mr. Robinson entertains full confidence of his being appointed D.P.G.M., but tho' I entertain the greatest respect for Mr. Robinson's character and respectability, yet it is my decided opinion that the person filling the office of D.P.G.M. should be a man of busyness, respectable in his connections, and well skill'd in the New System of Masonry . . . Your idea of more than one attending to present the various Petitions along with Mr. Robinson will have more weight with the P.G.M. than Mr. R. going alone and will also be a means of preventing any undue influence which might otherwise be exercis'd . . .

I would again remark that I have the best of opinions of the Members composing the Lodge of Unanimity but independent of that, I do say that I see many obstacles in the way of their comprising all the Principals in the P.G.L. . . .

This letter indicates clearly enough that Whiteley and Rowley had been putting their heads together about Robinson and *Unanimity*. They were unquestionably suspicious of Robinson, but with what justification I cannot say. I have studied the voluminous archives of *Unanimity* with great care, searching for some hint about Robinson's possible ambitions, but have found nothing. The picture I form from the records is that of a "plain, blunt man"—a typical Yorkshire craftsman, whose contact with the Provincial Grand Master lay in his trade of cabinet-maker. He appears to have moved with natural ease in a Lodge drawn chiefly from the professional and military classes, with a sprinkling of the local landed gentry. He must have been a man of "character and respectability", as Rowley acknowledges, though what the latter had in mind as his ideal of a "man of busyness" is difficult to say. I am afraid that Rowley and Whiteley had ambitions for themselves, and that they were a little jealous of Robinson's presumed opportunities for self-advancement. Indeed, Sheffield and Halifax began to be nervous about the whole affair, and cast about for ways of limiting Robinson's influence. Joshua Jones, the Master of *Probity*, now took a hand and wrote to Robinson a few days after Whiteley had written:—

Mr. Robinson
W.M. of Lodge of Unanimity
Wakefield

Halifax Oct. 27 1816

Sir & Brother

Having received a letter from Bro. Rowley whose Sentiments coincide with ours, viz., that it would be more decorous & consistent with the Respect due to our worthy P.G. Master to wait on him personally—say a few of us—and Bro. Rowley having mentioned that he would meet Bro. Whiteley and my self together with you at any time for that purpose, we propose if Monday the 4th November will suit our P.G. Master to pay our respects to him at Frystone Hall and will for that purpose come over to Wakefield on Sunday the 3rd Nov. Should you also be able to spare Monday to accompany us we could have two or three hours conversation on Sunday. If this meets your Approbation will you have the goodness to write a line to our P.G. Master to know whether Monday the 4th November would suit his convenience to receive us—if it does please to send us word immediately and we will apprise Bro. Rowley who I have no doubt will join us on Sunday at Wakefield. I am certain you will think with me this is not only the best, but the most proper mode of acting & it will give an Opportunity in Conversation of advancing many things that cannot well be brought into a Memorial. I remain, with fraternal regard, Sir & Brother,

Yours most respectfully,

Josh. Jones

W.M. of Lodge of Probity No. 84.

I think that Jones was well acquainted with the views held by Rowley and Whiteley. His suggestion that Robinson might accompany the Deputation "if he was able to spare the time", is sufficient evidence. Robinson easily saw through the manœuvre, and in his reply, quoted by Hanson, he pointed out that it would be even better tactics, as well as more courteous to the Provincial Grand Master, to sound the latter gently at first "and hint to him the Intention of the West Riding Lodges". Robinson was quite blunt about the Halifax proposal, and preferred his own methods: ". . . With due submission, it will come easier to him than bursting all at once with a Deputation."

He added :

“ We shall be exceedingly glad to see you at Wakefield and accompany you to Fryston, but I think, indeed we think, it may as well be suspended till you hear from me again, which will be as soon as I can see, or hear, from the P.G.M.”

A similar letter was sent to Rowley at Sheffield. In it Robinson asked for the map showing the position of the Lodges. Hanson says that Rowley wrote to Whiteley asking for instructions. We do not know what reply Whiteley sent, but Rowley wrote to Robinson enclosing the map.

Sheffield 5th Novem. 1816

Dr. Sir & Bror,

Your esteem'd favour of the 1st inst. came to hand in due course—you will find enclos'd the map given to me by Bror. Whiteley according to your request.

When you have waited upon the P.G.M. shall be happy in being informed when it is intended the Body should wait upon him and also the result of your application as well as any other matter you may think proper to communicate.

I remain with respectful regard to all the Brethren of the Lodge of Unanimity.

Dr. Sir & Bror.

Your obedt. and Hble. Servt.,

Will: Rowley.

Meanwhile, something was happening that Rowley did *not* know about. The *Probity* Brethren, very angry with Robinson, had decided to take matters into their own hands. On the 7th November, 1816, they resolved to send a Memorial *by post* to the Provincial Grand Master, with a copy to London, and this was accordingly done. There is no evidence that the other Lodges were consulted; Rowley does not appear to have been informed until after the event. No reasons are advanced for this rather high-handed independent action; it seems that Halifax was now really afraid that Wakefield were stealing a march on them, and that if the proposals were accepted, *Unanimity* would be another *Apollo* and supply most of the officers.

What has been said above is, I think, a fair inference from the emphasis laid, in the Memorial, on the desirability of drawing “not more, if possible, than one officer from each Lodge”. That they were afraid of Robinson is evidenced, I suggest, by the arguments directed against him. The Regulations stated that a Deputy Provincial Grand Master must be a Past Master, and as Robinson was *Master* of *Unanimity* it was held that he was not a *Past Master*, and was therefore ineligible for the post of Deputy. This was a quibble; he had been Master in 1803 and 1804, and had held the Chair of *Unanimity* continuously from 1812 to 1816, so the title of Past Master could hardly be withheld.

Yet Whiteley displayed an almost unseemly eagerness to foil Robinson. Hanson quotes from the copy of the Memorial in the *Probity* Minute Book, but, curiously enough, the actual Memorial preserved in Grand Lodge Library contains passages which are not in the *Probity* copy. The sentences in question are quite clearly directed against *Unanimity* and Robinson.

“ . . . as the Provincial Grand Lodge is a representative Body composed of the Provincial Grand Officers, also the Past Masters, Masters & Wardens of every Lodge under its jurisdiction, it ought not to be attached to any particular Lodge (as is the case at present) but should be a separate and distinct Body of itself . . . ”

There can be no doubt that the memorialists had Wakefield in mind.

“ . . . That it is highly requisite for the good of Masonry for the Deputy Provincial Grand Master to be also of highly respectable Character and the Man of Business, well qualified in the absence of the Provincial Grand Master to execute the Duties of that important Office, and the Constitutions provide that the Deputy Provincial Grand Master shall be a Past Master and consequently not an acting Master of any private Lodge . . . ”

If this is not directed against Robinson, at whom is it aimed? These are extracts from the Memorial sent by Whiteley to one of the Grand Secretaries, Harper, on the 9th November, 1816, but they are not in the copy of the Memorial recorded in the *Probity* Minute Book. Was Whiteley acting independently, and was he conducting a private campaign? Otherwise why copy one Memorial into the Lodge Minute Book (presumably the version approved by the Brethren of *Probity*) and send another (containing thinly-veiled aspersions against the Wakefield Lodge and its Master) to the Grand Secretaries in London?

We do not know how close Robinson was to the P.G.M., but something must have come to his ears ; on the 30th December, 1816, he relinquished the Chair of his Lodge after five years' tenure, and appears in subsequent minutes as "P.M." He continued, nevertheless, to be the channel of communications to the Provincial Grand Master, and steadfastly pursued the course upon which the Lodges had originally agreed.

Direct action did not advance the cause of Rowley and Whiteley very much. Rowley wrote to Halifax on the 8th November, 1816,¹ saying that he approved the action taken by Halifax, and undertook to persuade the Lodges in Sheffield and neighbourhood to follow the example of *Probity*.

Grand Lodge appeared in no hurry to act, though the Grand Secretaries passed the documents to Milnes for his consideration. The *Probity* Brethren cannot have been too well pleased when Robinson wrote to them a month later, saying that he had seen the Provincial Grand Master, who "had received a Plan and some Petitions", but did not quite understand the intention of them. Robinson goes on to explain at length that he had much conversation with the Provincial Grand Master, discussing all the difficulties of the proposal and making various alternative suggestions. This discussion, of course, was just what the Sheffield and Halifax Brethren wanted to avoid, and they must have been much chagrined to find that they had stated their case in detail to the authorities, only to have the matter discussed privately by the Provincial Grand Master with Robinson.

However, the latter seems to have acted with commendable propriety and, so far as I can tell, with no intention whatever of securing personal advantage. The matter rested with the Provincial Grand Master, who was to appoint a day to receive a Deputation, and he promised he would write to Robinson when he was ready.

Accordingly, on the 19th January, Milnes wrote suggesting Monday, the 3rd February. Robinson wrote to the Master of *Probity*, asking him and Whiteley to form part of the Deputation. He wrote to Rowley on similar lines, and invited them all to *Unanimity*, which was to meet on the same day.

The Deputation accordingly assembled, presumably on the Sunday. They must have been an interesting group, with their conflicting interests, their private ambitions and their hidden jealousies. Did the Halifax contingent come shamefaced and downcast at having been found out in their double dealing? Or did Whiteley bluster and brave it out? After studying his portrait and reading Hanson's account of his early Masonic career, I incline to the latter view.

Whiteley and Jones represented Halifax ; they had been Masons for 16 and 12 years respectively. Rowley and Tomkin came from Sheffield ; they were no strangers to the Wakefield Lodge, having been exalted to the Royal Arch in the Unanimity Chapter in 1797.

Robinson and Dixon were the representatives from *Unanimity*. Robinson was the oldest Mason amongst them, having been initiated in 1792 at the age of 36. Dixon was 31 when he became a Mason in 1803. It was, therefore, a party of middle-aged gentlemen who set off on the morning of the 3rd February, 1817, to visit Mr. Milnes at Fryston Hall. We do not know how they travelled ; there is no item in the Cash Book for horse hire or for expenses of travelling, but we may be certain that the journey would be made by coach.

The only record we have of the interview is the minute of the meeting of *Unanimity* later on the same day:—

Lodge of Unanimity held at the Black Bull Inn, Wakefield, Monday, the 3rd February, 1817

Present:	Josh. Senior	W.M.
	G. H. France	S.W.
	Wm. Tinnings	J.W. p.t.
	D. Dixon	T & Secry. p.t.
	Jno. Robinson	P.W.M.
Visitors:	Br. Rowley & Br. Tomkin	from Sheffield
	Br. Whiteley & Br. Jones	from Halifax
	J. Baumforth	Tyler

The Lodge was opened in the first Degree and a Lecture given, when Brothers Robinson, Dixon, Rowley, Tomkin, Whiteley and Jones, who had this Day been at Fryston to wait upon the Provincial Grand Master, came into the Lodge and made their Report, saying that Mr. Milnes had received them in a very handsome manner and that he had promised to give every attention possible to the Business they were come upon and that he would also present the Memorial (then preparing) to his

¹ Hanson, *loc. cit.*, p. 250.

Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex at the next meeting of the Grand Lodge. The six Brethren then Dined with the Provincial Master, who afterwards Regaled them with plenty of choice Wine, and also gave several Loyal and appropriate Toasts — after the above account had been heard the Lodge was closed in due form.

It is fairly certain that the Provincial Grand Master rapidly grasped the situation, perceived the little jealousies and ambitions, promised to take action, and with inimitable courtesy turned the occasion into a pleasant and harmonious entertainment. According to the *Probity* records, Jones, on his return to Halifax, reported that the Provincial Grand Master “perfectly agreed with the substance of the Memorial”.

Robinson would be accustomed to the magnificence of Fryston and to the lavish generosity of Mr. Milnes, but the Sheffield and Halifax Brethren would be a little awed. They appear to have said nothing to their own Lodges about the dining and wining. It seems that a new Memorial was to be prepared and signed by several Lodges, and in due course, as appears from the *Probity* records, this document went forward to Pemberton Milnes.

That gentleman must have acted with unwonted speed, for in July, 1817, only a few months after the visit to Fryston, the new Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) was in effect constituted by the appointment of Pemberton Milnes as its Provincial Grand Master. The Hon. Lawrence Dundas became Provincial Grand Master for a Province which combined the other two Ridings.

Now, at long last, the time had surely come for several “respectable Brethren to fill the offices” of the new Province. The first step was to appoint a Deputy, whose advice would largely determine the distribution of the offices. The Halifax and Sheffield Brethren must have had their qualms. Would the Provincial Grand Master turn to Wakefield, where he had so many personal interests? Would he draw his officers from *Unanimity*, the great Yorkshire Lodge steeped in the tradition of Richard Linnecar, the Masonic home of the local gentry, the Lodge in which his father and predecessor may have been initiated and certainly received the Second and Third Degrees? Would Robinson, who had acknowledged links and influence with Pemberton Milnes, be chosen as Deputy?

The fears of *Probity* and *Britannia* were quite groundless. Milnes did not choose Robinson; he did not choose anyone. *Unanimity* did not become another *Apollo*; it did not thrust its claims forward. In fact, Milnes, from whom the new Provincial Grand Lodge emanated by virtue of his patent, never called it together.

Faced by the task of organising his new Province, and, as I think, a little disappointed by the reluctance of *Unanimity* to save him the trouble, he lost interest in the whole matter, and resigned his position less than four years after his appointment.

What happened in West Yorkshire in these four years? The *Probity* records, as quoted by Hanson, throw little light on the matter, although there are several letters about the Provincial Grand Master. In one of them, from Dr. M. J. Naylor, the Chaplain of *Unanimity*, Milnes is represented as almost despairing of the general co-operation of the Lodges. The minutes of *Unanimity* do not give much assistance; the Brethren met regularly, but few ceremonies were performed, and the work consisted usually of Lectures in one or more degrees. It is a curious fact that not until the 6th September, 1819, is there so much as a mention of the new Province, and then only in connection with a proposed meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge in Leeds. Between 1817 and 1822 there is no Cash Book entry showing payments to Provincial Grand Lodge.

From the scraps of information available, I fear we must draw the conclusion that “lack of general co-operation” was a mild understatement. I am afraid that the Brethren in the Province were much at variance. They wrangled about everything, and it is probable that their quarrels about Provincial office delayed the functioning of the Province. The Brethren from the Lodges outside Wakefield were almost incredibly suspicious of *Unanimity*, and in the end drew from Dr. Naylor a direct rebuke:—

Permit me to assure you, both for myself and the Lodge of *Unanimity*, that no Brethren can be more desirous than we to see the Provincial Lodge established in the most respectable and independent manner, nor can any be more averse to doing anything that is mean, or that shall have a tendency to prefer private advantage to the general good of the craft.¹

This was strong language from the respected Chaplain of *Unanimity*. But Whiteley was relentless and determined in his opposition to Wakefield, and in the pursuit of his own ends. As soon as he heard of Pemberton Milnes' resignation, he wrote to the Secretary at Leeds suggesting a meeting of all the Masters of Lodges in the Province, to recommend a new Provincial Grand Master. It was suggested that this meeting should be held in Leeds, and Whiteley expressed the view that future meetings of the Provincial Grand Lodge should also

¹ Hanson, *loc. cit.*, p. 261.

be held in Leeds. He thought that the Wakefield Brethren would object to this suggestion, preferring their own town, so he recommended Bradford as an alternative for the meeting of Masters. Anywhere but Wakefield ! In this letter Whiteley mentions the name of Viscount Pollington, later Earl of Mexborough, as a possible successor to Milnes.

The meeting was duly held—at Bradford. Leeds had begun to take a prominent part in the disputes about the Province, and some of the suspicion attaching to Wakefield began to be transferred to them. A printed record of the business transacted at this meeting was circulated, and from this we learn that it was the two Leeds Brethren who in fact nominated Lord Pollington. A petition was drawn up and forwarded to the Duke of Sussex on the 26th February, 1821.

Many more moves were made ; the interest of Lord Dundas, Deputy Grand Master, was sought and obtained, and the latter took action and wrote to the Grand Secretaries. The letter is filed in Grand Lodge Library:—

4 Dec. 1821

Before I left London His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, W.G.M., did me the honor to tell me that Mr. Milnes, Provincial G.M. of the West Riding of Yorkshire, had resigned that situation and H.R.H. was pleased to signify his wish that a proper person to fill the vacancy should be recommended.

I have the satisfaction to state that I have heard from Lord Viscount Pollington that his Lordship would be most happy to fill the situation and I am confident that his appointment would give very general satisfaction to the Lodges in that Province.

I have therefore to request that, when H.R.H.'s convenience affords you an opportunity, you will present my humble duty to His Royal Highness and state to him that in obedience to His Royal Highness's command I beg to recommend Lord Viscount Pollington as a fit person to fill the situation of Provincial Grand Master of the West Riding of the County of York.

I remain, etc.

Dundas, D.G.M.

In acknowledging this letter on the 7th December, 1821, the Grand Secretaries venture to hope that H.R.H. will be induced to acquiesce in the recommendation. They must have acted either with knowledge or with commendable speed ; Pollington's patent of appointment is dated 11th December, 1821.

There seems to have been no haste about announcing the appointment. Whiteley, self-seeking, persistent and determined as ever in his pursuit of office, wrote an impudent letter to the Grand Secretaries and was smartly reprimanded for his impatience. In the end his pertinacity was to have its reward, but not till he had suffered one or two shocks.

Lord Pollington wasted no time, and at once cut right across the dissensions and lack of co-operation. He appointed Robert Carr, Master of *Unanimity*, as his Deputy, completely ignoring the representations that "an acting Master of any private Lodge" was not a Past Master and consequently ineligible. He chose Wakefield as the seat of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and the office of the Province remained in that town for more than seventy years. The first meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held at the Black Bull Inn, the home of *Unanimity*, on the 18th November, 1822, and Robert Carr was installed as Deputy in due form.

Then came the great moment—the investiture of the officers of the new Province—the culmination of the years of planning of intrigue, of negotiation, of dispute, of hope and of disappointment. The office of Senior Warden went to a respected but comparatively unknown Mason, J. S. Beckett, of Barnsley. Charles Whiteley, to his unbounded delight, was made Junior Warden, with the title of Right Worshipful. The appointment may have been even better than he expected ; for a time all his letters to the Grand Secretaries are signed:—

“ Charles Whiteley
of No. 84 and
Provincial Grand Junior Warden for the
West Riding of the County of York.”

The persistent hatter had indeed been well rewarded for his perseverance. From Hanson's account of his somewhat turbulent early Masonic career, and from the portrait in Hanson's book, we get a fair idea of Whiteley's character. He was undoubtedly one of the chief workers for the formation of the province, but his motives were not always disinterested. It may well be that, but for his frequent self-seeking interventions, the Province might have been established earlier, and without the disharmony which marred its first few years.

Rowley became the first Registrar, and Jones, who had so ably supported Whiteley, was rewarded with the Secretaryship. Doncaster, Sheffield and Leeds received office. Wakefield

was represented by Dr. Naylor, who was made one of the Chaplains, and G. H. France, who became Superintendent of Works. The post of Secretary caused a difficulty; the distribution of offices had clearly been made with the intention of satisfying the more obvious claims while being at the same time fair and reasonable. But a Deputy in Wakefield and a Secretary in Halifax could not, in those days, be expected to work effectively together. The problem was solved by the appointment, as Assistant Secretary, of George Green, a banker's clerk and a member of *Unanimity*. An instruction was given that all business was to be done through Green, and the arrangement worked well enough.

Since its effective formation in 1822, there have been ten Secretaries of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) and five of them have come from Wakefield. One initiate of *Unanimity*, who held the position from 1885 to 1924, was Herbert George Edward Green, the grandson of George Green. The wheel has now turned full circle; the present respected and esteemed holder of the office, Bro. Charles E. Frobisher, who has adorned the position for a quarter of a century, is an initiate of *Probity*, and the Deputy Provincial Grand Master held in high regard throughout the Province—Bro. H. Clifford Smith—is also a Halifax Mason.

The next step in the organization of the Province was the installation of the Provincial Grand Master himself. Pollington chose Thursday, 3rd April, 1823, and put the arrangements in the hands of *Unanimity*. The events of the day were carefully organised; committees of the Lodge were set up to take charge of every detail. The meeting was held in the Public Rooms, Wakefield, which were first dedicated with solemn prayer in the presence of more than two hundred Brethren. Dr. Naylor has left an account of the proceedings:—

Afterwards the Provincial Grand Lodge was opened in due form and with solemn prayer. The Provincial Grand Master was then introduced in *solemn form* and presented to the deputy P.G.M. and the Lodge by the G. Master of Ceremonies. His Lordship's patent was then read aloud by the G. Secretary, after which, the duties it imposed on him and the obligations by which it bound him to the M.W. Grand Master and G. Lodge of England, were distinctly stated, and his solemn pledge, diligently to perform the same, was received. His Lordship having retired, a board of Installed Masons was duly opened, when his Lordship was again introduced, and, after having entered into the customary obligations, was solemnly installed in the Chair by the D.P.G.M. and his assistant Officers. Being placed in the chair, his Lordship continued all the Provincial Grand Officers in their respective situations for the remainder of the year. The board of Installed Masons being closed, the junior Brethren were re-admitted, when the P.G.M. was proclaimed in the usual form, and his Lordship received the customary homage of his Officers and the rest of the Brethren.

The P.G.M. addressed the Brethren, and expressed the hope that his future conduct in his high office would be satisfactory to them. Dr. Naylor delivered one of his fine orations, in which he included a short dissertation on the reasons for the formation of the Province of the West Riding. The Lodge was adjourned for a short time, to enable the Brethren to take some refreshment, and then a procession was formed to proceed to the Parish Church, where Dr. Naylor preached an inspiring sermon on the text:—

“Finally, be ye all of one mind, have compassion one of another: love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous.”

The remainder of the day was spent in one of those harmonious gatherings which have been typical of Wakefield Masonry since the earliest days, and for which the Brethren seem to have exceptional organising abilities. The following details, taken from the *Unanimity* records, throw an interesting light both on the thoroughness of the arrangements and the nature of the function:—

COMMITTEE appointed to superintend the Installation of the Rt. Honble. Lord Pollington as Provl. Grand Master for the West Riding of Yorkshire to be held on Thursday the 3rd April 1823

Bro. Kay	To see after the Music & to arrange for Service.
Bro. Clarkson	
Bro. Tyler	To distribute the Dinner Tickets.
Bro. E. France	
Bro. Dixon	To superintend the Carpenters etc.
Bro. Hird	
Bro. Goldthorp	To arrange the sittings in Church & to attend to the Ringers.
Bro. G. H. France	

Bro. Taylor	To attend to the Ladies seeing they are properly introduced
Bro. C. A. Watson	& accommodated.
Bro. Carr	To see that proper provision is made for the Dinner & to
Bro. Barker	select the Wines.
Bro. Barras	To attend to the receiving of the tickets & to take the names
	of the W.M's and their brethren on entering the Lodge.

The new Province had certainly started with full ceremony and rejoicing.

Wakefield continued to be the Masonic centre of the Province for many years. *Probity* in Halifax went into a decline ; in 1830 the Provincial Grand Secretary reported to Grand Lodge that *Probity* was three years in arrears with its subscriptions, and that the Lodge had not met for some time. An improvement was, however, thought likely to take place, and no doubt the vigour and enthusiasm inspired in the Province from its headquarters in Wakefield ultimately stimulated the old Lodge to a new lease of life.

In 1842 a memorial presented to the Provincial Grand Master praying for the annual meeting to be held in Leeds was put to the Province and defeated by a large majority. Lord Pollington paid occasional visits to *Unanimity*, of which he remained a member, and over which his Deputy presided. Successive Secretaries of the Province were chosen from the Lodge at Wakefield, and, whilst *Unanimity* never became another *Apollo*, it is undoubtedly true that in its formative years the Province was guided largely by the members of that Lodge.

It is also true to say, I think, that Wakefield played the *chief* part in placing a great and prosperous Province on a sound foundation, and whatever may have been the vanities and the private ambitions of those who set events in motion—and some were rewarded and some were not—in the end the structure, under the guidance of *Unanimity*, was well built. The Brethren of the old Lodge showed a far-sighted statesmanship for which their present-day successors may well be grateful.

And what of John Robinson, the man who more than anyone was responsible for the tactful conduct of the negotiations which led to eventual success ? His name does not appear in the list of Provincial Officers ; did he receive no reward ? The plain fact is that he did not seek reward, and had never sought it. I think he must have been offered high rank and refused it. Indeed, I submit the theory that he was offered Senior Warden, and that he declined the honour ; this would explain why a comparatively unknown Mason, J. S. Beckett, of Barnsley, who had taken no part in the long negotiations, was given that office. I think the Halifax Brethren completely misjudged Robinson ; that they pursued their own interest, and saw in his rugged integrity a check to their ambitions. Robinson was respected and beloved by his own Brethren of *Unanimity* as few of his contemporaries had been. He died in August, 1824, at the age of 68, and such was the regard in which he was held that Dr. Naylor preached a funeral sermon for him both in St. John's Church and at the Parish Church. The sermon was printed and published at the request of the members. It is an eloquent and moving address, and pays just tribute to Robinson's fine character.

Once again I must express my grateful thanks to the Master and Brethren of the Lodge of *Unanimity* No. 154 for permission to make full use of their records. I have received continuous help from the Past Masters of the Lodge, notably Bros. Lepper, Ivor Grantham and G. Y. Johnson. Bro. Worts, the Librarian of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding), has given me constant encouragement. To these, and all the Brethren who have assisted me with notes and information, I tender my appreciative thanks.

Bro. S. POPE said :—

Searching for information regarding Provincial Grand Lodges during their early days is like looking for a needle in a haystack, except that the needle is often broken into several pieces, which are seldom to be found in the same stack.

In your paper, W. Master, you have brought together much interesting information concerning the early history of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire from various sources, to which you have added new material from the Wakefield records. As during the discussion we shall hear the opinions of the East Riding Brethren, the whole will constitute a more complete picture than has hitherto been available.

Having been reared in the traditions of Kentish Freemasonry, it is by no means easy for me to even imagine a county divided into two Provinces.

Bro. Rylands suggests that whatever the Constitutions might say about the Provincial Grand Lodge emanating from its Provincial Grand Master, in the minds of the Brethren the expression "Provincial Grand Lodge" had a territorial rather than a personal significance, and that when the Halifax, Sheffield and Wakefield Brethren began their agitation for a West

Riding Province, they were concerned more with the boundaries of the area than with the prerogatives of the Provincial Grand Master.

The comparative peaceful progress of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent from an earlier date, where territorial consideration was not involved, adds weight to this suggestion. When the position of the Provincial Grand Master became vacant, a meeting was convened to nominate his successor. Those Lodges having a suitable candidate naturally supported him or a candidate from their own district, but they always appear to have agreed upon one candidate whose name was forwarded for nomination to the Grand Master. There are Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge meetings held twice a year from 1777 until 1781 and once a year from 1781 until 1813. Owing probably to economic and social conditions then prevailing, regular meetings were not again held until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the revival of Freemasonry mentioned by Bro. Rotch in his Inaugural Address took place, and they started again during the 1840's.

Of the first ten Provincial Grand Masters of Kent, there were only two, or at the most three, who had no London Masonic connections.

W.Master, I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks for your most interesting paper.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON, acting J.W., said:—

In the first place, I wish to congratulate our W.M. on the paper that he has given us; it is a good story, well told.

The only account so far published of the formation of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) is in Hanson's *History of the Probity Lodge*. This naturally tells the story from the Halifax point of view. We now have Bro. Rylands' paper, which gives us an account of what took place at Wakefield and Sheffield. Bro. Rylands must have gone to infinite trouble to collect his information. It is a surprise to find that so many original letters are still in existence.

One of the points that must strike the reader is that the Brethren at York took no part in the proceedings. For some time the Apollo Lodge of York was virtually in control of the Province and this with the tacit agreement of the Grand Lodge in London.

The Apollo Lodge was constituted in 1773 and the last Minutes of the Lodge are dated 15th October, 1788. Other meetings took place as two names were entered in the Grand Lodge Register in 1789, and the Lodge continued to make contributions to Grand Lodge up to 1805. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the Apollo Lodge lost its driving force about the time that the Secretary failed to record the Minutes.

From 1774 to 1789 the Provincial Lodge met eleven times, and during those sixteen years the only West Riding Brother to receive Provincial Honours was Richard Linnecar, of Wakefield, who was appointed Assistant Junior Grand Warden in 1785.

For about fifteen years no Provincial meetings were held; the reason for this can best be told by quoting a letter dated 8th February, 1802, from John Watson, of York, to the Grand Lodge in London:—

I am not likely soon to have a successor as P.G.S. The Lodge has not met for some years past. Our P.G. Master is so very infirm, as renders him unable to attend to the Duties of his Office; his Deputy and sevl. other of the Officers are dead, and the Lodge deserted. I was induced (in the hope of its revival) to take the whole weight upon my shoulders and have, for sometime back found it too heavy for me, as such, I was under the necessity of resigning.

Bro. J. R. Rylands has pointed out why the Provincial Grand Lodge was revived. A meeting took place in January, 1804. The Province was now under the control of the Union Lodge of York. There were sixteen Officers appointed, excluding the Deputy Provincial Grand Master; ten were members of the Union Lodge, four were members of the Apollo, one from a Hull Lodge and one name I cannot trace.

From 1804 to 1813, inclusive, nine meetings of the Provincial Lodge took place, but the only West Riding Brethren appointed to office were the Right Hon. John Lord Pollington, Junior Grand Warden in 1806 and Senior Grand Warden in 1810 and 1813; John Smallpage, John Heselton and Thomas Sherwood, all of Fidelity Lodge, Leeds, appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies, Grand Record Keeper and Grand Seal Keeper respectively, for the year 1810. There are two or three other names that I have not been able to trace.

Unfortunately, there are no full accounts of the Provincial meetings, but from the particulars available, it is clear that very few Brethren from the West Riding were appointed to Provincial Office. It must be remembered that travel in those days was by stage coach

and a journey to York from Halifax, Sheffield or Wakefield quite an undertaking. It hardly comes as a surprise to find that very few Brethren from the West Riding attended the Provincial Meetings.

The last meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire was held at York on 7th October, 1813. No further meetings were held until after the Province was divided. Two Provincial Grand Secretaries had been appointed at this meeting—Lucas Lund and John Munkman, both of the Union Lodge, York. Lucas Lund died in November, 1813, and John Munkman died in December, 1815. No one was appointed in their places, so no Executive Officer was in charge of the Province. It was at this time that negotiations were taking place to form the new Province of Yorkshire, West Riding.

The Brethren at York took no part in the division of the Province; they appear to have considered that it was the affair of the West Riding Brethren only. One point in defence of the attitude of the Brethren at York is that they did not oppose the division.

I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks proposed by the Senior Warden.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

This is the kind of paper which we have come to expect from our Worshipful Master, factual, well-conceived, and presenting little chance of criticism on material points. One can, therefore, only compliment him, and endeavour to help by adding information from other sources.

It is undoubtedly interesting to find the statement (page 17) of the Secretary of Britannia Lodge, Sheffield, to the Master of Unanimity, Wakefield, on so early a date as 31st May, 1815, that "Grand Lodge acknowledges no degree beyond that (the Royal Arch)". It is quite evident that Rowley had quickly familiarized himself with Clause II of the Articles of Union, and is just another indication that information was transmitted to the private and country Lodges in a much quicker fashion than we have hitherto been inclined to credit, especially in the case of the ritual transmitted from the Lodge of Reconciliation. Probitry Lodge claims that six of their Brethren made sixteen attendances at the Lodge of Reconciliation in London, and, in addition, they also had Philip Broadfoot at a Lodge of Promulgation held in Halifax on 18th to 22nd June, 1815. This is the one to which three of the members of Unanimity would go to receive their "Instructions according to the System of the Union". Every student of ritual, and particularly of the transactions of the Lodges of Promulgation and Reconciliation, will be interested in Rowley's letter to Whiteley, dated 24th October, 1816, and his mention of the "New System of Masonry" (page 27). This, be it remembered, was only five months after the Lodge of Reconciliation had finished its labours, and indicates the views of one who was familiar with both old and new.

Bro. Rylands states that Geo. Woodcock, who "led a heroic, but futile revolt against Grand Lodge" was initiated in Lodge 547, Sutton Coldfield, joined Unanimity, and then obtained a warrant for the removal of Friendly Lodge No. 521 from London to Barnsley. Woodcock was the first Grand Master of Wigan Grand Lodge, but he was installed by proxy from 1823 to 1825. Friendly Lodge, under his guidance, reverted to its pre-Union No. 557 in 1823, expelling those members who disagreed with the policy of separating the Lodge from United Grand Lodge, and passing resolutions to support the malcontents in Lancashire. There is no record that Friendly Lodge ever joined the Wigan Grand Lodge, yet it continued to work unrecognised, and ceased to meet after 1861. Nor is there any record of Woodcock's attendance, though his jewel as Grand Master is stated to be in the possession of Friendly Lodge No. 1513, Barnsley.

The account of the Inaugural Meeting of the Barnsley Lodge is typical of those of other Union and pre-Union Lodges at this time. For some time after the Union, the old Antients' custom of delegating the authority to one Brother to inaugurate the Lodge, was pursued. The old Warrant of the Barnsley Lodge would most likely name this Brother, and the chances are that it would be some educated person who "stood out of the crowd", and who was delegated to procure the warrant.

The Memorial of Probitry Lodge in November, 1816, directed against the attachment of Provincial Grand Lodge to any private Lodge, whose Officers then became the Provincial Officers, had its counterpart in Lancashire, where the Provincial Grand Master's Lodge was the Provincial Grand Lodge until the death of the last Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire (F. D. Astley) in 1825. The opportunity was then taken of dividing the Province into the present Divisions, Eastern and Western.

The Masonic Benefit Society mentioned in Rowley's letter of June, 1816 (page 21), had its counterpart in the many Lodge Sick and Burial Societies in Lancashire, which are recorded as having existed down to 1897.

May I end by recording my thanks to Bro. Rylands for a most interesting paper.

Bro. FRED. L. PICK writes:—

Our Master is to be complimented on a very readable and valuable contribution to our *Transactions*. This will, no doubt, inspire other Yorkshire Lodges to examine any claims to pre-eminence they possess and no doubt hats will be thrown into the ring from various quarters.

The statement of the development of the Provincial Grand Lodge from a personal to a territorial basis is interesting. The importance of the revision of the B. of C. of 1884 is often overlooked and there are still Brethren who are unaware that a similar complete revision was carried out in 1940.

The "re-union" of 1813 and the reference to "One Distinct Body" previous to 1717 are, no doubt, references to "wishful traditions" and it would be interesting to know on what authority they rested.

The story of the Friendly Lodge, Barnsley, is as interesting as it is confused. I have been unable to refer to Bro. Moulton's pamphlet, but suggest the "removal" from London was merely a subterfuge to evade the effects of the Unlawful Societies Act, 1799. Imperial George Lodge No. 78, Middleton, which "removed" under similar circumstances, has recently celebrated its Bi-Centenary. What was the Ceremony of "Consecration"? It would appear to be superfluous if it followed a removal. One found such work often carried out by the Lodge with which the Provincial Grand Master was associated and from which he selected all or most of his Officers. In the Royal Arch any neighbouring Chapter appeared to function, and at Kirkcudbright in 1809 the Ceremony appeared to consist of reading the Warrant with all respect and reverence and installing the Principals. William Henry White had still over 40 years to run as Grand Secretary. In later years his office work gave rise to much criticism in the Masonic Press, so in the amendment of the Lodge number we may see an early example of a procedure very foreign to the administrative staff of to-day.

Bro. DRAFFEN writes:—

Into what might well have been a dull-as-dust and mundane-as-mud account of the origin of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the West Riding of Yorkshire, our Master has injected a liveliness and interest that could well take its place with some of our more exciting Hollywood film scripts.

I read this paper with great interest, for I am always interested in the intrigue and the behind-the-scenes activity of our early Brethren. In this paper we are given an illuminating account of the "Warwick-the-King-Maker" activities of many of the Brethren in Yorkshire and in particular Bro. Charles Whiteley.

It was only recently that my attention was drawn to the fact that, under the United Grand Lodge of England, Provincial Grand Masters are appointed *for* a Province and not *of* a Province, as is the case in Scotland. I am not sure that this has any significance, but it may indicate to some extent the different outlook with regard to Provincial Grand Lodges north and south of the Border. While Scotland appointed its first Provincial Grand Master in 1739, Provincial Grand Lodges as such never existed until 1836, when legislation to provide for them was included in the first Scottish Book of Constitutions. That legislation provided that while the Provincial Grand Master was to be appointed by Grand Lodge (*not* by the Grand Master, as in England) and while he had authority to appoint his Deputy, his Assistant and a Provincial Grand Secretary, all the other Provincial Grand Officers were to be elected. That is still the position. I do not suggest that off-the-record and behind-the-scenes activity does not exist in Scotland when Lodges are asked to make recommendations to Grand Lodge for the appointment of a new Provincial Grand Master, but such off-the-record activities must of necessity stop there and cannot include the junior offices.

Finally, it may be a matter of interest to record that the Patent of a Scottish Provincial or District Grand Master invariably includes, engrossed on its face, a complete list of names and numbers of the Lodges within the Province over which he is appointed to preside.

Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I have read through the paper with great interest. It is a good record of the petty jealousies and intrigues of the past, which were the source of so much trouble in the Lodges, and even led to the ultimate wrecking of some of the old Lodges.

My only comment is an attempt to answer the question: "I wonder just *how* the Warrant was obtained?" Reference to Lane's *Masonic Records* shows that the Friendly

Lodge, London, lapsed about 1815, its last number being 521A. Just below this entry is another—"Friendly Lodge, Barnsley, No. 521B".

Now in the paper there is recorded a letter from W. H. White, G.S., in which he refers to a letter of 27th August, 1816, addressed to Bro. Harper individually, being unopened until Bro. Harper was there on 31st August, 1816, and answered on his request. Bro. Thomas Harper, late Deputy Grand Master of the Ancients, was apparently working with Bro. W. H. White, G.S., and at this time, shortly after the Union of 1813, they had hardly settled down.

In the latter part of the letter of 31st August, 1816, Bro. White refers to the Warrant of the Friendly Lodge having been *Indorsed*. I feel sure that if an examination could be made of the old Warrant of the Friendly Lodge, issued in London and later transferred to Barnsley, it would be found to be endorsed on the back—"Transferred to Barnsley on . . . 1816".

It was the practice of the Ancients to do this with Warrants returned to them and used to form another Lodge, the object being to circumvent the Act of Parliament of 1799 aimed at Secret Societies. There are examples of this practice in Grand Lodge Museum. The Friendly Warrant, therefore, I suggest must have been endorsed on the back and sent to Barnsley on instructions from Thomas Harper, following the practice of the Ancients, of which body he was late the Deputy Grand Master. I do not think the Moderns ever transferred an old Warrant, but issued a new one.

Bro. RYLANDS writes in reply:—

I thank the Brethren for their kindly reception of the paper. The old feuds are long since forgotten, and the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) is to-day a thriving and prosperous organisation, notable for its efficient administration and for the cordial relations which exist between its constituent Lodges.

In regard to Bro. Pope's comments, it would appear natural for the smaller provinces to have had a more uneventful history; thickly populated areas like Lancashire and Yorkshire, with their many hundreds of Lodges, could perhaps be expected to have been less peaceful in their development.

It is surprising, as Bro. G. Y. Johnson points out, that so many original letters are still in existence. Those quoted in the paper are only a selection from the *Unanimity* collection, much of which is filed in large letter books. Other bundles are stored away in deed boxes and safes, and there is naturally a good deal which does not seem to be of much interest. It must be more than 70 years since this material was critically examined, and much remains to be done. Nevertheless, I am sure that there must be other old Lodges whose successive secretaries have carefully preserved documents which would now be of the greatest interest and only await examination by the modern student.

Bro. Rogers' interesting comments draw attention to the efforts made to popularise the "New System of Masonry" immediately after the Union. The Lodge of Probity tried very hard to lead in this matter, with the assistance of Philip Broadfoot, and organised several demonstration meetings. Some of these were attended by Brethren from Wakefield, but I have been unable to trace, in the *Unanimity* documents, any record of decision to adopt the new system. It is interesting to note that, when fraternal visits were exchanged not long ago, between *Probity* and *Unanimity*, pronounced differences in the workings of the two old Lodges were observed and commented upon. I have to thank Bro. Rogers for drawing attention to several minor errors in the proof copy of the paper; these have been corrected in the printed version.

I should welcome "hats in the ring" as forecast by Bro. Pick. When an abstracted version of the paper was read to the Halifax Installed Masters' Association some months ago, it was received with much interest, and discussed with great courtesy, arousing nothing in the way of critical opposition. The position is, of course, that the facts speak for themselves, and that the overall picture of the Province is now in much more reliable perspective.

On the suggestion in the minute of 14th July, 1815, that the two Grand Lodges were "One Distinct Body previous to the year 1717 at which time the division took place", I agree with Bro. Pick that this is simply a wishful tradition. There can, of course, be no "authority" for what is undoubtedly an unhistorical statement, and in my view this was nothing more than a piece of inspired propaganda to assist in popularizing the Union. There are plenty of similar examples throughout history, and even in the modern world, inside and outside the Craft. The oft-repeated assertion that "the R.A. is the completion of the M.M. degree" is a case in point. Historically, as every student knows, it is nothing of the sort.

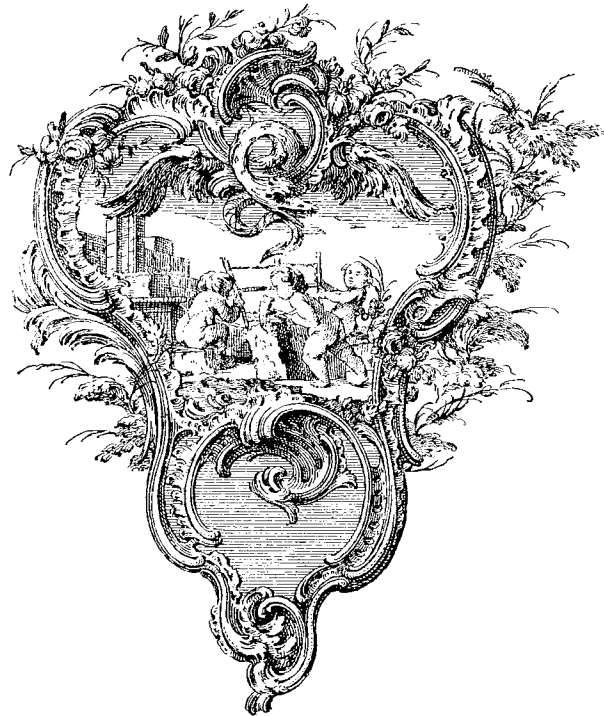
Film-rights for Q.C. papers are a new idea, but perhaps Bro. Draffen is only criticising Hollywood scripts!

I suppose there must always be "behind-the-scenes" activities in many walks of life, and to some extent in the affairs of the Craft. Indeed, when such activities are discreetly and properly managed, they result in smoother and happier administration. But it is not often that documents remain to show the trend and interplay of sectional interests, as in the present essay. Bro. Draffen's comparison with Scottish practice is interesting, especially as regards the status of the Provincial Grand Masters.

Bro. Booth's suggestions about the transfer of the *Friendly Warrant* are almost certain to be correct, but it will be rather difficult to confirm them without taking the old Warrant out of its frame. What I had in mind, of course, when I made my comment, was a reference to the item of five shillings and threepence, in the Barnsley Treasurer's Accounts for the 18th August, 1816, for:

"Treating three Masons for assisting to obtain the removal of the Lodge."

I imagine that, before Grand Lodge could indorse and transfer the Warrant, following the procedure outlined by Bro. Booth, it would be necessary to secure the consent of the few London Brethren who might still have an interest in it. In other words, the Lodge was dormant, but its Warrant had not yet been surrendered. Apparently a little judicious expenditure ensured that such consent was not unreasonably withheld!



FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1953



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *W.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, *I.P.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R. (Kent)*, *S.W.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; J. R. Dashwood, *P.G.D.*, Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; N. B. Spencer, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *as S.D.*; Dr. A. E. Evans, *C.B.E.*, *M.D.*, *J.D.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Dep.G.Sw.B.*, *P.M.*; and G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. H. Hill, T. Vernon Way, H. Carr, F. L. Bradshaw, G. Holloway, R. E. Howell, J. F. Greenfield, G. Norman Knight, W. Spencer, E. Ward, J. L. C. Mitchell, *Sir* George Boag, R. W. Rudling, T. W. Marsh, P. J. Watts, E. E. Worthington, F. Bernhart, C. H. Beynon, W. Patrick, L. Lucker, W. H. Stanyon, C. Marshall Rose, C. J. Beynon, A. F. Hatten, J. T. C. Hillman, N. Carr, A. J. Hunter, A. F. Ford, A. F. Cross, R. W. Hunter, G. P. Daynes, M. J. Wood, G. W. Watson, A. I. Sharp, H. M. Yeatman, A. Parker Smith, E. Winyard, R. A. N. Petrie, H. Davies, A. N. Guttridge, S. G. Bailey, R. W. Reynolds Davis, and A. N. Other.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. C. Head, Lodge 3160; P. J. Meekins, Lodge 101; A. M. Stickton, Lodge 917; S. W. Hollis, Lodge 1920; J. Shirley Thomas, Lodge 2650; E. Newton, Lodge 7098; Rev. G. Whitley, Lodge 5840; J. Owen, Lodge 4725; H. C. Taylor, Lodge 141; and S. C. Cripps, Lodge 2157.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., F.S.A.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, *Pr.G.Sec. (Co. Down)*; *Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W. (Derby)*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R.*, *P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R. (Durham)*, *S.D.*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dis.D.G.M. (Montreal)*; R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D. (Quebec)*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *I.G.*; G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland.

The Master referred to the lamented death of Bros. *Dr. J. Johnstone* and *Dr. E. H. Cartwright* in the following terms, and the Brethren stood to order in silence in respect to their memory:—

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES JOHNSTONE

ERNEST HENRY CARTWRIGHT

Once again, Brethren, it is my sad duty to refer to the passing of two of our members, James Johnstone and Ernest Henry Cartwright.

Both were medical men; both had reached an advanced age; both were fairly recent members of the Lodge, though both had been members of our Correspondence Circle for many years.

I knew Bro. Johnstone fairly well. In the summer of 1944 he came to live for a few months with his son in Wakefield and I had the pleasure of entertaining him in my home on several occasions. I well remember the restrained glee with which he came to see me one sunny August afternoon, to say that he had just spent a few days in Scotland and had actually seen and handled the *Graham MS.*

He lived to a ripe age; he was in his 91st year when he died on the 16th of last month. Born

in Sydney, N.S.W., he was educated in New Zealand, and subsequently studied medicine and surgery in Aberdeen, where he graduated with distinction. He widened his knowledge and experience by travel and study in the Universities of Berlin, Munich, Vienna and Paris, and was eventually elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. He settled down to practise in Richmond, Surrey, where he took an active part in many directions in public life.

His Masonic career commenced with his initiation in the Richmond Lodge in 1894, and his interest was shown by his becoming a joining member or founder of several other Lodges. He reached P.A.G.D.C. in the Craft and P.G.Std.Br. in the R.A. in 1935.

His work for our Lodge consisted mainly of shrewd comments on the papers; he joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1906, and was elected to full membership in January, 1945. His chief Masonic writings were his *History of the Lodge of Harmony No. 255* and the *Record of Richmond Lodge No. 2032*. He was a great admirer of Samuel Hemming and the Stability tradition. He had for many years been at work on a history of the Dunblane Lodge, and it is to be hoped that his material and notes may remain available. Fully aware of the importance of this research, he made several visits to Scotland in search of data. There are many anecdotes about his pertinacity in following clues—how he would approach a local laird and introduce himself as the eminent surgeon he was, and then skilfully lead the conversation round to old family records and Masonic matters. He was a great enthusiast.

Bro. Cartwright also had a distinguished medical career, and held the degrees of D.M. and B.Ch. of Oxford. He was initiated in Apollo University Lodge as far back as 1888, and subsequently joined a number of other Lodges. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in 1891, no less than 62 years ago; he was 87 when he died.

His Masonic writings were chiefly on ritual and ceremonial, and his published work appears mainly in the Transactions of the Manchester Association and in the pages of *Miscellanea Latomorum*. He will, however, be chiefly remembered for that virile work, *A Commentary on the Freemasonic Ritual*, published a few years ago. However much one may disagree, here and there, with his dogmatic utterances, the book is a joy to read. A strong and enthusiastic personality shines through its pages. I never knew Bro. Cartwright really well; I wish I had done. He must have been a stimulating companion. He was invited to become a full member of the Lodge in 1939, but at that time was unable to accept. The invitation was repeated in 1947, and he was elected in May of that year.

We can ill afford to lose eminent Brethren such as these, but the reaper does not stay his hand. Both our Brethren enjoyed their lives and their Masonry, and left the Craft in their debt.

The congratulations of the Lodge were offered to our senior member, Bro. Ivor Grantham, on his appointment as Librarian to the United Grand Lodge of England.

On ballot taken, Bro. Ivor Grantham was unanimously elected Treasurer of the Lodge.

On the motion of the Treasurer, seconded by the S.W., a sum of ten guineas was voted from Lodge funds to the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls, to be included in the Grand Secretary's personal list for the 1954 Festival.

One Provincial Grand Lodge, eighteen Lodges, one Mark Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and one study circle, and eighty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Attention was called to the following

EXHIBITS

Lent from the Grand Lodge Library and Museum:—

Facsimile of the Haughfoot "Fragment", and first Minutes.

The earliest known Royal Arch Certificate, issued to Thomas Dunckerley at Plymouth Dock in 1768.

Photograph of a Craft Certificate, in Portuguese and Latin, issued by a Portuguese Lodge at Plymouth in 1828.

Photograph of an unidentified piece of sixteenth century Tapestry, portraying "Geometria".

Photograph of a letter written by the Bishop of St. Asaph to Norroy King-of-Arms in 1725, containing allusions to the Society of Freemasons.

J.W.'s Silver Jewel (Irish pattern, engraved by Brush), formerly the property of the One and All Lodge No. 330, when attached to the Royal Cornwall Regiment of Militia, while on service in Ireland, 1811-1813.

Irish K.T. Certificate (dated 1837) issued to a member of Lodge No. 142, attached to the Royal North British Fusiliers.

French Apron, printed and hand-painted, of the early nineteenth century (Temple design).

Free Gardeners' Breast Jewel (1891).

Lent by Bro. Carr:—

Facsimile of the Minutes of Lodge Greenock Kilwinning, dated 27th December, 1728.

Lent by Bro. Lewis Edwards:—

Reproduction of a photograph of a Roman Pavement of the fifth or sixth century from North Africa; it appears in Gauckle's Catalogue du Musee Alaoui—Supp. 1, A-H (Laroux), 1910; it depicts a builder's work-yard, with the Warden giving orders, a carpenter shaping a plank, a boy pouring water on to mortar, and a column being transported in a two-horsed cart; there are also a square, a plumb-line and other implements.

It was reported that Bro. H. Carr had kindly presented to the Lodge Library the Edinburgh Apprentice Registers and Burgess Rolls; a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Carr.

A most interesting paper entitled, *The Conjoint Theory*, was read by Bro. H. CARR as follows:—

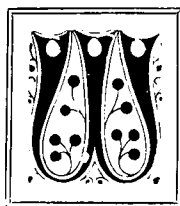
THE CONJOINT THEORY

BY BRO. H. CARR, L.G.R.

LIST OF ABBREVIATED REFERENCES AND BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>A.Q.C.</i>	- -	<i>Ars Quatuor Coronatorum</i> (Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076).
* <i>C.C.</i>	- -	<i>The Chetwode Crawley Manuscript</i> , c. 1700.
Crawford Smith	- -	<i>History of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth No. 3.</i>
* <i>Du.</i>	- -	<i>The Dumfries No. 4 MS.</i> , c. 1710.
<i>E.M.C.</i>	- -	<i>The Early Masonic Catechisms</i> , by Knoop, Jones and Hamer.
* <i>E.R.</i>	- -	<i>The Edinburgh Register House MS.</i> , 1696.
* <i>G.M.D.</i>	- -	<i>The Grand Mystery of Freemasons Discover'd</i> , 1724.
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Gould	- -	<i>History of Freemasonry</i> (4 vols.). Poole's Edn.
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* <i>I.F.M.</i>	- -	<i>Institution of Free-Masons</i> , c. 1725.
Lyon	- -	<i>History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1.</i> Tercent. Edn.
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* <i>M.C.</i>	- -	<i>The Mason's Confession</i> , 1755 (1727?).
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* <i>M.E.</i>	- -	<i>The Mason's Examination</i> , 1723.
* <i>M.F.</i>	- -	<i>The Mystery of Freemasonry</i> , 1730.
Miller	- -	<i>Notes on the Lodge Aberdeen No. 1 ter.</i>
Poole	- -	<i>The Substance of Pre-Grand Lodge Freemasonry.</i> <i>A.Q.C.</i> , lxi.
* <i>Pritchard</i>	- -	<i>Masonry Dissected</i> , 1730.
* <i>Sloane</i>	- -	<i>The Sloane MS.</i> , B.M. 3329, c. 1700.
Smith	- -	<i>The Old Lodge of Dumfries (Dumfries Kilwinning No. 53).</i>
* <i>T.C.</i>	- -	<i>The Trinity College, Dublin, MS.</i> , 1711.
Vernon	- -	<i>Freemasonry in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire.</i>
Vibert	- -	<i>The Second Degree, A Theory.</i> <i>A.Q.C.</i> , xxxix.
Wallace-James	- -	<i>The Minute Book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge.</i> <i>A.Q.C.</i> , xxiv.
* <i>W.I.M.</i>	- -	<i>The Whole Institution of Masonry</i> , 1724.
* <i>W.I.O.</i>	- -	<i>The Whole Institutions of Freemasonry Opened</i> , 1725.
Wilkinson	- -	<i>The Wilkinson MS.</i> , Knoop, James and Hamer.

* Reproduced in *The Early Masonic Catechisms*, by Knoop, James and Hamer.



HEN Vibert, in his *Second Degree—a Theory*¹ examined the stages which led to the evolution of the Trigradal System, he began with a premise which was substantially confirmed by the discovery (in 1930) of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, 1696.

Vibert premised that *the first degree of the original bigradal rite was a two-pillar ceremony.*

This assumption was generally accepted as though it were a proven fact. Indeed, only one writer, our late Bro. H. Poole, recorded some doubts on this point,² and it is clear that as far back as 1926 he had begun to evolve a theory which flatly contradicted Vibert's premise.

In 1948, Bro. Poole put his ideas into print in his famous essay on *The Substance of Pre-Grand Lodge Freemasonry*.³ It was a completely new and revolutionary theory, and the universal respect which all his works enjoyed is in nowise diminished by the fact that on this theory we disagreed—violently.

Eventually, and under his guidance, I prepared this essay, which I hope may be deemed worthy to be read in conjunction with "The Substance." Whether any of my arguments may

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxix.

² *A.Q.C.*, xxxix, p. 232.

³ *A.Q.C.*, lxi.

be said to controvert his or not, we both had the satisfaction of knowing that it was he who set me to undertake the task, advised me while I was working on it, and led me to the sources which provided most of my material. For all these I now acknowledge my deep gratitude and indebtedness.

Briefly our purpose is

- (1) To determine, as far as possible, the nature and esoteric content of the Operative Masonic rite, and whether Vibert's premise of "Conjoint" usage was correct.
- (2) To propound a "theoretical framework" in explanation of the transition from the bigradal system of the old Scottish Operative Lodges, to the trigradal system of the early eighteenth century, and to test our theory in the light of documentary evidence from authentic sources.

Limitations of space have made it necessary to omit from this essay considerable passages of explanatory matter, and the paper is now divided under two main headings, as follows:—

Part 1. The nature and contents of the Operative bigradal rite.

The "Conjoint Theory" and the evidence upon which it is founded.

A critical examination of the points of Bro. Poole's theory.

A collection of cases from the Scottish Minute-Books which may serve to test the validity of both theories.

Part 2. The Trigradal Rite.

The Advent of the Third Degree.

The Catechisms in the transition stage.

Evidence in the Catechisms relating to the Trigradal System.

Stages of development.

It should be noted that we are concerned here only with Scottish evidence and practice, because it is only in Scotland that we find a sufficiency of historical and textual matter to provide a basis for argument. When documents are mentioned which are not surely of Scottish origin, this will be clearly indicated.

It is perhaps necessary to emphasize that this essay is not an examination of modern Masonic Ritual and practice. Our study is limited to one particular phase in the development of the Masonic rite during the early years of the eighteenth century. It takes no account of subsequent changes in practice, and has no bearing whatever on the Scottish or English Ritual of the present time.

THE OPPOSING THEORIES

Bro. Poole's Theory

- (1) That the Scottish Operative rite consisted of
 - (a) An EA ceremony with a one-Pillar theme.
 - (b) A FC ceremony with another Pillar.
- (2) That the Speculatives of the Haughfoot Lodge (following the Operative practice in the case of Speculative admissions), were conferring these ceremonies jointly, thus giving their members the total of the two Scottish operative ceremonies, *as their first step*.
- (3) That they gave their members *a new FC degree which was a purely speculative addition*.

The "Conjoint" Theory

- (1) That the Scottish Operative rite consisted of
 - (a) An EA ceremony with a Two-Pillar theme.
 - (b) A FC ceremony with sign, points and an (unknown) word.
- (2) That the Operative Lodges conferred these degrees on their operative members, with a lapse of time between the two, while their Speculative members received exactly the same esoteric knowledge in the course of two ceremonies, which were usually, but not always, conferred in a single-session.
- (3) That the Non-Operative Lodge at Haughfoot used exactly the same single-session rite, and that at this date, 1702, and for some years afterwards, the operative and speculative rites were esoterically identical.

Poole's theory implied that *the FPOF ceremony outlined in the Haughfoot group of texts was a purely speculative addition*, so that when the original two operative ceremonies, after being "joined together" (as he says) by the Speculatives, were finally separated again, the FPOF automatically became the new 3rd.

The "Conjoint" theory implies that *the two operative ceremonies were never joined*; that the "conjoint" use of the Pillars had originally been the basis of the EA's ceremony; that the FPOF had originally been the basis of the Operative FC; that all the essential materials of the Trigradal Rite were already in existence in the two-degree system of the operatives; and that the Trigradal Rite was achieved by a rearrangement of the original two ceremonies, plus the development or evolution of the "Raised Master" ceremony as an expansion of the FPOF.

NOTE: Throughout this essay the terms Speculative and Non-Operative have been used synonymously. The title Non-Operative is more correct, for it is extremely doubtful whether any of the Lodges of the period understood the term "Speculative" as we know it to-day.

PART 1. THE NATURE AND CONTENTS OF THE OPERATIVE RITE

"Conjoint Theory", Point 1.

- (1) That the Scottish Operative rite consisted of
 - (a) An EA ceremony with a Two-Pillar theme.
 - (b) A FC ceremony with sign, points and an (unknown) word.

Between 1670 and 1764 we find records *in the minutes* of six Scottish Operative Lodges showing that they worked the bigradal rite associated with the "Mason Word".¹ For the esoteric contents of that ritual, and a description of the ceremonies in which they were communicated, we are compelled to examine the Masonic Catechisms and Exposures. The three earliest texts are closely related:—

- (1) The *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, 1696.
- (2) The *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, c. 1700.
- (3) The Haughfoot "fragment", 1702.

These three documents are usually known as the "Haughfoot Group" because No. 3 was found written into the opening page of the Haughfoot Minute Book in 1702, a circumstance which places a very high value upon it, since it entitles us to infer that it is a fragment of the ritual actually practised by the Haughfoot Lodge at that time. The "fragment", to be sure, furnishes very little information, but the two complete texts, ER and CC, provide a coherent narrative description of the two ceremonies of EA and FC under the heading, "The Forme of givinge the Mason Word". These two texts are virtually identical, while the "fragment" is a paraphrase of certain passages which appear in both. But none of them was copied from the other, nor from the same original, and this indicates that a number of texts (in addition to these three) must have existed at this period, and that the ritual which they describe probably formed the basis of the Masonic ceremonies in the Scottish Lodges long before 1696.

Briefly, they confirm that there were only two grades. They show that the EA received a two-pillar ceremony, with sign and grip; the FC received a FPOF ceremony, with sign, grip and an unnamed word. (At this stage there is still no trace of "legend" associated with the FPOF.)

These three documents are not merely the oldest texts of their kind, but, so far as it is possible to judge, they depict the Masonic ceremonies in their earliest-known state, and the two complete texts show the "conjoint usage" indisputably, *i.e.*, a two-pillar ceremony for the EA. But there is a mass of additional evidence of "conjoint usage" to be drawn from other documents of the same class. This evidence appears in several different ways:—

- ²(A) "Conjoint" usage by way of straightforward association of the two-pillar theme with the *Enter'd Mason*. We find this in the archaic rhyme in M.E., 1723. (See Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 66.)

It also appears as a sub-heading of the CC text, *immediately above the form of the Enter'd Prentice's oath*.³ A similar conjoint usage appears in the ER text, but here the relationship to the EA is not so clearly defined.⁴ Prichard's MD is a trigradal text, and it reproduces a version of the ME rhyme, but with a peculiarly Scottish flavour, since it speaks of the Enter'd 'Prentice⁵ and Master Mason, without mention of an intermediate grade, thus emphasising the original two-grade division, and in this rhyme, too, both pillars are associated with the EA.⁶

¹ Carr, *A Collection of References to the Mason Word*. Trans., Leics. L. of Research, 1950-51.

² With the exception of the Haughfoot group, none of the texts mentioned in (A) to (F) are of Scottish origin.

³ See Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 36.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ A Scottish designation.

⁶ See Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 118.

- (B) "Conjoint" usage in the course of "Lettering" tests, which appear as part of the ordinary catechism. *The Mystery of Freemasonry*, 1730,¹ and *Masonry Dissected*, 1730,² both contain "lettering" tests. In each case, when one word is finished, the examiner orders, "Give me another", and in this way the two words are communicated. Here, again, is evidence that the words were inseparable, and that one word alone was not enough.
- (C) "Conjoint" usage by means of an "Exchange of Words" (or initial letters) in the course of the Salutation. The Salutation was the accepted form of greeting (and perhaps a test) to be used when visiting a Lodge. It is undoubtedly one of the oldest and most consistent items in all our texts. Here we find still further evidence of joint usage. The *Sloane MS.*, at the end of the Salutation, says: ". . . and to you good fellow w^h is your name. A(nswer). J. or B."³ The Salutation in the *Graham MS.* is more explicit: "I greet you well brother craveing your name — answere J and the other is to say his is B."⁴
- (D) "Conjoint" usage by means of an "Exchange of words" as part of the ceremony. In *The Whole Institutions of Freemasons Opened*, 1726, we find that the utterance of one "word" required the response of the other, implying that the two words must be used together, or they were incomplete.⁵
- (E) "Conjoint" usage associated with a grip. In *The Grand Mystery Laid Open*, 1726, we read of a grip, which had a two-pillar title.⁶
- (F) "Conjoint" usage in response to a single test question in the catechism.

Q. Where was the first Lodge ?

In two cases, *The Mason's Examination*, of 1723,⁷ and *The Mystery of Freemasonry*, 1730,⁸ this question elicits a Two-Pillar response. This full response appears only in these two documents, but the joint usage appears in 11 texts in all up to 1730.

It is noteworthy, that with only two exceptions, all the examples of "Conjoint" usage classified above are derived from documents which envisage no more than a bigradal rite. The exceptions are:—

- (a) Prichards M.D., 1730, which was the earliest attempt to describe all the details of the Trigradal rite.
- (b) The *Graham MS.*, 1726, another early text which hints boldly at the Trigradal rite without any attempt to describe it.

In both of these documents we might reasonably expect to find the words allocated separately, each to its proper grade. On the contrary, M.D. provides two clear cases of "Conjoint" usage for the EA, see (A) and (B) above with the R.H.P. alone for the FC, while the *Graham MS.* also gives an example of "Conjoint" usage in its Salutation (see (C) above), implying that both texts, despite all ritual developments, were still preserving the ancient practice.

All this evidence from documents dated 1696-1730 may be deemed conclusive proof of "Conjoint" usage in the ceremonies which they purport to describe. The variety of the texts suggests that the practice was really widespread, and the vastly different methods used for conveying the information to the candidate (Rhyme, Lettering, Exchanging, Salutation, Catechism) are *strong indications that the "Conjoint" usage dates back to a period long before the earliest of our texts.*

Thus, the evidence for Point 1 of the "Conjoint theory" may be summed up as follows:—

- (a) The ER and CC texts as the oldest and earliest textual evidence.
- (b) The "Haughfoot fragment", showing that those texts were actual Lodge practice.
- (c) Six additional kinds of evidence of "Conjoint" usage indicating widespread practice and great antiquity.

"Conjoint Theory", Point 2.

"That the Operative Lodges conferred these degrees on their Operative members with a lapse of time between the two, while their Speculative members received exactly the same esoteric knowledge in the course of two ceremonies which were usually (but not always) conferred in a single session."

¹ Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 104.

² *ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 91.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 104.

Up to the year 1702, all the Scottish Lodges whose records survive were purely or primarily Operative, although they all admitted non-operative members occasionally. At first, these admissions were apparently restricted to the local nobility and gentry, but gradually during the seventeenth century the practice arose of admitting professional men, merchants and tradesmen, too.

With operative members, a proper trade control required that there should be a period of time (usually seven years) between admission as EA and passing FC, but with non-operative members this delay was unnecessary, and it became customary in some Lodges to admit them to the senior grade in the course of a single session.¹ It should be noted however, that this single-session rite was not a universal custom, and there is solid evidence from a number of Scottish Lodges showing that they conferred the two degrees *separately* upon operatives and non-operatives alike.²

One point here is incapable of complete proof, *i.e.*, that the non-operative members "received exactly the same esoteric knowledge". All we know is (a) that those admitted by the single-session rite acquired the senior grade in one session,³ (b) that they were thenceforward qualified to attend at the reception of both operative EA's and FC's,⁴ (c) that throughout the Scottish minutes there is never the slightest hint of a different ritual for non-operatives.

"Conjoint Theory", Point 3.

That the non-operative Lodge at Haughfoot used exactly the same single-session rite, and that at this date, 1702, and for some years afterwards, the operative and speculative rites were esoterically identical.

The Lodge at Haughfoot, founded in 1702, is the earliest *primarily* non-operative Lodge whose records survive, and the "fragment" of ritual directions which appears on its opening page, is our evidence that the Lodge actually worked the "Mason-Word" bigradal rite, which is fully depicted in ER and CC.

The Lodge minutes yield no details of the actual ceremonies, but merely confirm that there were only two grades, EA and FC, and that until the year 1707 both ceremonies were conferred in single session upon all intrants, gentry and artisans alike. We shall see later (from the records of William Cairncross and George Gray, two joining members) the evidence which shows conclusively that in all essentials the Haughfoot esoteric system did not differ from that of other Lodges.⁵

In 1707 the Lodge resolved to separate the two ceremonies, and ordered a year's interval thenceforward between the EA and FC degrees; and the nature of their separate rite is confirmed by a minute of 1710, which records the admission of two men as EA, who "rec^d the word (*i.e.*, the *Mason Word*) in Common form". The records of Aberdeen, 1670 and 1709,⁶ and Dunblane, 1729,⁷ show that the "Mason Word" was given to the EA, and this Haughfoot minute shows that when they ceased to give the two ceremonies in single-session, their EA's received the same EA ceremony (esoterically) as they would have had in any other Scottish Lodge.

The final phrase under Point 3 is another inference which is incapable of complete proof. We rely on Cairncross and Gray for our evidence that in 1702 and 1707 the non-operative ritual of the Haughfoot Lodge was identical with that which these two men from outside had received from their own operative Lodges. Within the mixed Lodges there is ample evidence to show that whatever their form of ritual might have been, it was the same for Operatives and non-operatives alike. From 1726 onwards we begin to find evidence in the *Scottish minutes* of the evolution of the trigradal system, and during the next 60 years or so, while the system very gradually took hold, there must have been substantial differences in the workings as between Lodge and Lodge. But there is no shadow of evidence that these gradual changes were the result of Non-Operative influence, or that there was ever a Speculative ritual in Scotland which differed from the Operative rite.

AN EXAMINATION OF BRO. POOLE'S THEORY

Bro. Poole's Point 1.

"That the Scottish Operative rite consisted of

- (a) an EA ceremony with a one-pillar theme,
- (b) a FC ceremony with another pillar."

¹ Lyon, pp. 85, 86, 438.

² Miller, pp. 61, 62. Smith, p. 10. Crawford-Smith, p. 76.

³ Lyon, pp. 84-86, 438.

⁴ Lyon, p. 91.

⁵ See *post* p. 49.

⁶ Miller, p. 57, and Gould (Poole's Ed.), vol. 3, p. 217.

⁷ Lyon, p. 444.

The "Mason's Confession"¹ is cited by Bro. Poole in support of this theory. Of all the Catechisms and Exposures, this is indeed the only *bigradal* text which allocates a single pillar to each grade, and for this reason alone he considers this document to represent the *Operative* rite. But there are a number of reasons which show that this conclusion cannot be justified:—

- (a) The "Mason's Confession" was published in the *Scots Magazine* in March, 1755/6, and on the compiler's own showing, it claims only to describe his experiences when he was made a Mason in 1727, twenty-eight years before!
- (b) It contains a description of the preparation of the cand., which is more detailed than any of the pre-1727 texts; this indicates that it was not merely written after 1727, but that it is descriptive of post-1727 practices.
- (c) It contains a series of penalties *incorporated in the obligation*. This is definitely a later characteristic. *There is no text of an obligation, earlier than 1730, which incorporates the penalties in this way.*
- (d) It speaks of a one-year interval between EA and FC, definitely a non-operative characteristic, and contrary to all Operative practice.

It would appear, therefore, that M.C. is an imperfect version of late working, rather than a correct rendering of early ritual, and it is not to be relied on where other evidence contradicts it.

Bro. Poole's Point 2.

"That the Speculatives of the Haughfoot Lodge (following Operative practice in the case of speculative admissions) were conferring these ceremonies jointly, thus giving their members the total of the two Scottish Operative ceremonies, *as their first step*."

The objections to this point are centred mainly on the last phrase. It is true that Haughfoot conferred its two ceremonies in single session (consecutively, not "jointly"). For some five years they continued in this fashion, and in 1707 they separated them, but both before and after the separation, the ceremonies cannot have been those outlined in Bro. Poole's Point 1 (above).

It is a fundamental point in Bro. Poole's theory that out of the habit of conferring two ceremonies "jointly", the speculatives devised a single ceremony "which they gave as their first step". There is no evidence for this and no justification for it. Bro. Poole contends that the two-pillar EA ceremony depicted in ER and CC is the result of this "joining". But the texts show no trace at all of two lots of work being "fused" into one. Because the EA received two words, Bro. Poole argues that he got the essence of two ceremonies. If two ceremonies had been joined as he suggests, we should rightly expect two signs, but there is only one. We might expect to find evidence of a double entrusting, or other textual indications of the fusion—but there is no such evidence.

We are all agreed that the "Haughfoot fragment" justifies our assumption that the Haughfoot Lodge was working the bigradal rite depicted in ER and CC. We are likewise agreed that the several texts, with their variations, indicate a much greater antiquity than the date 1696 (of ER). We know that in the seventeenth century non-operatives in the Scottish Lodges were numerically negligible; they were virtually honorary members who merely gave tone and patronage to the Lodge, *but did not interfere in any way in the conduct of its affairs*, and up to the year 1702 we have no trace of a single non-operative Lodge in Scotland. Yet, in face of all this, Bro Poole contends that the ER and CC texts represent the Masonic ceremonies, *after the speculatives had joined them together and expanded them by the addition of a new degree!*

Bro. Poole's Point 3.

"That they gave their members *a new FC degree which was a purely speculative addition*."

This unfounded conclusion was forced upon Bro. Poole as a result of his arguments in Point 2. If the EA ceremony in ER and CC contained the whole of the operative rite (as he believed), then the FC ceremony in those texts was an innovation, *ergo* a speculative addition!

Apart from my criticisms in Point 2 above, as to conclusions drawn upon insufficient evidence, (which apply equally here), there are solid objections to Point 3 based on documentary evidence.

- (1) The crux of the FC ceremony in ER and CC is the FPOF. And far from being a "Speculative addition", we are entitled to accept it as one of the oldest pieces of ceremony in the whole ritual, for it appears not only in ER and CC, but we find

¹ "The Substance", *A.Q.C.*, lxi, p. 123. "M.C." is reproduced in Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 93.

it with many variations in all but three of the seventeen catechisms and exposures which are dated up to 1730. This indicates widespread usage and great antiquity for the FPOF.

- (2) The FPOF also appear in M.C., a serious difficulty for Bro. Poole, because he held, on the one hand, that M.C. represented original operative practice ; and on the other, that the FC ceremony in ER and CC, *which contained the FPOF*, was a Speculative addition. The solution which he offered for these conflicting views, was a wholly incredible series of "moves" suggesting that the Speculatives only transferred a part of the FC ceremony when they joined up the Operative EA and FC degrees!

(A.Q.C., lxi, p. 140).

The foregoing criticisms are largely based on the inadmissibility of M.C. as depicting operative practice, and on the absence of evidence to justify the main points in Bro. Poole's theory. In the following chapter we quote some of the Scottish minutes to show the procedure for admission of operatives and non-operatives, and records which may serve to test the validity of both theories.

CASES

(1) In August, 1634, Lord Alexander, Sir Anthony Alexander and Sir Alexander Strachan, who were admitted fellow-crafts in the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, only one month before, were present at the admission of three operative apprentices and one fellow-craft. (Lyon, p. 91.) This is typical of many similar records which provide clear evidence that these gentlemen-masons received in one evening all the esoteric information which was spread over two ceremonies for operatives ; but, as usual, there is not the least hint that they had anything more.

(2) The Old Lodge of Dumfries (now Dumfries Kilwinning No. 53) was a primarily operative Lodge, and, except for their clerk, I have been unable to trace any admission of speculative members. Their regulations, however, clearly envisaged such admissions, and it seems quite possible that some of the early names which appear in their minutes are of non-operative members. Under the date 2nd June, 1687, we read:—

"As also they enact y^t every persone y^t is ane mechanick and enters prentise to the Lodge sall pay them ten lib Scots wt gloves and entertainment to the brethren and qv enters as no mechanick sall pay [blank] Scots money wt gloves and entertainment to the brethren, and qv sall enter thereafter as fellowcraft sall pay fyve lib Scots wt gloves and entertainment." (Smith, p. 10.)

Clearly, no distinction was drawn between speculatives and operatives in the *manner* of admission. The speculative entrance-fee (omitted in the minute) was doubtless higher, and a later regulation orders that operative disputes could only be settled by operatives, but, apart from this, they were treated alike, and it seems that the Lodge continued to work a two-degree ritual for both classes of member until 1749.

(3) Scoon and Perth was a primarily-operative Lodge with a substantial non-operative membership. In January, 1729, they recorded the admission of an Operative EA:—

"Compeared before the above Master and Honourable Company Robert Grive, who as he says, *has been entered prentice in the Lodge of Kirkaldie*, and being freed from his obligations to the said Lodge upon his promising to enter prentice in this Lodge, and being this day examined by the above named Master and Warden, they and the rest of the Honourable Company enter him prentice, and having payed the Dues to the other Lodge they aquit him from paying new Dues to this Lodge."

(Crawford-Smith, p. 81.)

The fact that an *operative EA from another Lodge* was able to prove himself EA at Scoon and Perth proves conclusively that they must have been working the normal operative rite.

(4) Dunblane was also a mixed-membership Lodge, though primarily operative. In 1729 it admitted two joining members, both EA's from the operative Lodge of Kilwinning. One of them was a merchant, and certainly non-operative:—

"Compeared William Rankine, yor. mercht. in Dunblane, and Andrew Wright, at Mill of Fintry, who declared that they were entered apprentices to the Lodge of Kilwinning, compeared, desiring this lodge might enter them apprentices to their said lodge, and pass them therefrom to be fellows of craft, which being considered by the members of Court, they ordain James Muschet to examine them as to their qualifications and knowledge, who having reported to the lodge that they had a

competent knowledge of the secrets of the Mason Word, they the said Lodge after entering them apprentices pass them to be fellows of craft of this Lodge.” (Lyon, p. 444.)

In the four quotations above, I have shown very briefly

- (a) that the esoteric content of the single-session rite was equal to that of the two ceremonies when conferred separately ;
- (b) that, apart from this, the admission ceremonies were normally the same for operatives and non-operatives ;
- (c) the admission of an operative EA in a mixed Lodge, showing identity of working ;
- (d) the admission of a non-operative EA in a mixed Lodge, again showing identity of working.

But the main arguments of Bro. Poole’s theory are founded on the practices of the Lodge of Haughfoot, because that was the only non-operative Lodge known to be in existence at that time, and it is only in their records that we can be sure we are dealing with purely non-operative practice.

The Haughfoot minutes run from 1702-1763, and in all that time there appear to have been only two *joining* members.

Haughfoot, 14th Jan., 1704.

“ . . . William Cairncross, Mason in Stockbridge gave in his petition desiring Liberty to associat himself w^t this Lodge, which being considered, and he being Examined befor the meeting, they were fully satisfied of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow Croft, and therfor admitted him into their society as a member theirot in all tyme comeing upon his solemne promise in the termes of the society ament which he accordingly gave . . . ”

(Reproduced from the Minute Book.)

Here is the detailed record of the admission of an operative joining-member, “Wm Cairncross, *Mason* in Stockbridge”. He was examined before the meeting, and by *Speculative standards* was found to be “a true entered apprentice and fellowcraft”.

Now, according to Bro. Poole’s theory, it would have been impossible for an operative to possess the esoteric knowledge which would enable him to prove himself FC in a speculative Lodge. Yet this minute is evidence beyond all doubt that Cairncross *was fully qualified*, and the only theory that can explain this state of affairs is that the operative rite and the Haughfoot speculative rite were, at that date, identical.

It might be argued that Cairncross was not an operative Mason and had received the speculative rite in some other Lodge, but this argument cannot stand. There is no trace of the existence of another speculative Lodge at this date, and it is clear that none of the mixed Lodges can have been working the speculative rite which Bro. Poole attributed to Haughfoot.

On this question of Cairncross’ status, the later minutes of this meeting afford final and indisputable evidence. Cairncross was admitted *without fee*, and on the same day his son, George Cairncross, was made a mason, also without fee, “. . . because of his fathers being formerly a mason and now member of this lodge . . . ” (Reproduced from the Minute Book.)

The minutes of 1707 record the admission of the second joining-member, who appears to have been an operative, being described as an “entered Mason”. The entry was recorded in somewhat similar terms to that of Wm. Cairncross:—

“George Gray in ffaims Lonend petitioned as formerly an Enterd Mason for Liberty to associat himself with this Lodge which being considered and he Examined they were satisfied y^t he was a true Entred apprentice and ffellow croft, and therfor Admitted him into their society as a member y^t of upon his Solemn Engadgement in the termes of the Society which he accordingly gave and paid to the Boxmaster one pund Scotts.”

(Reproduced from the Minute Book.)

It is quite evident that Gray was a fully-qualified FC, according to Haughfoot standards, and the Lodge had no new esoteric matter to entrust to him. If the Haughfoot FC degree was a speculative addition or innovation, how could George Gray, an “entered Mason”, have satisfied them that he was “a true entered apprentice and fellowcraft”?

These two cases provide the complete answer to Bro. Poole’s theory, for they show beyond all reasonable doubt that the Haughfoot Lodge was not practising the altered and expanded ritual which he attributed to that Lodge. On the contrary, they provide full confirmation of Point 3 in the Conjoint Theory, *i.e.*, “that at this date the Speculative and Operative rites were esoterically identical”.

THE ADVENT OF THE THIRD DEGREE

The fact that individual Masonic ceremonies at a certain time contained particular distinguishing features cannot safely be used as an indication of their contents at an earlier date, and although many of the old Scottish minutes record the conferring of a third degree, there are no records which depict the transition stage from the bigradal to a trigradal system, and only one most interesting minute which tends to show how the changes took place.

But, so far as the Lodges as a whole were concerned, this transition was a very gradual business, for there was no supreme Masonic authority in Scotland ready to undertake the task of stabilising the ritual, or vested with powers to bring about such changes. Indeed, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland came into being in 1736, there is ample evidence that the vast majority of Scottish Lodges ignored its existence and went their own ways.

The earliest Scottish minutes relating to the third degree are in the records of the Lodge of Dumbarton Kilwinning No. 18, S.C. In January, 1726, when the Lodge was founded, there were eight master Masons among the founders. The first minute reads:—

“At the Lodge of Dunbritton the 29th day of January 1726. The which day being the first Meeting of the Masons there after their constitution, when there were present—

John Hamilton, Grand Master, accompanied with seven Master Masons, six fellows of Craft and three Entered prentices. The Box being got of the table by authority and each having thrown in his free offering, which with the papers of the constitution was ordained to be put into the box and the box of common consent to be kept in the house of Walter Williamson, one Key to be kept by John Campbell and the other by James Nicholl, the price of the box, keys and lock to be paid out of the Lodge free offerings, all of which was done and there remained in the box seven pounds two shillings Scots.”

The next minute, 25th March, 1726, reads:—

“When the brethren present paid in their quarters Compts and seven absent brethren were ordained to pay a penny extra above their quarters Compts and Gabrael Porterfield who appeared in the January meeting as a Fellow Craft was unanimously admitted and received a Master of the Fraternity and renewed his oath and gave in his entry money in the terms of the Constitution.”

This minute shows quite clearly that the third degree, the step from FC to MM, was an esoteric one, requiring the renewal of an oath.

The opening minutes of the Lodge Greenock Kilwinning No. 12, S.C., are still more explicit.

*Extracts from Original Minutes of Lodge Greenock Kilwinning
No. 12, S.C.*

Greenock, December 27th, 1728

Page 1st. The persons following viz., James Gilmor, Mason ; Robert Moor, postmaster ; Laurence Wedderspoon, Maltman ; Robert Moor, Mason ; John Anderson, Mason ; William Smith, Mason ; Daniel White, Mason, All Master Masons ;¹ William Turner, gairdner in Greenock ; James Snodgrass, Mason ; John Parker, all Fellow-Crafts ; James McBair, Gavin Montgomery ; James Carmichael and Samuel Stewart, All Entered Apprentices, having met in the house of the above Robert Moor, postmaster in Greenock, they, at said Meeting, unanimously made choice of the above James Gilmor to be their Master, Laurence Wedderspoon to be their Warden and the said Robert Moor, postmaster, to be their Box-Master ; and agreed to the following regulations, viz., . . .

³^{to} That each who shall be received Members of this Lodge shall pay into the Box when entered as Apprentices One pound ten shillings Scots, twelve shillings when passed Fellow-Craft, and twenty shillings Scots when raised Master Mason, besides paying the expenses of the night's entertainment . . .

These minutes are important because they bring forward by nine years the earliest mention of the conferring of the third degree in Scotland, making the Scottish date, 1726, almost contemporaneous with the English date, 1724. They also give confirmation to the evidence of a trigradal system in the *Graham MS.* of 1726.

Now, it is important to notice that the fifteen principal founders of these two Lodges were already Master-Masons in 1726-8, and there is no record to show when and where they were “raised”.

¹ Of 7 Master-masons, 5 were Operatives, 2 were Non-Operatives.

In spite of these two early references to the third degree, it seems that the ceremony was not generally practised in Scotland¹ until the late 1730's. Canongate Kilwinning No. 2 has its earliest record of a Raising ceremony in 1735; Aberdeen and Mother Kilwinning in 1736; Canongate Kilwinning from Leith (now St. David's, Edinburgh), and Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, in 1738; Scoon and Perth, 1744; Dumfries Kilwinning, 1749; Kelso, 1754.

The earliest record of the MM degree at Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, is interesting. In 1738, George Drummond, one of H.M. Commissioners of Excise (who became Grand Master of Scotland in due time) "was past a fellowcraft and also raised a master mason in due forme". But where did the W.M. and officers get their knowledge of the ceremony? The earlier minutes show no trace of it, and we find the same curious circumstance in several of the old Scottish Lodges, where records show a membership of Master-masons prior to any mention of a third degree.

The Lodge of Scoon and Perth was one of those which early accepted the authority of the G.L. of Scotland and received a "Charter of Confirmation" in 1742, in which, with sublime disregard of the facts, the Lodge is credited with having "for many years bygone . . . admitted apprentices, past fellows of Craft and raised M^r Masons . . .". (Crawford Smith, p. 103).

In fact, the Lodge did not record the Raising of any Masters until December, 1744. But in 1742 the Lodge drew up a Roll of Members, in which we find 43 EA's, 55 FC's, and 16 "Raised Masters",² and the December, 1744, meeting, at which the Raising was first recorded, shows that there were already 21 "Raised Masters" on the Roll. It was at this meeting that the Lodge enacted that the fee for this degree be half-a-guinea, thus emphasizing its official adoption of the ceremony. Here it is perfectly clear that the Lodge had been recognizing the status of "Raised Master" as a sort of side degree, for at least two years prior to its official adoption. But where had they obtained their knowledge of the third degree? The records show evidence of inter-Lodge communication, which may explain how the ceremony reached Perth, and might account for its ultimate adoption by the Lodge in 1744. The W.M. throughout the period 1740-1744 was Gideon Schaw, a Collector of Customs at Perth, and formerly a (non-operative) member of the Lodge of Journeymen at Edinburgh. In 1740, when Schaw was affiliated to Scoon and Perth, the Lodge still worked only two degrees, as witnessed by a regulation of December, 1740, fixing the separate fees for operative EA's and FC's, with higher and still separate fees for non-operatives. Soon after Schaw's affiliation he was elected Master, and under his influence the Lodge made its approach to the Grand Lodge of Scotland which resulted in the issue of the Charter of Confirmation.

There seems to be some possibility that Schaw brought the ceremony from the capital, and that it was worked by some of the Perth members under his guidance, because his name is given first on the 1742 list of "Raised Masters". But whether Schaw was responsible for the importation or not, there is no doubt that the ceremony was worked unofficially for several years prior to its formal adoption, and that all this took place during his period as Master.

The Old Lodge of Dumfries (Kilwinning No. 53) has its earliest record of the MM degree in 1749, when at least eight members of the Lodge knew enough about the ceremony to confer it; but an earlier minute of the same Lodge seems to suggest that they knew of a degree or rank of Master (as distinct from FC) as early as 1740. In August, 1740, the Duke of Queensbury and the Marquess of Annandale having made a present of 20 guineas to the Lodge, it was resolved

" . . . that they be waited on by Master, Wardens, *Masters*, three fellow craft and one entered apprentice with an address of thanks for ye above favour." (Smith, p. 20).

Here is clear distinction between Master and fellow craft; the reference may perhaps be to masters in the sense of actual employers of labour, or to Masters who had "gone through the Chair", but at this date there was still no such rank as P.M. in the sense that we know it to-day, and it is therefore possible that the minute implies that the Lodge had knowledge of the MM degree, nine years before its first record of conferring it!

The Lodge of Jedburgh was another of those primarily operative Lodges with a mixed membership. In 1739 it fixed a scale of fees for entering Apprentices and FC's, wherein "gentlemen" Masons were charged double the normal rate. At this date only two degrees are indicated in the regulation, and it would appear that no more than two degrees were known or practised in this Lodge until 1756, when two men " . . . James Turnbull and Thomas Winterup mason was entered fellow craftes and afterwards *Masters*" (Vernon, p. 158). Here (as in Mary's Chapel in 1738) the Lodge gave the second and third degree consecutively in one session.

¹ Until recently, the earliest date for the 3rd degree in Scotland was believed to be 1735.

² Here, as in the case of Greenock-Kilwinning in 1728, we find that this new step was known to both Operatives and Non-Operatives alike.

In the period 1744-1747 the Lodge records show that there was some fraternal correspondence and visiting with the Lodge of Kelso, and this type of link between the Lodges is particularly interesting as showing the principal means by which changes in ceremonial routine and procedure could be brought about. Though the Grand Lodge of Scotland had been in existence since 1736, it was not a controlling authority as it is to-day; and a vast majority of Scottish Lodges had practically ignored its existence. The Lodges either preserved their own Masonic usages or they adapted them from time to time, after being instructed in the practices of other Lodges with which they were in communication. Early records of inter-Lodge visiting are rather rare, but the Lodge of Kelso (whose minutes go back to 1701), furnishes a perfect example of this type of fraternal communication in its first record of a raising ceremony:—

“KELSO, 18th June, 1754.

The Lodge being occasionally met and opened, a petition was presented from Brother Walter Ker, Esq., of Litledean, and the Rev. Mr. Robert Monteith, 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 yt 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 Brethern 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, therefor, 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.

Signed Ja: LIDDERDALE, M: ¹
(Vernon, p. 120.)

The implications of this most interesting minute will be discussed shortly. Only one more Lodge need be mentioned now, to show how slowly this new idea of a third degree was taken up *as a regular part of Scottish Masonic practice*. The Lodge of Melrose (whose minutes go back to 1674) was one of those staunchly independent Lodges which refused to have anything to do with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and it stayed independent until 1890. As late as 1796 its regulations show that it still practised only a two-degree rite, and its earliest mention of the MM degree is in 1813, when it was resolved that Diplomas should be issued to those members entitled to them. These Diplomas would be the Melrose equivalent to our present day MM certificate, but at the date of this resolution the Minutes show that the Lodge already had a number of members qualified to receive them. (Vernon, p. 46.)

We have now examined a number of Scottish minutes showing the earliest records of the introduction of a third degree, from 1726 to 1813. In the Dumbarton-Kilwinning minute, as in every other example quoted, except Kelso, we find clear evidence that the degree *was already known to some members of the Lodge before it was ever recorded on the minutes*, but all the evidence tends to show that its official adoption was very slow indeed. In the majority of cases this must have been simply because the Lodges had never heard of the degree. The Kelso minute is a perfect example of this, showing that 28 years after the degree was first recorded in Scotland, the Lodge was still unaware of its existence! But there may have been other good reasons why the Scottish Lodges appeared to ignore the ceremony, *e.g.*:—

- (1) It was an innovation or expansion.
- (2) It was not an essential part of a Mason's esoteric equipment.

¹ An extraordinary case of the Master of a Lodge recording his own raising.

- (3) It was not a pre-requisite for advancement either in the Lodges themselves, or in the trade of Masonry.

The opinion is generally held that the degree was an importation from England. Support for this theory is drawn from the close association of the two countries after the Act of Union in 1707. But even in England the introduction of this new ceremony was a comparatively slow development. When Anderson compiled the Regulations in his *Book of Constitutions*, 1723, it is certain that he knew only a two-degree system, EA and FC, and his frequent references to the Master almost invariably allude to the Master of a Lodge, except in the rare instances where, following Scottish practice, he appears to make the titles Fellow and Master synonymous.

The two degree system of Anderson's day was probably identical esoterically with the bigradal rite, which seems to have been generally worked in Scotland until the 1730's.

In the Scottish Operative Lodges we find evidence in the early eighteenth century of a reluctance on the part of EA's to take their second step of FC, because they wanted to avoid the financial obligations which the step involved (Lyon, p. 28), and in English Speculative Masonry we find a curious parallel to this reluctance for promotion. Apparently the first degree in the Scottish Operative rite, and in the English Speculative rite, gave their recipients all the esoteric equipment that was needful to enable them to mix freely and on terms of equality with their Brethren. Perhaps this was the reason which enabled Anderson (in his eagerness to invest the newly formed English Grand Lodge with powers which would bring the private Lodges under its control) to draw up the preposterous Reg. XIII, which ruled that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here, unless by a Dispensation" Had the Lodges been better organized there must have been an outcry. Instead of that they simply ignored the Regulation, and in 1725 it was repealed. Vibert¹ put forward the theory that in order to circumvent the new obnoxious Regulation, a second degree was evolved, somewhat on the lines of Prichard's FC degree, as a small portion detached from the original Dual-Pillar EA ceremony. Although Vibert's reasons for the introduction of the "new second degree" met a somewhat hostile reception, the development which he outlined found a general acceptance amongst our Masonic scholars.

We shall see, when we examine the evidence of the Catechisms and Exposures, that it may be possible to trace the gradual introduction of new esoteric and ceremonial details and to recognize the major changes; but why did the changes take place and who was responsible for them? If Vibert's theory was not proven, these two important questions remain unanswered. So far as trustworthy records are concerned, the new degree was first recorded (in 1725) in the proceedings of a Masonic musical society, who appear to have conferred it, without authority, in 1724. The earliest record of the degree in the minutes of an English regular Lodge is that of the Lodge at The Swan and Rummer, April 27th, 1727.²

English minutes relating to the Third Degree at this period are very few in number, but they show quite definitely that it was not then a pre-requisite for Office, and, for that very reason perhaps, it gained adherents very slowly, and in fact the new ceremony did not begin to achieve a general acceptance until 1732/3, three years after Prichard's publication.

Was the new ceremony a complete innovation; or was it merely an expansion of the earlier rite? In seeking an answer to this question, we are compelled, for lack of more reliable evidence, to examine the Masonic Catechisms and Exposures.

EXPOSURES IN THE TRANSITION STAGE

*Evidence of the Introduction of New Material*³

The earliest description of the Scottish bigradal rite⁴ shows a two-pillar ceremony for the EA, while the "FC or Master" received a ceremony whose main feature was the FPOF (in conjunction with an unknown word). The FPOF (regardless of trifling variations in the manner in which they are depicted) are the one "constant" in our texts,⁵ and their transfer from the second degree in the bigradal system to the third degree in the trigradal rite is so clearly marked, that this one piece of evidence becomes our principal guide as to the manner in which the third degree was evolved.

¹ The Second Degree, *A.Q.C.*, xxxix.

² Hughan, *O.E.R.*, 3rd ed., p. 45.

³ Of all the texts mentioned in this chapter, only *E.R.*, *C.C.* and the Haughfoot "fragment", and *M.C.* are of Scottish origin; the texts are all reproduced in Knoop's *Early Masonic Catechisms* and in his separately-published *Wilkinson MS.*

⁴ *E.R.*, 1696.

⁵ Of the 17 texts (including the *Wilkinson MS.* and *M.C.*) which may be dated up to 1730, the FPOF fail to appear in only three, i.e., *Du.*, *W.I.M.* and *Wilkinson*.

At this date (1696), the FC ceremony must have been a very brief affair. There is no trace as yet of legend or drama in connection with the ceremony, and we have no indication yet of what "word" or "words" were associated with the FPOF.

The *Sloane MS.*, c. 1700, is the earliest text which provides additional information on the subject, by giving an M. word in conjunction with the FPOF, but we cannot be sure that this was the missing word, omitted from the "Haughfoot" texts. Indeed, the M. word (with a number of variants) appears in several of the later texts,¹ but we also get two other groups of words, a G. group and a J. group, and any of these may have been connected at some time or other with the FPOF. In the *Whole Institutions of Freemasons Opened* (1725) the FPOF are, at one stage, clearly linked to the G. word (see Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 82, lines 7-11), and the same text associates the J. word with a "grip" which is also reminiscent of the POF (*ibid.*, lines 31-32).

The earliest hint of the G. group comes in the rhyme appended to the *Stanley MS.*, No. 1677, which is in the form of a political conundrum. Speth, with great ingenuity, was able to date the rhyme fairly exactly, 1713/1714. (Speth, *A.Q.C.*, i, p. 128.). This is the first appearance of the word in a Masonic text, but it reappears in several later documents with considerable variations in spelling:—

<i>The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd</i> (1724)	(Has both G and J)
<i>Institution of Free Masons</i> (c. 1725) - - - -	(Has both G and J)
<i>The Whole Institution of Free-Masons Opened</i> (1725)	(Has both G and M)
<i>The Grand Mystery Laid Open</i> (1726) - - - -	(Has two versions of G)
<i>The Wilkinson MS.</i> (c. 1727) - - - - -	(Has G alone)

The J. group of words appear first in *G.M.D.* (1724) and *I.F.M.* (c. 1725), the latter being a defective copy of the former:—

G.M.D. and *I.F.M.* Q. Who rules and governs the Lodge and is Master of it?
I.F.M. A. JEHOVA, the Right Pillar. (*G.M.D.* has a more cryptic reply.)

The J. word appears, again in rather cryptic context, in the *W.I.O.* (1725), and this time it is associated with a grip reminiscent of the FPOF:—

" . . . Yet for all this I want the primitive Word, I answer it was God in six Terminations, to wit, I am, and JOHOVA is the answer to it, and Grip at the Rein of the Back . . . "

Whether these words ever had a Masonic esoteric significance in those days cannot now be ascertained, but it is interesting to notice that *L'Ordre des Francs Macons Trahi*, a French exposure published in 1745, asserts that JEHOVAH was the "ancient word of a MM", which was changed after the death of Hiram.

It is clear, therefore, that the M. word which appears in *Sloane*, in conjunction with the FPOF, is not necessarily the missing word of the Haughfoot texts. It may be only one of several alternative systems which were commonly practised at that time. Nor may we ignore the possibility that the missing word of the Haughfoot second ceremony was a pillar name repeated, as in Prichard's M.D., which gave a dual-pillar usage for the EA and the RHP for the FC. *The Mason's Confession*, 1755 (1727 ?), a text which seems to envisage only two grades, EA and FC, also gives the FPOF to the FC, and states that the RHP is "a fellow-craft-word".

The possible meanings of the M. word provide an important problem in themselves. At its first appearance in the *Sloane MS.*, no translation is given. It appears again in *T.C.*, 1711, and *M.E.*, 1723, still without translation. In the *Whole Institutions of Freemasons Opened*, 1725, it appears in a new guise:—

" . . . your 2d word is Magboe and Boe is the answer to it . . . " And later we read: " . . . Magbo and Boe signifies Marrow in the Bone, so is our Secret to be Concealed . . . " (Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 82)

implying that "Marrow in the Bone" is not a translation, but merely a mnemonic. In 1726 the *Graham MS.* gives the "Marrow" phrase by itself, without the word or words from which it originated. Prichard's M.D. was the first work which claimed to give a translation, " . . . The Builder is smitten ", but by that date, 1730, the words had appeared in no less than five different texts, with spellings so distorted that it is impossible to identify the original words or their meanings. Indeed, it seems very doubtful if our ancient Brethren at that date had any idea of what the words really meant.

Nevertheless, we must accept the view that in their origin the words were proper words capable of translation or interpretation, and this suggests the strong probability that there was originally some sort of legend associated with the "words". It may be that there was

¹ *T.C.*, 1711, *M.E.*, 1723. *W.I.O.*, 1725. *M.D.*, 1730.

no esoteric significance in the original tale ; it need not even have had a Masonic origin or connection. The fact that the words appear in our old texts long before the legend, does not necessarily imply that the legend was of later creation. It may have been part of some ancient store of folk-lore or craft-lore long before it was introduced into the ritual to become the explanatory background of one of its esoteric ceremonies.

But no sign of a legend appears in our texts until the *Graham MS.*, 1726, and within the space of a few years we find at least two (if not three) variants. The *Graham* legend relates how the three sons of Noah visited his grave in the hope of discovering "the vertuable secret which this famieous preacher had", and after they had raised the body by a form of the FPOF, one of them cried out, "Here is yet marrow in this bone . . . so they agreed for to give it a name as is known to free masonry to this day . . ." (Knoop, *E.M.C.*, pp. 86, 87.)

The same extraordinary MS. contains what appear to be the relics of another legend which may have some bearing on our subject. Speaking of "Bazallieil", we are told of his dying request that he be buried in the "valey of Jehosephate", and that his tombstone should be engraved with an inscription "according to his deserveing . . . and this was cutte as follows"—

"Here Lys the flowr of masonry superiour of many other companion to a King and to two princes a brother Here lys the heart all secrets could conceall Here lys the tongue that never did reveal . . . now after his death the inhabitation there about did think that the secrets of masonry had been totally Lost . . ."

(Knoop, *E.M.C.*, pp. 87-88.)

Here is an entirely different theme. The Noah legend, above, may be described as a necromantic attempt to obtain a secret from a corpse. The theme of this Bezallieil legend may be summed up in the phrase, "Faithful unto death".

None of our other texts until Prichard's M.D. has the least hint of a legend, except the *Wilkinson MS.* The late Bro. Knoop (*Wilkinson MS.*, p. 11) was of the opinion that this text represents a working of c. 1727, but the hint of a legend is so brief that it does not help us very much:—

Q. What is the form of your Lodge ?

A. An Oblong Square.

Q. Why so ?

A. The manner of our Great Master Hiram's grave.

Prichard's M.D., 1730, provides a fully-developed legend, which is related in catechism form, and in this version the victim is Hiram, Solomon's "Master-Mason". Prichard's legend is on the familiar theme, *i.e.*, "faithful unto death", but there is a faint suggestion of the necromantic theme, too, in the account of the raising.

It is virtually impossible now to trace the line of development of this part of the ceremony. In the Noah, Bezallieil and Hiram stories, we have two complete legends and one (probable) fragment, and they are based on two distinct themes. Even if we disregard the name of the principal actor in each version, it would still be difficult to say which of the themes is older or more likely to have been the original, and we are led to believe that the variants represent the practice of different Lodges or different localities. Are the variants indicative of extreme age, or do they suggest a certain amount of editing in order to render them suitable for inclusion in the ceremonies ? One point is very clear. No matter who was concerned in the legend, the nucleus of one of the stories was certainly the description of a "physical" raising (probably on the FPOF). Regulation 3 of the Greenock-Kilwinning minutes, 1728,¹ is the earliest Scottish record which prescribes a fee for the third degree, and it suggests very strongly that the principal feature of the ceremony was a physical "raising". The *Graham MS.*, 1726, also uses the word "raised" in connection with what appears to be the third ceremony,² and the vast majority of the earliest Scottish minutes use the word "raised" in their description of the MM degree. This is also confirmed by the roll of members of Scoon and Perth in 1742,³ where those holding the new rank are mentioned for the first time under the title "Raised Masters".

Undoubtedly these "Raised Masters" had undergone an actual "Raising Ceremony", and this seems to suggest that while the Fellow-Crafts of Scoon and Perth were acquainted with the FPOF as a sort of grip,⁴ the "Raised Masters", in the course of their ceremony, received the story or legend which gave meaning to it, and which doubtless purported to explain its origin.

¹ See *ante* p. 50.

² Knoop, *E.M.C.*, p. 84.

³ Crawford-Smith, p. 107.

⁴ T.C., 1711, actually calls it a "grip".

EVIDENCE IN THE CATECHISMS AND EXPOSURES RELATING TO THE TRIGRADAL SYSTEM

The earliest evidence is to be found in the *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.*, endorsed 1711. The date of this little document is extremely important, for if it is to be trusted (and there is no valid reason to doubt it), there seem to be good grounds to believe that somewhere in England, Scotland or Ireland one of our ancient Brethren already knew of a threefold division of the Masons' secrets at that date.

The text resembles several of our earliest documents (*i.e.*, the *E.R.*, *C.C.* and *Sloane MS.*) in some respects, but it allocates the LHP to the EA with a grip; the RHP to the FC; the "Master" has a curious version of the M. word with a hint of the FPOF. This is a distinct advance on anything that had gone before.¹

The rhyme in the *Mason's Examination*, of 1723, appears to envisage a three-grade system, in which the M. word is allocated to the third grade called the "Master's Part", but, the remainder of the text does not enlighten us further on this point.²

W.I.O., 1725, is another curious text which seems to indicate a threefold division of the Masons' secrets, but it gives them in an entirely new form, allotting two words to each grade, one in response to the other.

After the words of the third grade, we read: ". . . and then to follow with the five Points of Free Masons fellowship, which is . . ." ³ Here the FPOF have been moved up into third place in conjunction with a form of the G. word, and the M. words remain in the second.

The *Graham MS.*, 1726, is the next of our documents to throw light on the evolution of the trigradal system. Part of the reply to one of its questions in the catechism, runs:—

". . . that have obtained a trible Voice by being entered passed and raised and Conformed by 3 severall Lodges . . ." ⁴

The remainder of the text does not indicate how the work was divided between the three degrees, but there is some possibility that the Noah legend with its raising on the FPOF and a version of the M. word was connected with the third ceremony.

The last text in the series of documents under review is Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730, which was, incidentally, the earliest Exposure that claimed to be "an Impartial Account . . . of . . . the whole Three Degrees". Prichard did not invent the trigradal system. It had been practised since 1724, at least in England and possibly for some time before that date. Nor did he invent the peculiar arrangement of the work as between the three ceremonies. His dual-pillar usage for the EA appears to have been inherited from very early craft practice. His use of the RHP for the FC is paralleled in *T.C.*, 1711, and in the *Mason's Confession* (? 1727). By far the major portion of Prichard's catechism can be traced back to much older workings. Only in one section of his work, the "Master's Degree", did Prichard break new ground, by presenting the Hiram legend in the form of a catechism in which the three hitherto separated elements, Legend, Points and Word, were combined into a logical unit, and the word was given a translation in harmony with its legend. The Noah story in the *Graham MS.* almost achieved the same thing when it gave the Legend, Points and a "Marrow" phrase.

Prichard's little book undoubtedly attracted considerable attention, but we cannot say now whether this was because of its correctness or merely because of the novelty of its contents. It achieved three regular editions and one pirated version within eleven days of publication, followed by many others, and was translated into French and German. Right or wrong, the actual numbers of the book in circulation must have exercised some influence on Masonic work of that era, and it is perhaps safe to assume that it played a substantial part in helping to standardise the early eighteenth century ritual.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

A survey of the development on the evidence before us shows:—

- (1) In the "Haughfoot Group" a two-degree system in 1696-1702 having a Dual-pillar ceremony for the EA and a FPOF ceremony for the FC.
- (2) In five later texts we find an M. "word" in conjunction with the FPOF, and this M. word seems to have been fairly generally accepted, although there may have been several variants, G., J., etc.

¹ Knoop, *E.M.C.*, pp. 63-64.

² *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

³ *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

- (3) *T.C.*, 1711, is the earliest text showing a three-fold division of the Mason's secrets. It is certain that this threefold division of the work was not commonly known or practised at that date. *Since the T.C. secrets reveal no additional matter beyond what was previously known*, it is important to observe that the M. Word and the FPOF previously associated with the FC ceremony, now appear for the first time in the third. This suggests that in our earliest trigradal document, the threefold arrangement was achieved by a re-arrangement of pre-existing material.
- (4) The *Masons Examination* of 1723 also puts the M. word in third place, although it does not agree with *T.C.* in its arrangement of other supposedly esoteric matters.
- (5) The next development, (in the *Graham MS.*, 1726), is the introduction of a legend, again one of several possible variants, which is coupled with the FPOF as a sort of ritual myth in explanation of their origin. By this time the trigradal system is already known in England and Scotland, although the degree is not at all widely practised, and its introduction remains very slow until after Prichard's *M.D.* in 1730.
- (6) Prichard's work retains the original two-pillar EA ceremony, and adopts the "expanded" FPOF ceremony as the "Masters Part". His second degree is a mere trifle, using the RHP—*repeated*, for its esoteric content, and having besides a fair amount of symbolical matter relating to the Temple and its Pillars, etc., with a rhyme in duet form, on the letter G., meaning God.

It will be obvious that these individual stages are not described in their proper chronological sequence, and it is important to note that they are not necessarily linked with each other. We may assume, perhaps, that stage two follows on stage one, but we have no proof of this, and since we cannot be sure of a genuine uniformity of original bigradal practices, the main line, out of the many possible lines of development, can only be a subject for conjecture.

In the light of this summary of the stages of development, let us examine again the Kelso minute of 1754, the only record which actually describes how the new degree was introduced into a Lodge previously ignorant of its existence. (See the full minute *ante*.)

The Kelso discovery seems to have been quite accidental. A ceremony and procession had been arranged at the laying of the foundation stone of a new bridge over the Tweed. It was a great day for the Lodge, and they invited representatives from Mary's Chapel Edinburgh, Canongate Kilwinning from Leith, and other Lodges to take part in the celebrations.

A Lodge meeting was held on the morning of the 17th June, 1754, at which final arrangements were made for the day, and the overseer of the building was admitted an apprentice of the Lodge.

After that, the procession and the stone-laying ceremony followed by suitable celebrations at the "Town House".

The following day, "The Lodge being occasionally met", the W.M. invited three of the Canongate representatives to act as Master and Wardens, ". . . in order y^t wee might see the method practised in passing fellow crafts in their and the other Lodges in and about Edr., . . ." and two candidates were duly passed.

Later on, "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 all over the World are composed of at least three Regular Degrees of Master, Fellow Craft and Prentice", and to remedy the defect, six of the visitors ". . . did form themselves into a Lodge of Masters . . . when they proceeded to raise . . ." five of the Kelso men. (Vernon, p. 120. *My italics.*)

Now, had the visitors' third degree been something which Kelso had practised as part of its original bigradal rite, we would not have found that note of surprise, and the forthright confession of ignorance which the minute betrays. Undoubtedly, the visitors' third degree was new to Kelso, although we have good grounds to believe that it was concerned primarily with the legend and words which form the explanatory background of the FPOF, and that its main feature was a physical "raising".

Clearly, the Kelso men, when their visitors started the demonstration, had no idea of the existence of a third degree, and it seems probable that it was the differences in the working of the *second* which brought about the discussion in which the Kelso men made their discovery of the third. What were the contents of the visitors' second degree? There are several possibilities.

- (a) It might have been almost or quite identical with the Kelso second, *i.e.*, the senior degree of the bigradal rite, embodying the "FPOF and a word" as exemplified in the Haughfoot texts.

An alternative theory is that the visitors' second was composed of esoteric materials already known to Kelso, but in a different arrangement, *e.g.*:

- (b) A combination of items to be found in the Kelso first and second, *e.g.*, "The FPOF and a Pillar" corresponding to the rite exemplified in the "Mason's Confession" of 1727(?).

If the Canongate ritual was not very advanced, they may still have had the FPOF in their second, with a third based entirely on the Legend and Raising ceremony which purported to illustrate the "Points". I am of the opinion that this was the pattern of the Scoon and Perth ritual in the years 1742-1744. They were still working a bigradal rite, *which must have contained the FPOF in its second ceremony*, and they were recognising "Raised Masters", although they did not practice the ceremony officially. If this was the case at Canongate then (a) or (b) might depict their second degree. The objection to these theories lies in the fact that Canongate had been working the trigradal rite for 16 years (Mackenzie, p. 29), suggesting an advanced state of the ritual in which the FPOF had probably been transferred from the 2nd degree to the third.

If this move had already taken place, there is yet another arrangement of the work that would fit the circumstances.

- (c) The Canongate second, conforming to the advanced state of the trigradal rite, may have been a ceremony based on the RHP alone, as exemplified in Prichard's *M.D.*, 1730, and *T.C. Dublin MS.*, 1711.

In such a case, the Kelso men watching the ceremony would have said, "But all this is part of our EA ceremony! What have you done with the FPOF?" And the answer would be, "The FPOF are now brought in as a part of the ceremony of 'raising a Master Mason', the new 3rd degree, or the Master's Part, as it is called".

Each of the alternatives outlined above, may be deemed to portray a stage in the transition from the bigradal to the trigradal systems; and each of them is in complete harmony with one or more of the texts from which our evidence must, of necessity, be drawn.

We cannot now determine whether the Canongate rite conformed to the old Haughfoot working, plus the "explanatory" third degree, *i.e.*:—

- H.1. A two-pillar ceremony for the EA.
- H.2. A "FPOF and word" ceremony for the FC.
- Plus 3. A "Legend and Raising" ceremony for the MM.

or perhaps Prichard's trigradal arrangement, *i.e.*:—

- P.1. A two-pillar ceremony for the EA.
- P.2. A RHP ceremony for the FC.
- P.3. A Legend, Raising, FPOF and word for the MM.

or the Trinity College, 1711, arrangement, *i.e.*:—

- T.1. A one-pillar Ceremony.
- T.2. Another pillar Ceremony (RHP).
- T.3. FPOF and Word for the MM.

Of these three trigradal arrangements, the Haughfoot rite plus the new third ceremony is undoubtedly the oldest. Prichard's arrangement, though published 19 years after the date of *T.C.*, seems to represent the earlier of those two versions, since it bears in its dual pillar first degree the marks of antiquity, and its repetition of the RHP for the second degree, suggests a transition state.

T.C., though a complete manuscript, is only a fragmentary text. Its eleven questions and answers are wholly conventional, and ten of them are paralleled in the majority of the earlier texts. This tends to enhance the trustworthiness of its arrangement of so called esoteric matter, and we are led to the conclusion that the change from a bigradal to a trigradal system may have taken place before 1711 and probably after 1702.

The change may have been a mere "local variation" at first, and the Kelso example shows how slowly such innovations would tend to spread as a result of neighbourly visiting.

Was the introduction of the third degree a purely Speculative innovation? If we could be sure that it was first practised in England we might be justified in giving it a Speculative parentage. But now that we have records of trigradal practice in Scotland in 1726 and 1728 almost contemporaneous with English practice in 1724, its place of origin may be considered doubtful.

So far as Scotland is concerned, in almost every case where Lodge minutes record the adoption or practice of a trigradal system, we find that the degree was known to Operatives and Speculatives alike. Is it possible that we have been too ready to ascribe the innovation to the Speculatives?

We have examined the evidence relating to the ritual in its bigradal form at the end of the seventeenth century. We have noticed its accretions and variations during the years to 1730, and we have tried to trace the system through several possible stages of development from two to three degrees.

Many questions still remain unanswered. Who was really responsible for the change? When, where and how did it begin—and why?

At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Carr on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Ivor Grantham, W. Waples, N. Rogers, G. P. Daynes, H. C. Booth, J. R. Dashwood and G. S. Draffen.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

There can be nothing but admiration for this further example of the masterly skill with which Bro. Carr uses his material, assembles and presents his facts, and diffidently offers his conclusions—all in a most happy and pleasant manner.

His last three papers must have sent many of us searching back through the volumes of our Transactions in an effort to orient ourselves intelligently in this controversy between giants. For few of us nowadays are able to speak with that command of fact and wide sweep of knowledge which marked out some of those recently departed from our midst.

How Vibert, Knoop, Poole and our late lamented Bro. Heron Lepper would have revelled in this re-opening of the old battle! Who is there left among us to-day, who is their equal in stature? Possibly the only member of the Lodge who can cope adequately with the theories now advanced is Bro. Meekren in Canada, and we look forward with great interest to his comments.

And yet we lesser ones may still, perhaps, have something to say. Most of us have regarded the early forms of admission as simple “makings”, and there is ample evidence that in the first decades of the eighteenth century “gentlemen” were “made masons” at a single session. We have assumed that, whatever the nature of the ceremonial, it was simple and not complex. These problems of the Transition are endless in their fascination and we cling to the hope that there must some day be an answer. Two schools of thought still exist, with sub-schools branching from each. There are those who feel that, somewhere and at some time, there was some sort of grand original. Shum Tuckett gave expression to one aspect of this view when he postulated the existence, at some remote period, of an extensive corpus of legendary knowledge, from a selected part of which our present rites have descended, evolved or been framed. In our present day Bro. Meekren seems to share a view not far removed from this.

Another school—and the names of Gould, Knoop and Poole come to mind—leans to some form of “fabrication” theory, though each has his own interpretation, and no two agree entirely. Meekren, I think, would reject them all indignantly on psychological grounds alone.

Yet, although I personally would not accept Murray Lyon’s views in precisely the form in which they were first put, I see no fundamental psychological objection to fabrication pure and simple. The essential point about “fabrication” in this connotation is rather “importation into masonic usage from outside sources”. This, I think, is not only possible but probable, and I see nothing in Bro. Carr’s recent excellent work against such a theory.

If we give provisional acceptance to this notion, much that is obscure might be cleared. Our modern insistence on landmarks is of relatively late date; I think that our seventeenth and early eighteenth century Brethren, whilst they inherited *something* in the way of words and catechisms, were quite uninhibited when it came to filling in explanatory detail. The collection of mythical and historical narratives which forms a large part of our O.T. is a vast, amorphous storehouse from which much could be drawn; the *Graham MS.*, with its “Noah” theory, may well be an ingenious attempt to provide an orthodox background to a myth derived from other sources.

Reading through Bro. Carr’s papers, I have once again the uneasy feeling that we are looking for something which never existed. We search for growth, development, evolution—whereas, in fact, no gradual process may have been involved. It may be that lack of knowledge leads me astray; nevertheless, I must suggest that we should allow, somewhere in our Transition theories, for a much greater element of invention, importation or fabrication than we seem to be doing.

Apart from this, I must confess that Bro. Carr's demonstration seems convincing, and I cannot, even if I would, argue against it. We all owe him our thanks for his brilliant presentation of his thesis. But there must always be one regret in considering the relation between historical research and research into scientific and technological matters. In scientific work we submit our hypotheses to the test of experimental verification; if only we could do this with historical investigations . . . !

I have the greatest pleasure in moving that Bro. Carr be offered our heartiest thanks for his excellent papers.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

I cordially support the vote of thanks which has been proposed from the chair. It is not my present purpose to seek to contribute towards the discussion; but I cannot permit this occasion to pass without expressing appreciation of one of the most outstanding contributions in the field of Masonic research during the past three decades. I share Bro. Carr's regret that Bro. Poole has not lived long enough, either to join issue with him in open lodge or to signify his acceptance of Bro. Carr's conclusions. I regret, too, that my immediate predecessor in the Treasurer's chair is no longer with us to give us the benefit of his critical comments. On several previous occasions we have had the pleasure of listening to papers from Bro. Carr—all of them expounded with clarity and precision, and bearing evidence of an analytical mind. I congratulate him upon this masterpiece.

Bro. WILLIAM WAPLES writes:—

It appears that Bro. Carr, other students, and possibly thousands of readers of the *Transactions* accept the view that Operative Lodges of working Masons practised esoteric rites similar to those of Speculative Masons, and whilst this may have been true of those Operative Lodges which from *circa* 1680-1740 adopted "Speculative" esoteric practice, surely it cannot be true of the Operative Lodges in general. It is certainly not the case at Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the ancient records of the Gilds exist and do not contain a word regarding anything esoteric. The more the history of the Gilds is investigated, the more one is convinced that it is becoming increasingly necessary to determine the true origin of Speculative Masonry and the periods when specific Operative Lodges were considered "Transitional" and finally emerged as purely "Speculative" Lodges.

I am of that school of thought which believes Speculative Masonry was something apart from Operative Masonry, although founded upon its story and traditions, and that its antiquity is under-estimated.

The "Conjoint Theory" is a valuable addition to previous contributions, and will be helpful to students who wish to study the "Transitional period" and effects. Thank you, Bro. Carr!

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It is with much pleasure that I support the resolution of thanks to Bro. Carr for his valuable paper, which is a reasoned attempt to collect all the evidence in favour of the theory that the Operative ceremonies were separate and distinct; that the "conjoint" use of the pillars was the basis of the Operative FC; and that the FPOF was originally a part of the Operative FC. Is this not the essence of the ER manuscript?

Bro. Vibert, in his Prestonian lecture for 1926, has shown that there was a distinction between Master and Fellow, that distinction being one of Gild standing, "Master" meaning an employer in the building trade, *i.e.*, one who undertook building contracts and employed Fellows and Apprentices.

Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett, in his "Hiram Legend", has also pointed out that we have actual evidence of *two* degrees in December, 1702, in the Haughfoot minutes, and also that in the "well-known curious 'Prophecy of Brother Roger Bacon', which must have been written between 11th April, 1713, and 12th August, 1714, there is a clear indication of something known to pre-1717 Operative Masons which is beyond, *i.e.*, additional, to what we have now in our EA and FC degrees".

The 1723 B. of C. contains "The General Regulations, compiled first by Mr. George Payne, anno. 1720", and Dr. Stukeley, in his Diary, tells us, under date 24 June, 1721, that these Regulations were read over in Grand Lodge, and they were "to be observ'd". The XIIIth Regulation, which Bro. Carr terms "preposterous", implies, with reasonable certainty, that "The Master's Part" existed at the time Payne drew up the regulation. There is factual evidence that the MM degree was worked in London at least by 1725, and there is a strong probability that Pritchard's MD was an attempt to make profit out of something which had, comparatively recently, been introduced. But are we yet quite sure that it was likely to have been introduced between the ER manuscript of the 1696 and the TC one of 1711? Are we yet quite sure that English evidence will not be found earlier than 1725, especially when we have regard to the XIIIth regulation?

What the paper does show is that the Scottish Lodges were very slow to adopt the MM degree, and that they were bigradal at the end of the seventeenth century. Such a case is strong for the Scottish Lodges, and Bro. Carr's case would have been stronger still for the Speculative one-ceremony rite if he had quoted Elias Ashmole, who must have received the bigradal rite in the 1646 Lodge at Warrington; his attendance at Masons' Hall, London, 36 years later, in the capacity of FC, definitely shows this, for there is no record of his being present at a Lodge meeting in the years between.

What I do disagree with him about is his statement that "it is quite safe and correct to say that Haughfoot was indeed the earliest primarily non-operative Lodge". (*A.Q.C.* lxiv, p. 59). He forgets that Ashmole wrote in his Diary "The names of those that were then of the Lodge . . ." implying that this Lodge had some previous existence, at least 56 before Haughfoot. I know that he qualifies his statement by "primarily", and bases his claim on the fact that we cannot prove that Warrington was originally founded as a non-operative Lodge. But neither is there any evidence that the Lodge continued to meet, for we must take into account that the ceremony took place during a time of civil war, when many records were destroyed, and others, as is apparent from Church registers, were very imperfectly kept.

I do agree that Bro. Carr has given us a great amount of evidence regarding Scottish Masonry in the first half of the eighteenth century, and has summarised this in a paper for which we ought to be extremely grateful. It is on this note of personal gratitude that I cordially support the resolution of thanks,

Bro. PETER DAYNES writes:—

May I add my congratulations to Bro. Carr on his most interesting paper. Bro. Carr has certainly taken great pains to lay before us all the available evidence in support of his "conjoint" theory, and I am inclined to think that he has proved his case so far as this is possible in the light of our present-day knowledge of early eighteenth century Masonic practice.

I do feel, however, that when Bro. Carr refers, as he does quite frequently in his excellent paper, to early eighteenth century "ritual" and to the "speculative and operative rites", it should also be added with some emphasis that meetings of Lodges in those far-off days were undoubtedly hearty and convivial affairs, some probably more so than others, and the accent would be on conviviality rather than on strict observance of ritual. The "ritual" or "rite" employed might quite well vary considerably on each occasion rather depending on the accuracy of memory of the participants, and possibly the degree of conviviality, as the day of an authorised written ritual had not then dawned. This probably accounts for the fact that the CC and ERH MSS. are not by any means identical in wording although their basic characteristics are similar.

It must also be remembered that both these MSS. refer to the frightening of the Candidate by "a thousand ridiculous postures and grimaces", which would certainly have led to much "horseplay", varying in character from Lodge to Lodge, whether operative or speculative. Ultimately it would seem that some, at any rate, of the speculative Lodges took active steps to put a stop to this "horseplay", as is evidenced by Bye-law No. 6 of the Maids Head Lodge, constituted at Norwich in 1724, which reads, "That no ridiculous trick be played with any person when he is admitted".

Is it not a possibility that the elimination of much of this "horseplay" had something to do with the gradual evolution of the Third Degree? The effect of such elimination would bring more dignity into the proceedings, but would also probably have the effect of curtailing them considerably. Might not the legend, which may well be of very early origin, have been introduced to fill the gap?

Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I am much interested in Bro. Carr's paper, and if I can find the time will make a few comments and send them along. So far as the Operative is concerned, one must consider the difference between the ordinary apprentice, 14/21 years, and the entered-apprentice.

This does not come into the speculative where every candidate must be of the full age of 21 years. As far as the Operative, I don't think the apprentice of 14 years on had any ceremony until his seven years were up, and he became an improver or entered apprentice, until he produced his essay or piece of work to qualify him for being made a Fellow Craft.

Bro. J. R. DASHWOOD writes:—

It seems to me that there is one point in Bro. Carr's paper which needs even more emphasis, and that is the very slender nature of the ancient ceremonies inside the Lodge (especially in the case of the second), and the fact that no secrets were taught *in* the Lodge—anything of that nature being done outside and individually, so that when a Lodge, for the benefit of its non-operative members, gave both “ceremonies” consecutively, the proceedings in Lodge in connection with the second part can hardly have exceeded a few minutes.

A point has often been made in the past that there can have been no secrets connected with the second grade, because the Statutes required at least two E.A.s to be present at its conferment; but it seems to me that all that happened *in* Lodge was the taking of a very brief O.B., containing nothing that an E.A. could not hear, and, on the Candidate's return, the same P.s of E. (“only leaving out the common judge”), which the E.A. already knew. Everything else was taught to the new FC *outside* and privately, by his “Author” as regards the secrets, and by his “Intenders” as regards the catechism. No doubt the working of the catechism *in* Lodge would be arranged for an occasion when E.A.s were not summoned, or after they had been dismissed.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN writes:—

This latest paper by Bro. Carr may be described as something in the nature of “Judge's Notes”. It sets out the two opposing theories with, as one would naturally expect, a conclusion that his own theory is the correct one.

If I were asked to make a choice, I would have to agree on the evidence before us in this paper Bro. Carr's theory is the more tenable of the two, but we want a great deal more evidence than has yet been discovered before any final conclusions can be arrived at, if, indeed, finality is ever achieved.

Both the contestants make the assumption—and it may well be a correct assumption—that the actual ceremonial in Masonic Lodges between the years under discussion are basically identical, and one must admit that this assumption is, to some extent, borne out by the various exposees which appear during those years. However, one must not forget that what we to-day term the first three degrees of Saint John's Masonry are not the *only* three degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow of Craft and Master Mason. There are, in another Rite, the same three degrees with the same three names, but basically entirely different from our own. How far back these other three degrees from this different Rite can be traced is still subject of historical enquiry, but I mention the point because it seems to me that an examination of the evidence available to us might reveal that what is undoubtedly two different opposing theories results from an examination of what was the genesis of the present two different existing Rites.

Bro. CARR writes in reply:—

I would like to thank the W.M. for his encouraging comments. I deeply regret, as he does, that we are not able to put *Q.E.D.* at the end of such a paper as this, but so long as we lack essential documents and data, many aspects of Craft history must inevitably remain outside the realms of exact science.

Bro. Waples, in his provocative opening sentence, suggests that I hold the view that some time before 1640 there was an established Speculative “esoteric practice” *which was adopted by some of the Operative Lodges.*

I earnestly hope that nothing I have said or written has conveyed this impression. We have the evidence of the Acception connected with the London Mason's Company, the Lodge at Warrington in 1646, and later the Lodge at Chester, all indicating some sort of Speculative Masonic practice, but no shred of evidence that the Speculative ritual was "adopted" by the Operatives. Bro. Waples then suggests that this may have been true of some Operative Lodges, but it cannot be true of the Operative Lodges in general. I do not believe that it could be true of any Operative Lodge at all, and, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence to support this tempting hypothesis; indeed, all the evidence appears to point in the opposite direction.

As to the absence of indications of esoteric ritual practices in the ancient Gild records, this is not surprising when we consider that the nature of the industry in the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries, with its innumerable special crafts ranging from quarrying to sculpture, did not readily lend itself towards democratic Gild organisation. Our scanty surviving evidence relating to the Masons' Gilds shows that they were chiefly concerned with social, religious and charitable works, and played no part in the industrial life of their members. In England, the Masons' Companies were virtually the Craft equivalent of the Trade Gilds, but throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "their trade functions developed along two main lines, the one concerned with the search for false work, and the other with the preservation of the monopoly of trade in the city" (Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 224). In the London Company, the Ordinances of 1356 and 1481 seem to indicate that it had originally exercised many of the functions which we associate with—the Operative Lodge. But there is no evidence of any kind of ritual or ceremony practised by the Companies, except the administration of an oath of fidelity—a procedure common to all the Gilds and Companies.

Unfortunately, English Operative Lodge records are so scarce that we are left to wonder whether they existed at all, and what functions they could have exercised in the cities where the Companies held sway.

In Scotland we are more fortunate, for we can trace the activities of the Incorporations side by side with those of the Lodge. There, the Incorporations were the trade link with municipal and burghal government, while the daily life of the Craftsmen, *e.g.*, the adjustment of disputes and the levying of penalties for infringement of trade regulations, was left in the care of the Lodge. And in those Scottish Operative Lodges we find our first evidence of the evolution of the Operative ritual—beginning with brief references to the "Mason Word" and gradually evolving into the bigradal rite which was the foundation of our modern system.

Bro. Norman Rogers quotes J. E. S. Tuckett in support of a suggestion that the rhyming prophecy of Roger Bacon is clear indication (in 1713-1714) of something "*beyond, i.e., additional to what we now have in our EA and FC degrees*". If Bro. Rogers implies that the rhyme indicates an additional degree, he may be drawing too large a conclusion from all-too-meagre evidence. The rhyme certainly suggests the existence of *additional material*, but we cannot be sure that this means an additional *degree*. It may only imply a different arrangement of "raw material" within the bigradal rite of EA and FC.

At this period, and for many years afterwards, we may expect to find all sorts of variations in the "raw material" of the ceremonies, as practised in the various Lodges. In the chapter entitled "Exposures in the Transition Stage (*ante* 53-5), I have collected the evidence relating to such variations, and although much of this material ultimately found its final place in the expanded ritual of Craft, Chair, and Chapter, I feel that there is not enough justification in 1713-14 to read the Roger Bacon rhyme as evidence of the *existence* of the trigradal system.

The interpretation and the inferences to be drawn from Reg. XIII have provided ample grounds for discussion and for wide differences of opinion. (See *A.Q.C.*, xxxix, pp. 208-253.) Bro. Rogers believes that the regulation indicates the existence of the trigradal rite in England in 1723, and that it was presumably sufficiently known and practised at that date to make it a subject for control by the Grand Lodge. I believe that the weight of evidence in the first *Book of Constitutions* as a whole (especially when taken in conjunction with Anderson's known Scottish Masonic connections) supports the view that the B. of C. only envisages a bigradal rite, and that its references to "Master" are all intended to be practically synonymous with Fellow Craft, except when the reference specifically implies the Master of the Lodge. I would particularly refer Bro. Rogers (and all who are interested) to the admirable summary of the problem in Knoop and Jones' *Genesis of Freemasonry*, pp. 269-272. The whole of the evidence and argument would be far too much for reproduction here, but I am fully convinced that it is impossible to infer the existence of a third degree from the peculiar phrasing of Reg. XIII. As to my use of the adjective "preposterous", I used the word in its O.E.D. meaning—"contrary to reason or common sense"—and I feel that the word holds good, whether the regulations intended to control the conferring of an established second degree or a newly-developed third.

Bro. Rogers' reference to Ashmole must be another point at issue between us. We assume that Ashmole was made a Mason in 1646 in a "Single-session" ceremony, but we do not know whether it was one degree or two. We know that on a visit to a London Lodge many years later he described himself as the "Senior Fellow" then present. But *we cannot be sure* that this necessarily implies a status equal to the second grade in the bigradal rite, and to deduce—as Bro. Rogers does—that he attended at Masons' Hall ". . . in the capacity of FC" is a bold assumption.

I agree with Bro. Daynes' note on the "conviviality" of early eighteenth century Masonry. The elimination of horseplay (a purely Operative survival) would certainly have had the effect of further abbreviating the already brief ceremonies. But I doubt whether the *time* thus saved would account for the introduction of any new ritual developments. I am inclined to believe that these ritual developments came with the gradual decline in the Operative scope and functions of the old Lodges, and that they were a natural allocation of ritual and secrets to each of the old Operative grades. Thus, when the almost synonymous title "Fellow or Master" had lost its Operative connotation, we find separate secrets for the FC and for the MM, and later still the Master of a Lodge, *who had originally acquired that status by election alone, and without ceremony*, also had a brief ceremony with secrets allocated to him. This does not imply that the secrets were invented—but merely "arranged" or rearranged.

Bro. Dashwood's note on the brevity of the ceremonies is a most useful one. When I was privileged recently to examine some of the earliest minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane, I found further evidence of numerous "separate" admissions at a single meeting, again indicating the brevity of the proceedings. "The fact that no secrets were taught in the Lodge." I am not sure that this was the general practice. ER and CC are, so far as I can recall, the only documents which give this hint, but the Haughfoot minutes give no hint of an "ante-room", or of the secrets being conferred "outside" the Lodge. Certainly the candidates still had to undergo some sort of entrusting ceremony on their return, and both the ER and CC describe the "rotational whisper", in which the EA received the "word" *inside* the Lodge, with a somewhat similar procedure for the FC or Master.

I can only conclude that if EA's were present they were sent outside, as they are to-day. This does not necessarily conflict with the requirement of the Schaw Statutes, which (I believe) merely intended to define the *composition* of a Lodge. The statute required that when a "master or fellow of craft" was admitted there should be six masters and two apprentices present, and later on the text required that the names of his six admitters and entered apprentices should be recorded. If the EA's had to be *inside* the Lodge, surely the statute would require the names of *eight* admitters to be booked. (See Lyon, p. 10.) In any event, the Schaw statute did not carry weight in those numerous admissions under "commission", outside or away from the Lodge, where a quorum of five seems to have been all that was needed.

Bro. Draffen makes a useful point in his warning against the assumption of a wide uniformity of ritual practice. In fact, we have so little real evidence of early ritual that we naturally tend to accept any mutually-corroborating texts (such as ER and CC) as though they depicted nation-wide practices. I am of the opinion that the variety of the material in the later exposures (say, up to 1730) may well be used as a kind of corrective to this idea of uniformity.

Bro. Booth revives the old question as to when the apprentice or EA had his ceremony, a problem which I will not attempt to answer here, because I am now engaged on a study of the old records which may provide a solution, and I hope to be allowed to present that essay to the Lodge in the near future.

I would like to thank Bro. Ivor Grantham for his kind and encouraging remarks, and a special word of thanks to our Bro. R. J. Meekren in Canada, who, despite prolonged ill-health, read this paper in its original form (when it was about five times its present length) and helped me with invaluable notes. When it became necessary to cut the paper and to reshape it for that purpose, I was able to profit by his comments.

Broadly speaking, we are so closely in agreement on the "Conjoint Theory" that I do not have to answer any major criticism from him.

My last words here are a plea that those Lodges (and other organisations) who own priceless original Masonic records, Minute-Books, Account Books, etc., should make them available by photostats and trustworthy transcripts, to be deposited in the Libraries for the benefit of all who value such records as they truly deserve.

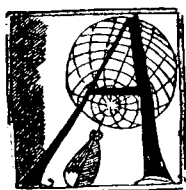


Certificate of Portuguese Lodge "Fidelity" at Plymouth, 1828
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes



Mark Certificate issued by the Lodge of Fortitude, Plymouth
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes

NOTE



PORTUGUESE LODGE IN ENGLAND.—Amongst the documents exhibited at the meeting of the Lodge held on 6th March, 1953, was a Craft certificate issued in England in 1828 by a Portuguese Lodge—"Loj. FIDELIDADE No. 14 ao Oriente de PLYMOUTH". By courtesy of the Board of General Purposes, an illustration of this certificate, and a transcript of the text, accompany this note.

An interesting feature of this certificate is the fact that the expression "ao Oriente de PLYMOUTH" appears upon the certificate as part of the printed matter, which suggests that this Portuguese Lodge was located at Plymouth for an appreciable period. That the Plymouth at which this Lodge was meeting was Plymouth in Devon is clearly established by another certificate from the Grand Lodge collection, issued to the same candidate in the following year by the Lodge of Fortitude No. 170 (now No. 105) at Plymouth, Devon, certifying that their member had "received the order of MARK Master Mason in the order of the holy St. MARK". (See the second illustration accompanying this note.) The signatures of the two candidates are identical.

The text of the Portuguese certificate, expressed in parallel columns in Portuguese and in Latin, is surrounded by an elementary Masonic design, with "PARKER Sc." in the bottom right-hand corner. The whole was printed by "R. W. STEVENS, IMPRESSOR".

Upon a pale blue ribbon attached to the right-hand margin of the certificate is a crude paper seal (not shown in the illustration) bearing an impression of a female figure holding the scales of justice, beneath which stands a dog; around the seal appear the words "FIDELIDADE PLYMOUTH".

The presence of a Portuguese Lodge in 1828 on British soil, or in British territorial waters, is a matter which calls for investigation.

IVOR GRANTHAM.

Translation of the Craft Certificate

TO THE GLORY OF THE GREAT ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE
HEALTH FIDELITY UNITY

We, the Master, Wardens & Officers of this Worshipful Portuguese Lodge "Fidelity" No. 14 in the Orient of Plymouth, do make known by this Certificate that our beloved Brother Joao Agostinho Figuera Albuquerque, who has signed his name in the margin, is a Craftsman of this Lodge in the rank of Master Mason.

Wherefore we request that all beloved Brethren dispersed throughout the whole world, will acknowledge, love & receive him, after previous examination & due approbation.

Given, signed & sealed with the great seal of our Lodge Fidelity, at the Orient of Plymouth, this 21st day of the 11th month, A.L. 5828.

Transcription of the Mark Certificate

We the Master & Wardens of the Lodge of Fortitude No. 170 held at the Freemasons' Hall, Plymth, Devon, do recommend our faithful & well beloved Br. J. A. F. Albuquerque having received the order of MARK Master Mason in the order of the holy St. Mark & during his stay with us has behaved himself worthy of HTWSSTKS and has chosen for his Mark the His Armorial Bearings as such we do faithfully recommend him to all the enlightened Mark Master Masons round the Globe.

Given under our hands and Sealed with our Lodge Seal, in open Lodge, on the 13th day of February in the Year of our Lord 1829 & Masonry 5829.

Lane's *Masonic Records* show that the Lodge of Fortitude, now No. 105, was founded on 2nd January, 1759, at the Red Lion, South Street, Plymouth, as No. 237 ("Moderns"), in the Second Division of Marines. In 1770 it received the name Marine Lodge, and the number 195; in 1780 it was called the Lodge of Fortitude, and numbered 159; it became 140 in 1792, and 170 at the Union.

It may be of interest to note that the V.S.L. on the Certificate appears to be open at the Gospel according to St. John.

REVIEW

THE POCKET HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

By Fred. L. Pick and G. Norman Knight

(Frederick Muller Ltd., London ; 10/6 net)



THE niche for this excellent little book is not so much in the library of the serious student (to whom, however, a small easy-reference history would always be useful), but in the bookcase of the young Mason, an individual ever becoming more inclined to seek answers to scores of questions relating to the rise and progress of speculative Masonry. The book is a simple, but inevitably somewhat disjointed, account of Masonic history—English, Irish and Scots—with notes on the course of Freemasonry in the chief countries of the world, and we must not ungraciously question whether the authors ever had a hope of making good their modest claim in the preface to have condensed “the whole of the history of Freemasonry in all its aspects into 283 pages”.

A word about the authors: Firstly, Bro. Fred. L. Pick, a P.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, known in person to a great many, and in name and reputation to all readers of these words; thanks are due to him for bravely stepping into the shoes of our late Bro. Herbert Poole, and contributing the early chapters, those dealing with mediæval operative and Pre-Grand Lodge Speculative Masonry. Secondly, Bro. Norman Knight, a newer acquaintance, a Barrister-Schoolmaster, associated with Herbert Poole in some of the work devolving from the preparation of the new and revised edition of *Gould*. They can be congratulated on the reasonable success of what fainter-hearted men might have regarded as the well-nigh impossible task of compressing into 130 smallish pages the story of English Masonry, starting with the Druids and ending with the initiation of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh! Ambitious? Somewhat, but actually the authors manage to give quite a neat account, in which space is found for mention of the Lady Freemason, the initiation in prison of John Wilkes, the alleged “hoodwinking” of Grand Lodge by a visiting American in 1847, Seddon’s (the poisoner’s) behaviour in Court, and a number of other choice morsels. Follows 28 pages of Irish, and 24 pages of Scots history, comes a section giving *multum-in-parvo* paragraphs on the course of organized Freemasonry in about three score European and American countries and states; but there will be doubt in many minds whether this section will earn the appreciation of the young Mason. Could not the space have been occupied by more useful material?

Final sections deal with the Royal Arch, Mark and additional degrees. The index deserving of unstinted praise, stands up to every test, and its presence converts the volume into a “quick-reference” history.

Criticism on a few points may be allowed, particularly in regard to the Irish and Scots chapters, in which occasional statements appear to err on the side of downrightiness, as for instance: “By 1760 at latest the Irish ritual had assumed the form still in use to-day.” Is no qualification necessary? “Freemasonry was firmly established in Ireland in the early part of the sixteenth century.” Firmly? “The earliest known record” of the operation of the Third Degree is found in a Scots minute (29th January, 1726) referring to “Masters, fellows of craft & Entered prentices”; surely, it is altogether most unlikely that Master Masons, the speculatives who had experienced the Hiram degree, could possibly have been intended by such wording. Other statements take for granted points around which rages much argument.

A few little slips may be referred to in the hope that in a new edition they may be emended. 1767 is given as the date of setting up the first Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch; but recently we have learned that the true date was one year earlier. “Since 1933 the offices of the [R.M. Benevolent] Institution have been housed on the ground floor of the Masonic Peace Memorial.” No; they are still on the opposite side of the street. The mention in regard to St. Helena rather suggests that there is no Lodge on the island now, but actually St. Helena Lodge No. 488, meeting in Jamestown, celebrated its centenary some years ago. On page 254, “Principal” Haggai should be our revered “Prophet”.

Addressed to the rank and file of the fraternity, this “Pocket History” will be found, on the whole, to be an acceptable introduction to what we hope many of its readers will discover for themselves to be a fascinating subject.

BERNARD E. JONES.

FRIDAY, 1st MAY, 1953



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *W.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, *I.P.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Kent), *S.W.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Dep.G.Sw.B.*, *P.M.*, Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, *P.G.D.*, Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; *Dr.* A. E. Evans, *C.B.E.*, *M.D.*, *J.D.*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *I.G.*; and H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. Bernhart, H. Jenkins, H. Davies, E. J. Casley, G. Holloway, H. G. Trainer, J. Billings, W. Young, P. N. Linton, A. Ivor Jones, J. D. Daymond, T. W. Marsh, C. T. Beynon, J. L. Smith, R. A. Pratley, J. O. Walker, G. D. Elvidge, O. J. Hunter, A. H. Berman, M. G. Bradley, L. W. Smith, K. L. Harnett, H. L. Lawrence, J. H. J. Dewey, B. Foskett, L. Bedford, G. W. Watson, G. W. Hookham, J. N. Banks, E. E. Worthington, Bernard E. Jones, W. O. P. Rosedale, C. Friedman, A. F. Cross, C. Huberman, W. H. Stanyon, M. R. Wagner, S. C. Dicker, E. Winyard, J. E. Dodsworth, G. Johnson, C. M. Roberts, D. M. Milstone, F. L. Bradshaw, D. R. Cook, A. Parker Smith, F. E. Barber, R. Abell and A. N. Other.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. S. K. Westman, Lodge 238; E. Waite, Lodge 238; F. Wein, Lodge 6997; E. Welks, Lodge 357; A. J. Moss, Lodge 3686; R. B. Button, Lodge 3341; L. G. Shittleworth, Lodge 4891; H. H. Gent, Lodge 1826; L. Craysh, Lodge 2853; J. H. Paton, Lodge 2020; K. L. Buck, Lodge 238; H. Fletcher Moulton, Lodge 238; A. A. Taylor, Lodge 5038; R. J. Buck, Lodge 2033; H. E. Crossley, Lodge 2033; D. Wolff, Lodge 3362; L. Waring, Lodge 3377.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were recorded from Bros. *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, *Pr.G.Sec.* (Co. Down); *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.* (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R.*, *P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Durham), *S.D.*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dis.D.G.M.* (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D.* (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, *P.G.D.*; G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland.

The Master referred to the lamented death of Bro. H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*, *P.M.*, in the following terms, after which the Brethren stood to order in silence in respect to his memory.

IN MEMORIAM

HENRY HIRAM HALLETT

Brethren, at each meeting of the Lodge, since I assumed this Chair, it has been my sad duty to note the passing of one or another of our members. I regret that to-day I have to add another name to the list. One of our Past Masters, Bro. Henry Hiram Hallett, died on the 5th March, actually the day before our last meeting, but the news did not reach us until some days afterwards.

Hiram Hallett was born at Wincanton, in Somerset, in 1871, and was therefore 81 when he died. He was educated at Huish Grammar School, and was by profession a teacher of commercial subjects. He succeeded his brother as Principal of Hallett's Commercial School, and also as editor of *The Reporters' Magazine*, which has the reputation of being the oldest shorthand monthly in the world. He was also a member of several professional associations connected with the vocation. A resident of

Taunton for many years, he took a prominent part in civic and social affairs, and was a Past Constable of the Court Leet of that town.

He was initiated in the Lodge of Unanimity and Sincerity No. 261 in 1910, reaching the Chair in 1926 and being appointed J.G.W. of his province in 1933. He received Grand Rank as P.G.Std.Br. in 1939.

He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1920, and was elected to full membership in 1942, being installed as Master in 1948. Many of us here present will remember the occasion and his inaugural address, in which he took as his theme the Masonic history of his own town and province.

He was interested in several other Masonic degrees, reaching P.A.G.D.C. in the R.A. in 1939, and the same rank in the Mark in 1941. He was also a Past Sov. in the A. and A. Rite.

As a Masonic author, he will be remembered chiefly for his writings on Freemasonry in Taunton, and for his contributions to the history of the Lodges of Promulgation, Reconciliation and Stability. He was in demand in his province for lectures on many Masonic subjects.

It does not seem so very long since he was presiding over us, though he rarely visited the Lodge after serving his term of office as Master. We remember him as a gentle, kindly and courteous Mason of the older generation. He was never a dominating figure, but whenever the Lodge was under his control there was always a pleasant atmosphere of peaceful friendship amongst members united in a worthy pursuit.

He leaves behind him happy memories. I ask you to rise and pause awhile in token of your esteem.

Fifteen Masonic bodies and 76 Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The congratulations of the Lodge were tendered to the following Brethren of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—

Bro. N. B. Spencer, P.A.G.D.C., promoted to P.G.D.
 Bro. H. E. Clive, *O.B.E.*, P.A.G.St.B., promoted to P.G.D.
 Bro. H. S. Bell, P.G.St.B., promoted to P.A.G.R.
 Bro. H. Ayling
 Bro. G. D. Elvidge } P.G.St.B., promoted to P.A.G.D.C.
 Bro. S. W. Parfect }
 Bro. W. J. Geall, P.G.D.
 Bros. V. A. Davis, G. Lewis, W. P. Mapowder, A. J. R. Slaney, A. E. Smith, S. A. Suffolk
 and W. G. Thomas, P.A.G.D.C.
 Bros. J. Finney, H. J. Hutchinson, W. Phillips and P. E. Worth, *M.B.E.*, P.G.St.B.
 Bro. H. H. Walton, P.A.G.St.B.

Attention was called to the following

EXHIBITS

(By the kindness of the Master of the Pilgrim Lodge No. 238)

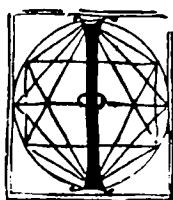
The original Warrant of the Lodge.
 The Centenary Warrant of the Lodge.
 Several other Treasures of the Lodge shown by the Lecturer.

An interesting paper, entitled *The Pilgrim Lodge No. 238*, was read by Bro. F. Bernhart, L.G.R., as follows:—

A SHORT HISTORY OF PILGRIM LODGE No. 238

(Originally No. 516)

BY FRANK BERNHART, L.G.R., P.M.



IN this history of an old and venerable Lodge which has an outstanding position amongst all the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the United Grand Lodge of England, an effort will be made to report faithfully the events of historic interest during its existence of 175 years.

Certain facts should be mentioned first. It is the only Lodge which has since its birth in 1779, first under the "Moderns" Grand Lodge, and now under the United Grand Lodge, the privilege to work in German with a German ritual. It has always been (and hopes to be again whenever possible) a strong link between English and Continental Masonry. Two world wars could not wipe out this Lodge; during its existence it has had many "ups and downs", but has managed to survive and will so continue. It is one of the nine Lodges whose members have the right to wear a distinctive Lodge jewel (in this case a gilt trowel and silver key on a sky-blue ribbon). The Lodge possesses a Master's square, of the gallows type, hall-marked 1823, and three columns representing the lesser lights, which are late eighteenth century.

On 16th August, 1779, Bro. John (actually Johann Daniel Siegfried) Leonhardi sent a letter and petition, both in Grand Lodge Library, to the Grand Secretary.

The warrant, which we still possess, signed by the Duke of Manchester, is dated 25th August, 1779. This was unusually quick, by modern standards, but no doubt the ground had been well prepared. It would now be idle to speculate about the reasons for founding the Lodge beyond those stated in the petition, and the fact that there were many German Masons at the English Court, whilst Bro. Leonhardi was the representative in England of the Grosse Landesloge von Deutschland of Berlin. We may repeat, without other proof, certain statements from previous booklets about the Lodge, in particular from the centenary pamphlet of 1879. The early minute books are missing, but we do possess a complete list of members, considerably annotated, which was begun by a Brother, unknown, certainly before 1838. There is also a very fragile but perfectly legible list of officers for a number of years ending with 1821. The Officers are shown to be: W. Master, Deputy Master, Senior Warden, Junior Warden, Secretary, Orator, Treasurer, Master (*sic*) of Ceremonies, Senior Deacon and Junior Deacon. In the years 1817 and 1818, only, an additional third Deacon was appointed. The office of Deputy Master should not be confused with "Past Master". From the dates in the annotated list of members it is obvious that the Lodge began working immediately. From the very beginning the language used was German and the ritual (until 1846), the so-called "Zinnendorf" ritual, which is a translation of the Swedish (*i.e.*, Christian) system. This is most probably the reason for the unusual set of officers. The List of Officers gives no Deputy Master or Deacons from 1779 to 1783, and in 1792 neither a Deputy Master nor a Senior Deacon. In 1786 (Leonhardi's last year in the chair), no Junior Deacon is recorded. The Office of Chaplain is never mentioned, and the first Organist was Bro. W. Ganz, in 1874. The first I.G. seems to have been Bro. C. Kupferschmidt, who was W.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1896. From 1874 there is a full list of Officers, except for Chaplain, appointed for each year.

Two incidents are found in the records of the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge; in 1781, the Grand Lodge of Germany requested permission to appoint a Representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and nominated Bro. John Leonhardi; on 7th February of that year, Grand Lodge agreed to the suggestion, and directed that he should take rank next to the Past Grand Officers. Five years later, Grand Lodge decided, on 20th June, 1786, to annul the compact with the Grand Lodge at Berlin. Bro. Leonhardi said he had always thought that a National Grand Lodge for Germany was impracticable; he would transmit the decision of the Grand Lodge of England to the Grand Lodge of Berlin.

Bro. Leonhardi was a man of varied interests and considerable linguistic ability. Among his translations into German is the *School for Scandal*. He initiated an Englishman and a

Frenchman in 1781, using English for the ceremony. Bro. Leonhardi left London for St. Petersburg on 9th April, 1787, and there he died in 1795. He took with him Bro. David Philip Dobbert, who was raised in the Lodge on 31st December, 1783, and was J.W. in both 1784 and 1785. In the list of members, Bro. Dobbert is stated to be a merchant from St. Petersburg. On the day of Leonhardi's departure the Brethren met and decided that from that time onwards the Master and all the officers should be elected each year by a majority of votes. At that meeting they elected as Master Bro. Jacob Krohn, who had been raised on 31st March, 1784. Another case of rapid advancement. Leonhardi had been Master from the foundation until he left London.

Those were anxious times. Everything was not too bright in the world outside. In 1779 Great Britain was at war with America and France. In that year, Spain began the three years' siege of Gibraltar. In 1780 Holland declared war. Yet the world progressed. In 1781 Kant first published his *Critique of Pure Reason*. 1783 brought us the Treaty of Versailles and Independence to the U.S.A. Pitt the Younger became P.M. From 1779 to 1780 the Brethren met at the Mitre Tavern, and after 1780 at the Freemasons' Tavern until 1787. The Lodge number changed more frequently. In 1779 it was No. 516, in 1780 No. 421, and in 1781 No. 422, the latter lasting for 12 years. In 1788 the Cumberland School (now the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls) published its first subscribers' list, and this Lodge is in it. The Lodge voted ten guineas to the School in 1796, 1799 and 1800. On 29th May, 1799, it was resolved to raise the initiation fee to three guineas and that the surplus half-guinea should be given to the School. These payments cannot be confirmed, as the School no longer has any records of those days, but on 10th March, 1812, it was resolved to clear arrears to the School by the payment of ten guineas and to raise the initiation fee to £6. of which 10s. 6d. should in future be paid to the School.

In the Lodge library is a copy of the fifth edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* (1784), at the back of which are entered the General and Particular By-Laws of the Lodge. The first entries are signed by Leonhardi and some of the first members of the Lodge. There is also a *Code Maconnique* in three languages. By-Law 7 reads: "Every time the L. meets there is a collection for the poor and the Master of Ceremonies has to see that no brother leaves the L. for the evening without having remembered the poor, if to the contrary, the M.C. pays for him as punishment." The entry of 1787 alters the fees, and they are again altered in 1802. In 1812 the revised Especial By-Laws are entered, now consisting of 30 paragraphs. After ten pages of signatures comes the revised By-Laws of 1843 with the same number of paragraphs, whilst a further revision is entered in 1851. Under the date of June, 1876, we find:—

1. A copy of the Original Warrant.
2. By-Laws of the Pilgrim Lodge No. 238 under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of England as revised in May/June, 1876. These consist of 28 paragraphs and is a copy of the printed By-Laws as approved by the Grand Secretary, John Hervey, on 8th January, 1877.
3. Appendix: General Rules, 13 paragraphs.
4. Masonic Code of Laws.

With the exception of the last item, which is in English, French and German, as before, the By-Laws are for the first time in English, as well as German. Under the date of 11th December, 1879, are further revisions, including the change of the day of the monthly Lodge meeting to the second Thursday. The Lodge now only has four meetings a year, but for the last 75 years it has been "second Thursday".

In 1792 the Lodge number was again changed to 340. Several of the members at that time were employees of the Royal Household. Bro. J. D. F. Thielcke (Master from 1797 to 1803) was hairdresser to Queen Charlotte. Bro. F. L. W. Meyer was tutor to the Dukes of Cumberland, Sussex and Cambridge. Bro. Charles Hanbury, first Provincial Grand Master of Lower Saxony (1800), was a member. In 1796 the W. Master was Bro. Rev. J. H. Roehrs, second Court preacher to St. James' Palace, who became a member of the Lodge in 1789. His successor at the Court was Bro. Rev. C. H. Giese, who was Master from 1805 until 1817. He died in 1818. He was in great favour at the Royal Court, as was his successor in the chair, Bro. J. G. H. Burmester. Their high standing with the Duke of Sussex would explain several events in the next few years. Bro. C. H. Giese was appointed Grand Secretary for German correspondence, and in 1816 the Lodge received the high honour of being made a "Grand Stewards' " Lodge. In 1814 the number had been changed to 435. The membership was very healthy. In 1815 there were 33 honorary members, 67 members present, and 80 absent members and children. With reference to the last term, it should be explained that when initiated a candidate became a "child" of the Lodge. He only became a member after he was raised, but had to be balloted for in a "members' Lodge". If accepted he was received and entrusted with the word and sign of a member. It must be stated with regret that both sign and word have been lost, and some years of research to find anything parallel

*To the most Noble Geo. Montagu Duke of Manchester, Grand Master
of the very Ancient & very respectable Society of Freemasons, Masters &
most Illustrious & most worshipful Grand Master*



We the undersigned Brethren free Masons, seven in Number, residing within the
City of London, being already united and with that City by the general Bonds of friendship which
characterize our Illustrious fraternity, and desiring still more to confirm them by becoming Members
of one and the same Lodge, with the liberty of addressing ourselves to you as Grand Master of all
of all free and accepted Masons within that British Dominion, praying you will be pleased to
constitute us into a new Lodge, which we, and leave to name, *Der Pilger (the Pilgrim)* and to
approve of the choice of Officers of said Lodge, & unanimously made amongst us in a particular
Assembly, held for that purpose, the fifth day of August 1779. *Witness*
of Brethren John Leonhardt, whose Zeal, capability, and Mannerick, shall be officially known
unto us, he having formerly presided with general Approbation at the Golden Ring of Golden
Ball in Hambro, to be the Right Worshipful Master of our new Lodge
of Brethren Dider Hoffmann, to be our Senior Warden, he having formerly officiated in the
same capacity in the Golden Ring of Golden Ball in Hambro
of Brethren John Wode, to be our Junior Warden, he having held the said important Office
in a Lodge of the Golden Ring of Golden Ball in Hambro

The Place we have fixed upon for our Meetings, is the Alder Tavern, West Street.

The very great Number of German Brethren resorting to this Capital, who by not under-
standing English are restrained from visiting the same, in which the Burdenship is carried on in that
Language, has determined us to adopt the German Rite for the same, which we have prayed you
to constitute, and which for reasons aforesaid, we cannot with alms meet with your Approbation.

We are acquainted with the Charges attending a Constitution & also with the Honors and
Privileges due to the most respectable Grand Lodge, which you provide, to all which we shall
perform it our indispensable Duty, punctually to conform.

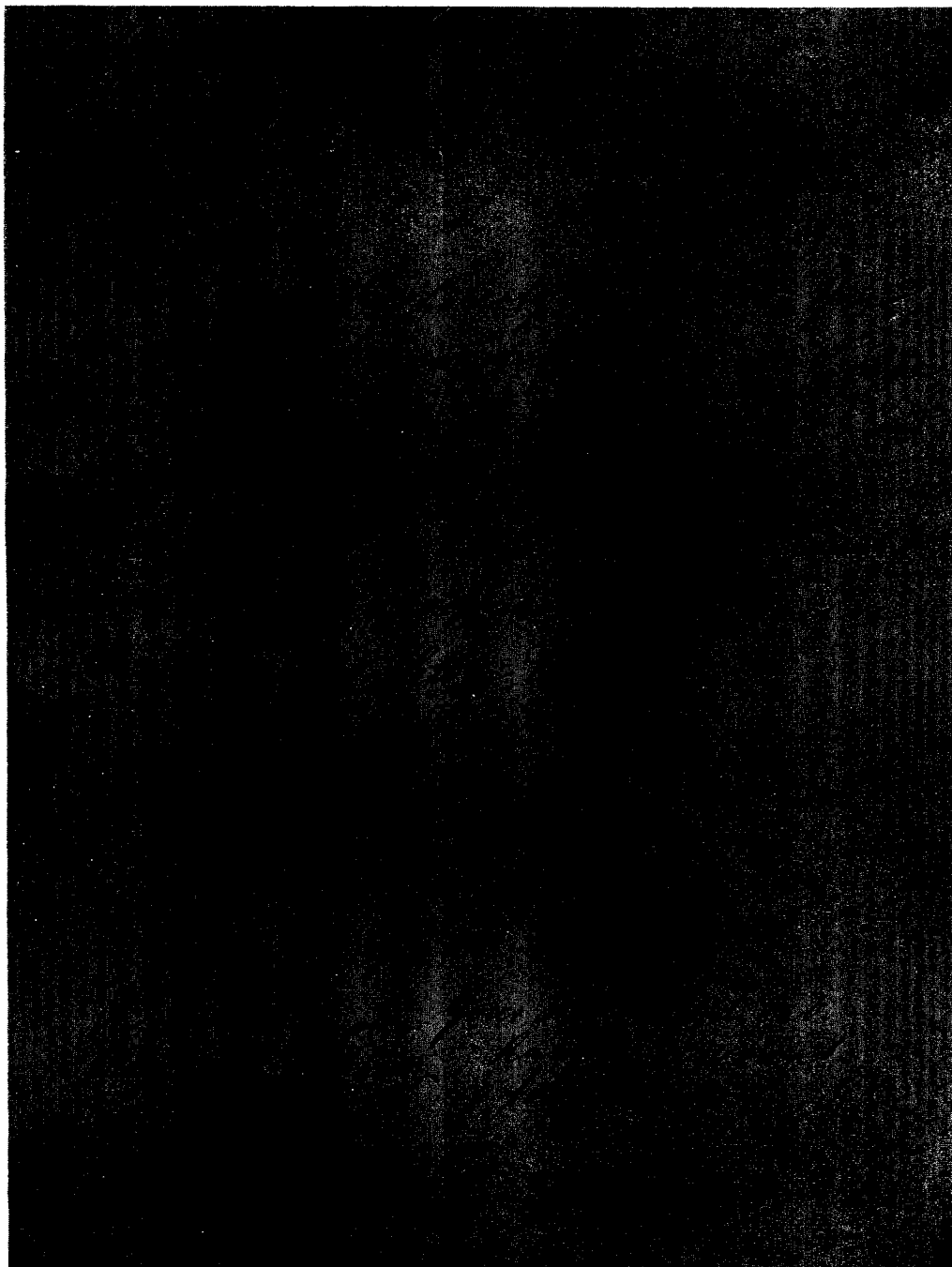
We pray to the Great Architect of the Universe for the Prosperity of our Order, for that
of your Grace the most Illustrious Grand Master, and the rest of the Right Worshipful
Brethren comprising the Grand Lodge, and recommending our dutiful request to your Zeal
for our Illustrious fraternity we beg leave to subscribe ourselves

Most Illustrious & most Worshipful Grand Master

Your most devoted and
most respectful Brethren
John Leonhardt M.
Dider Hoffmann S.W.
John Wode S.W.
Dider Hoffmann S.W.
Henry August Forthym Cr.
Joseph Frike M. of Cer.

London the 16th August 1779

And: Ser. Jacobus Linder



Leonhardi's Letter covering the Petition
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes

have proved fruitless. A member's word was in use in the Old Bear Lodge in Bath and in some other Lodges. It was, generally speaking (as in the Druids' Lodges of to-day), a proof that the Brother had paid his dues for the period, and was altered in accordance with old custom every St. John's Day. There are references in the later minutes of the Pilgrim Lodge to this word and sign as the ones instituted at the foundation of the Lodge. W.Bro. John Henderson, P. Grand Registrar, received it when he was made an honorary member on the 9th February, 1843. It is last mentioned in the minutes of 1852.

On 28th January, 1795, the Lodge resolved that "No Jew can be initiated in our Lodge". In 1801 it was resolved that no money matters be brought forward at the dinner, and that these matters can only be dealt with in a members' Lodge. In 1802 it was resolved that an E.A. must attend three Lodge meetings before he can be passed. In 1806 the period was increased to six for both passing and raising. In 1810 the period was reduced to three meetings for the passing of a Lewis. The Lodge was now approaching the period which may be regarded as its zenith. The Duke of Sussex, nicknamed "The most charming beggar in Europe" because of his great work in all kinds of charity, was very much interested in the Lodge and visited it at least on three occasions—11th January, 1815, 29th June, 1816, and 8th March, 1819. The second visit was to a meeting at the Highbury Tavern (not the usual meeting place), and was probably to a St. John's Festival meeting, for which we have our own special and beautiful ceremonial.

On the 9th February, 1809, Bro. Bartholomew Bartolozzi, of the Pilgrim Lodge, was exalted in the Royal Arch Chapter of St. James, then No. 60, now No. 2; 29 more Pilgrim Brethren followed his example, the last one chronologically being Bro. C. H. Windeler on the 4th November, 1824. The majority of them were members only for two or three years; the reason for this can be found in the members' list of the Pilgrim Lodge, where we find that many Brethren at that period became Masons in England, but soon left for other parts of the world.

In 1817, two years after the Battle of Waterloo, the meeting place is changed to the City of London Tavern. Four years later, *i.e.*, in 1821, the year of Napoleon's death on St. Helena, Bro. G. Schulze, 13, Poland Street, printed the first list of officers and members. It shows 10 officers (no I.G.), 40 members and children, 30 honorary members living in Great Britain, 139 absent members and children, and, in addition, two Tylers. This makes a grand total of 221 names. The following Brothers served as Grand Stewards:—

1815 Ludwig Kubach	1824 Chas. Hy. Windeler
1816 Saml. L. Gross	1825 Fredk. Wm. Jacob
1817 Fredk. Wm. Marche	1826 B. Hebler
1818 John Schmidt	1827 Lewis F. Hulle
1819 Hy. Koch	1828 Chas. Baumer (Secretary)
1820 J. A. Droop	1829 Geo. Wm. Roehrs
1821 G. W. Hennings	1830 Gustav Lowe
1822 Chas. Fredk. Hennings	1831 Edw. Salzmann
1823 Hy. B. Bremer	1832 G. P. Trahn

Bro. Chas. Baumer, Gd. Stwd. for 1828 and Secretary of Pilgrim Lodge, is mentioned in 1835 as a Stwd. at the Birthday Festival of the Duke of Sussex and as a member of the Grand Stewards' Lodge.

From 1825 onwards the minutes of the Lodge enable us to report more exactly on the life of the Lodge.

In the first minutes still extant, dated 11th May, 1825, the Lodge opened at 5 p.m. at the George and Vulture Tavern as a members' Lodge; the fact is reported that a Bro. V. Dassel was apparently in difference with the Lodge, and after voting, with eight against three votes, that the Lodge considers this Brother still to be under its jurisdiction, the W.M. proposes that in the resolution taken at the last meeting to strike Bro. V.D. off the list of members, the remark "on account of unmasonic behaviour" to be altered to read "on account of refractoriness". This proposal, seconded by Bro. Hebler, was unanimously carried. At the following dinner the Brethren resolved to invite the Grand Master to the St. John's Festival. It has been impossible to find any proof that this invitation was accepted, as nothing about this St. John's Festival can be found anywhere amongst the Lodge papers. In the Lodge minutes of 5th October, 1825, the business is the election of officers for the next year. The R.W.M. vacates the chair and hands the gavel to the youngest M.M. present, Bro. V. Braunschweig. Letters from several Brethren who wish to resign are read, and then the election is proceeded with. Bro. Burmester is re-elected as Master, and, after having been saluted with 3 times 3 times 3, he takes the gavel back and continues with the election of the other officers.

At the meeting of 12th October, 1825, *i.e.*, a week after the election, Bro. Burmester presides over the Lodge, but makes it clear that he does so as a Grand Lodge officer, as a Dispensation has to be obtained from Grand Lodge before he will be able to assume his rights as Master, but he proceeds to install and invest the officers elected.

On the 4th April, 1827, the Lodge votes a payment to the "Freemasons' Girls' School" from the Poor Fund of four guineas.

The minutes of the meeting on the 12th December, 1827, report for the first time the singing during dinner of the "Poor Song", during which £2 13s. were collected.

On the 7th January, 1828, the absence of Bro. Doring is excused, as he had a fall with his horse. On the 9th of the same month, Bro. Lambertz announces that he will go as Steward to this year's festival of the Cumberland School.

On the 12th March, 1828, it is recorded that Bro. Baumer be Grand Steward at the Grand Lodge for this year; this is the first note in the minutes of a Grand Steward being appointed.

The minutes of the Members' Lodge meeting on the 5th November, 1828, record that Bro. H. Goeschen was elected as Master and Bro. C. N. Kind as Orator for the ensuing year. As no list of members present is preserved, we must assume that this happened in their absence; as at the next meeting, on the 12th November, 1828 (one week later), the R.W. Master reads letters from these two Brethren in which they refuse to serve as elected. A new election for these two offices is immediately held, and, by a majority vote, Bro. Jacob is elected as Master and Bro. Crohn as Orator. As these two Brethren signify their acceptance, all officers divest themselves of their collars, and the V.W. Bro. Hebel, Deputy Master, as Past Master, installs the M.E., who, after having been greeted in Masonic fashion, installs his officers.

In the minutes of the 11th February, 1829, it is reported that Bro. Meyer, who was expected by mail coach from Liverpool, has not arrived.

On the 11th March, 1829, the J.W. Bro. Boehrs was deputed to serve as Grand Steward. On the same evening, during the dinner, it was resolved that the 50th birthday of the Pilgrim Lodge be celebrated at a Festival with the Sisters and a committee appointed to arrange the necessary, but nothing more can be found about it.

On the 9th December, 1829, Bro. Baumer declares his willingness to serve as a steward for the Girls' School at their Festival. On the 16th February, 1836, the Lodge votes four guineas to be handed to the Girls' School at their dinner by Bro. Baumer from the funds of the Lodge. At the same meeting, Bro. Loewe declares his willingness to serve as Grand Steward.

At the dinner after the Lodge meeting held on the 9th February, 1831, four guineas was voted from the Benevolent Fund for the Girls' Festival, which are to be presented by Bro. Saltzmann.

At the very next meeting on the 6th April, 1831, again during the dinner Bro. Saltzmann (who was only initiated on the 16th February, 1830) announces his willingness to serve as Grand Steward.

During the meeting on the 14th December, 1831, two letters from the Boys' and Girls' School are read asking for Stewards to be nominated by the Lodge. Bro. F. W. Jacob accepts for the Boys' Festival on the 14th March, 1832, and Bro. C. F. Trahn for the Girls' Festival on the 16th May, 1832.

At the Lodge meeting of 11th April, 1832, Bro. J. Schmidt announces his willingness to serve as Grand Steward for the absent Bro. Saltzmann. And yet in the records of the Grand Steward's Lodge the name of Pratin or Trahin is reported, which can only be Bro. C. F. Trahn, who was initiated on the 24th January, 1827.

This was the last Grand Steward ever to represent the Pilgrim Lodge, as on the 8th February, 1834, the following letter was sent to the Grand Master:—

M.W. Grand Master.

Pilgrim Lodge 8 Feb. 1834.

The most kind and gracious manner in which Your Royal Highness was pleased to bestow upon the Pilgrim Lodge the distinguished privilege of returning one of the Grand Stewards has ever been prized by its Members as a most valued Jewel and they trust the selection they have previously made has been such as to evince their gratitude and to afford satisfaction to Your Royal Highness.

The change of circumstances however as far as members are concerned, resulting from the few resident Germans in London during a period of peace, render it impossible for the Lodge to avail themselves longer of this much valued privilege and they are therefore under the painful necessity of returning it into the hands of the M.W. Grand Master. In doing so they venture to hope that Your Royal Highness will do justice to their motives and believe that the Pilgrim Lodge will ever retain a grateful sense of the kindness and condescension which Your Royal Highness has always shown to this body.

I have the honour to subscribe myself
Your Royal Highness most obed Sert.
By Order of the W.M. of the
Pilgrim Lodge
John Schmidt Secretary.
To His R.H. the Duke of Sussex,
M.W. Grand Master.

and the following reply received:—

Kensington Palace 10 Feb. 1834

W. Master,

I am commanded by the M.W. Grand Master the Duke of Sussex to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 8th Instant tendering the resignation of the privilege of annually nominating one of the 18 Grand Stewards in consequence of the reduction of the numerical strength of the Lodge and I am to acquaint you that His Royal Highness accepts the surrender with much regret.

His Royal Highness further commands me to renew the assurance of his Satisfaction at the manner in which the proceedings of the Pilgrim Lodge have always been conducted and at the same time to express His Royal Highness's best wishes for its future welfare and prosperity.

I have the Honour to be,

W. Master Your very obed Servant
and faithful Brother,

William H. White G.S.

To the W. Master
of the Pilgrim Lodge No. 289.

This exchange of letters marks a milestone in the history of this Lodge, and it can be easily imagined what the times were like if we look for a moment or so into the outside world.

This was the time after the Napoleonic wars. In 1830, King George the IVth died and was succeeded by William the IVth; in 1831, Belgium became a Kingdom; in 1832, Otto of Bavaria became King of Greece, in the same year as the Great Reform Bill became law; in 1833 came the abolition of slavery and the first English Factory Act. All in all, a time of very great upheaval indeed, even if these events took place in an atmosphere of peace after the many years of actual war. This explains why, in the letter from the Pilgrim Lodge quoted above, such a peculiar reference to the times of peace is made.

In any case the Lodge carried on. At their meeting of the 12th December, 1835, no elections are held as there are so few Brethren present and the Master and officers are unanimously asked to carry on, they must have voted so to speak for themselves, but as no presence books of that period are in existence, nothing can be proved.

We now come to the *second book of minutes*.

We find in the minutes of the meeting of 14th February, 1838, that J.W. Bro. L. F. Hulle reports that jewels pawned by the late tyler, Bro. W. Shells, have been bought by Bro. Simons for £2 15s., which amount it is resolved to be refunded to him from the Lodge Fund.

On 11th April, 1838, according to a proposal by Bro. Baumer, the Lodge votes to pay every year £1 1s. to the Girls' School.

On the 13th November, 1839, Bro. J. E. Wick is initiated, and in his announcement as candidate, is stated as religion: "Catholischer Religion". He is the second of that religion to be initiated in the Pilgrim Lodge, but by no means the last. Even if it is not noted in the minutes every time, apparently the question of religion was a point in favour or against a candidate. It is interesting to ponder on this for a short while, it is already 25 years after the Union and this Lodge still does not seem to have taken much notice of certain landmarks laid down. It appears from the minutes that the question of religion was only settled in accordance with the Constitution of the United Grand Lodge in 1846. The first Initiate of Roman Catholic faith was apparently J. E. Wick's brother, J. G. Wick, who was initiated in this Lodge in 1832.

The latter is willing to be a steward at the Girls' Festival, according to the minutes of 11th March, 1846, and the Lodge votes £4 4s. for this Festival.

At the same meeting the W.M., Bro. Hebler, reads the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, dated 4th September, 1839, in which he was accepted as representative of the Grand Lodge Royal York in Berlin, and Bro. Burmester as representative of the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. On both Brethren the M.W. Grand Master bestowed the rank of Past Senior Grand Warden and seat and vote in Grand Lodge. (A photograph of the printed Minutes of this Quarterly Communication is in possession of the Lodge).

The minutes of the next meeting, *i.e.*, 13th January, 1841, is the first in which all Officers, Brethren and Visitors are listed in the minutes.

At the dinner after the meeting held on the 14th December, 1842, the Deputy Master proposes Bro. John Henderson, P.G.R., as a member, which is seconded by the W.M., who declares that for such a Brother they will dispense with the ballot, and the Brethren present at the table receive Bro. Henderson as a member in Masonic fashion. After this the S.W. announces that the number of the lottery ticket for the drawing in Bath, which belongs to the Lodge, bears the number 289 and it has been sent to the Treasurer there. Nothing more is heard about it, so there was no luck attached to this number !

On the next page, after the minutes of the meeting of 14th December, 1842, there is written: Copy of a request dated 24th May, 1842:—

We the Deputy Master, Wardens, Officers and members of the Pilgrim Lodge No. 289 beg the R.W. Master to subscribe £5. 0.—Five Pound Sterling to the Royal masonic Benevolent Annuity Fund in the name of the Lodge and the said sum to be paid from the Poor Fund.

(Signatures) B. Hebler Dep.M.
 Fredr. Jack
 Jac. Hulle
 L. F. Hulle
 J. A. Unger
 Jacob Hulle Jr.
 John Fenton
 Chas. Baumer
 H. Classen
 J. Weichbrodt
 Jas. Wick

On the 11th January, 1843, we find the very first mention of a mourning Lodge held on this day and in the First Degree for Bro. J. A. Droop, who was initiated on the 27th April, 1808. At the First Rising, the V.W. Deputy Master speaks about the departed Brother. At the Second Rising, Bro. W. H. Goeschen gives a character picture.

At the Third Rising, as no one desires to speak, the mourning Lodge is closed with full ceremonial. After the signs of the mourning have been removed, the work in the E.A. Lodge is carried on.

On the 9th February, 1843, Bro. J. Henderson, P.G.R., becomes a member of the Lodge. Amongst the visiting Brethren at this meeting is Bro. Thos. F. Hall, G.R., who is elected as a member at the very next meeting on the 12th April, 1843, but is received as such on the 11th October of the same year.

Before the minutes of this October meeting we find a copy of a certificate given to Bro. J. A. Guenther, on the 15th August, 1843, as follows:—

We, the Master and Officers of the just and perfect St. John's Lodge The Pilgrim at London, announce and confirm that Bro. E. A., J.A. Guenther, merchant, born at Stolberg in the Harz was initiated in the Pilgrim Lodge on the 9th of February, 1843, and has asked permission to resign from our Lodge, to enable him to join a Lodge at his new homestead, this permission has been honourably granted to him by resolution of the Masters.

Given at the Orient of London the XVth day of the month of August in the year 1843.

Signed J. G. Burmester W.M.
 R. Hebler Dep.M.
 G. Baumer S.W.
 L. F. Hulle J.W.
 Jacob Hulle Secretary.

This Certificate was given in consequence of the loss of the Engraved Plate which had been in use from at least as early as 1801, of which date Grand Lodge possesses a copy ; the Plate now in existence dates from about 1870.

A very short entry and this time in English: "No MEETING March 13th (*i.e.*, 1845), on account of Boys' Festival".

On the 9th April, 1845, the S.W. reads a report from the committee, elected on the 12th February the same year, concerning the repair of the Lodge furniture. After which, the W.M. instructs the M. of C. and the committee to proceed with this work.

On the 12th November, 1845, during dinner, the Deputy Master informs the Brethren that Bro. E.A., J. Birch has been presented with a house in Potsdam by the King of Prussia.

The W.M. then proposes to honour Bro. Jacob Hulle, who is a member of this Lodge since 43 years, not only by electing him as Honorary Member, as was already done at the

last meeting, but to elect him as Honorary Past Master, which is seconded by the S.W. and carried unanimously. It is also ordered that his letter of resignation be attached to the minutes (it is still there) this Brother was in the Chair of this Lodge for over twelve years in all.

At the dinner, the W.M. proposes Bro. Unger as Cantor of the Lodge, which is carried unanimously. It is rather a rare office to be appointed as singer for the Lodge meetings.

At the Lodge meeting of the 14th January, 1846, a rather important point is settled.

At a members' Lodge the W.M. reports to the Brethren about the refusal of the Lodges in Prussia to admit Israelites, who hold certificates from the Grand Lodge in England, to their Lodge meetings.

On account of this affair it seemed possible that certain passages in the ritual of the Lodge might be frowned upon and that the warrant might be withdrawn. The W.M. therefore proposed that during the preparation of a candidate for initiation the question, "What is the candidate's religion?" be omitted. And that the words, "Opened at the chapter of St. John", be also left out.

At the following E.A. Lodge, the Brethren balloted for Mr. C. Clark, from Riga, but as there were four black balls in the ballot box, in accordance with special By-law No. 26, the election had to be postponed for seven months; Mr. Clark never became a member.

At the next meeting on the 11th February, 1846, one visitor is noted as Bro. Adolph Kiste, 1, St. Mary's Chapter, Edinburgh.

During the members' Lodge of the same date, the Brother Orator asks if the passage, "The union with the St. John's Knight", should be left out in future, in accordance with the alterations in the ritual. The W.M. replies that this does not seem to be necessary, as this passage concerns itself only with the historical part.

On the 8th April, 1846, again a mourning Lodge in the *first degree*. In the following E.A.'s Lodge the Brother Orator hands over the printed By-Laws, of which each Brother present receives one, and he is thanked by the Lodge and Brother Secretary ordered to note this in the minutes.

Here is a remark in the minutes that during the summer holidays Bro. Leopold Knoebel received from the Benevolent Committee, out of the Poor Fund, £3—2nd September, 1846. J.H.H. (These are the initials of the Secretary, Bro. J. H. Hulle).

At the meeting of 14th October, 1846, in the first degree, the W.M. hands the gavel to the youngest M.M. present, Bro. A. Nesbitt, Jnr., and then follows the election of officers.

Bro. H. L. Crohn was elected W.M. with 9 votes. Bros. Burmester and Hebel each received 7 votes for the Office of Deputy Master, but as the latter was not present, it was left to the next meeting, when it was to be decided by lot. The other officers elected were:—

Bro. J. Hulle Jr.	S.W. with 11 votes
„ W. F. B. Klein	J.W. with 16 votes
„ F. Sack	Treasurer by acclamation unanimously
„ J. H. Hulle	Secretary with 12 votes
„ Stein	Orator with 8 votes
„ James Wick	Master of C. by acclamation unanimously
„ A. Nesbitt	S.D.
„ F. Pickert	J.D.

(No votes are given for the last two).

It is interesting to note that there were only 14 members present, but there were also two Children of the Lodge and four Visitors.

Between this election and the Installation meeting on the 11th November, a Lodge of Instruction was held in all three degrees.

The Installation was again carried out in the first degree, and again there is no sign of an I.G. Another interesting point in this record is that the Treasurer proposed, and it was carried, that the waiters should receive 6d. per cover.

At the meeting on the 14th April, 1847, there was a galaxy of Visitors present:—

Bros. Charles Pope, Prov.G.M. for Somerset
 Adolph Pollack, St. Mary's Lodge No. 76
 Adolph Kiste, St. Mary Chapter, Edinburgh
 G. S. Bodstein, Castle Lodge No. 36
 Shillito, Dundee No. 18
 Henry Lenzke, Dundee Ancient Lodge
 R. H. Mackenzie, S.W., Royal York Lodge No. 7
 G. V. Speth, W.M., St. Andrews No. 269 (now No. 222)
 (Might this be the father of the first Secretary of the
 Quatuor Coronati Lodge ?)
 E. B. R. Natusch, P.M., St. Andrews No. 269

C. Natusch, Prudent Brethren No. 169
 R. J. Peters, Charles the Rock, Altona
 A. Ruysenaers, Unity Lodge, Rotterdam
 G. Wendt, Irene the three Stars, Rostock
 J. Vinek, P.M., Felicity No. 66

Mr. Daniel Jacob Brenneis from Duerkheim was initiated, but there is nothing to account for the large number of interesting Visitors.

In a members' Lodge, Brother J.W. proposes that the corkage-fee of 6d. per bottle of wine be in future paid from the Lodge fund, which is seconded and carried.

In the next minutes of 13th October, 1847, it is reported in great length that the W.M. should continue in the chair, which is accepted with acclamation; the same with the Deputy Master. With respect to the officers, the vote was not so clear cut. After Bro. Rohrweger, the youngest M.M. had taken the gavel, only the Treasurer, Bro. Sack, was elected by acclamation, the others are as follows:—

S.W. with 16 votes.
 J.W. with 11 votes.
 Secretary with 12 votes.

The others with majority of votes, but Bro. Pickert has slipped up in his record, as the figures given do not work out.

At the next Lodge meeting on the 16th November, 1847, the W.M. reads in the First Degree a letter from the Provincial Grand Lodge in Bristol asking for funds for the needy Bro. Frederick Charles Husenbeth, Past Deputy P.G.M., after mentioning that the 83-year-old Brother was forced to go bankrupt. Five guineas are voted and are to be sent to the committee in Bristol.

During the second degree worked at the meeting on the 8th December, 1847, it is recorded that the candidate approached the throne and altar with the seven steps as instructed.

During the next meeting on the 9th February, 1848, the W.M. reads a circular from Bro. John Bigg, P.M. No. 109, concerning the idea to abolish the eighteen Grand Stewards Lodges and open these privileges to all Lodges, and to bring such a motion to the next meeting of Grand Lodge, after some explanation from the Deputy Master, who proposes that the representatives of the Pilgrim Lodge should vote against this proposal at the next Grand Lodge, the Brethren unanimously decided that Bro. John Bigg's motion be voted against.

At the same meeting, Bro. Brenneis is raised and is given the life story of Father Adoniram, and after having received S., G. and W. of the Pilgrim Lodge he is also given those customary in English Lodges. In the following members' Lodge he is given S. and W. of a member.

On the 8th March, 1848, a month after the revolution in France, the W.M. of Lodge of Antiquity, Bro. Frs. Davis is present as a visitor. The minutes of this meeting are interesting for the fact that they confirm the Pilgrim Lodge is still to-day working certain points in the initiation ceremony as they were worked then. But they cannot be permitted to be printed. Lodge resumes in the first degree, the general By-Laws are read and the Lodge closes at 6.20 p.m.

The following meeting in October is rather unique in that the J.D. proposes that a members' Lodge is held and Bro. Sutro therein received as a member and receives the S., G. and W. of a member.

At the next installation it is stated that for the installation of the W.M., nine M.M.s are required, the W.M. gives the necessary promises as required by the Grand Lodge of England, takes the oath, is greeted with 9 times 3 and installed.

At the Lodge meeting of 9th October, 1850, Bro. J. Stohwasser, from the British Lodge No. 8, is affiliated and given the Lodge jewel, and entrusted with the W. of the Lodge.

The W.M. and all officers are requested to carry on for another year, which is confirmed unanimously. During this year the new By-Laws are discussed, and are entered in Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* under the date of December, 1850. It follows that the election in 1849 was the last one where all officers were elected by the votes of the Brethren. From 1850 onward only the W.M., Treasurer and Tyler are to be elected; the other officers are appointed by the W.M.

This alteration of the By-Laws does away with certain curious habits of this Lodge, *i.e.*, four black balls, seven months' wait for next ballot, etc. On the other hand, it puts fines for being late or absent without excuse into paragraph 17 at 2s. 6d. for the first time and 5s. for any further neglect.

On the 8th October, 1851, three Brethren Hulle resign from the Lodge, which is accepted by the members with very great regret, and Bro. L. F. Hulle is elected as honorary member.

At the Lodge meeting held on the 12th May, 1852, in a members' Lodge, Bro. V. Arnheim is admitted as a member and given S. and W. of this Lodge, and also the S. of grief and distress.

From October to December, 1853, the minutes are written in German and English, but not signed.

The minutes of the meeting on the 13th December, 1854, report for the first time that the installation of the M.E. took place in an M.M.s' Lodge, but he took the oath in the second degree. The visitors' list is again interesting:—

- Bro. Chs. Rigley, Grand Masters' Lodge No. 1
- „ C. de Bruyn, Shakespear Lodge No. 116
- „ Minssen, Golden Hart, Oldenburg
- „ R. Heine, Regularity Lodge No. 108
- „ J. Clout, St. Andrews Lodge No. 269
- „ C. F. Marstatt, Ionic Lodge No. 275

In 1856 the then W.M., Bro. Wendt, announces that he will be a Steward at the Festival of the Girls' School.

At the Lodge meeting of November, 1856, after the minutes are read, a mourning Lodge is held for Bro. Jacob Hulle, Ch. Baumer, J. Schlutow, and J. Nicholls, the Tyler.

At the installation meeting on the 9th December, 1857, Mr. Wm. Demuth is first initiated; then the Lodge changes to a F.C.'s Lodge and Bro. C. Sevin takes the oath. Afterwards an M.M.'s and P.M.'s Lodge is opened (this is the first time a board of I.M.'s is held). After having saluted the new W.M., the Lodge is closed in the third and second degree and the W.M. appoints his officers. But still no I.G.

At every meeting one or more visitors from Lodges in Germany are present, and also nearly every time money is voted to help Brethren in distress, the amounts varying from 10s. up to £5.

During the risings Bro. Treasurer reports that the last year has closed with a deficit of £14 4s. 7d., which was borrowed from the Poor Fund, which shows a balance of £15 18s. 6d., including the above loan. Bro. Schirges points out that in future all charity payments to foreign Brethren should first be submitted to the W.M. and can only be carried out with his consent. The previously-adopted procedure was in contradiction to the By-Laws.

At the meeting of 11th December, 1861, Bro. Stohwasser points out that at the last meeting Bro. Bernhard's election to the chair is contrary to the Constitution, as he has not served as a W. The affair is settled in leaving the W.M. for a second year in the chair.

On the 12th November, 1862, Bro. Brandt is recorded as G.Sec., Secr.; he was then Grand Secretary for German correspondence. On the 14th October, 1863, the W.M. reads a letter from Grand Lodge altering the number of the Lodge to 238, which is still its number to-day. Before leaving the chair, Bro. Bernhard presents his Masonic library to the Lodge as the beginning of a Lodge library. This first small collection has completely disappeared by 1870.

In 1865 we read of "slow fire 3 times for the departed Bro. Brenneis". The year 1866 closes with a deficit in the Poor Fund of £1 3s. As usual in the past, nearly at every meeting help is given in varying sums to needy Brethren. As the Poor Fund is very badly off, and the Lodge has granted to a Bro. Loewensohn, from the Old Concord Lodge No. 172, £5, the collection at the dining table is auctioned and sold to Bro. Wendt for £5 5s.

In November, 1867, both funds close with a deficit—the Lodge Fund with minus £13 2s. 9d., and the Poor Fund with minus 6s. The result of the ensuing discussion is that as long as the funds last (?) the Lodge pays for the dinners, and afterwards each Brother for himself. There now follows a peculiar wording for the election of the W.M., namely, "Election of the guardian of the Eastentrance".

In the minutes of the 10th February, 1869, it is noted that Grand Lodge has formed an Archæological Institute for the purpose of giving lectures from time to time at Freemasons' Hall. In November of the same year the minutes relate that the Brethren, after closing the F.C.'s Lodge, go to the room which is especially prepared and decorated for the raising.

On the 13th May, 1874, the W.M. instructs the Brethren in the signs as used in English working. In 1875, when the Treasurer reports on the accounts and a balance of £18 13s. 3d., two Auditors are appointed, and at the next meeting they report and the balance is altered to £17 9s. 3d.

At the next meeting, in January, 1876, it is resolved that to avoid long and tedious discussions at the Lodge meetings they will in future hold officers' meetings; they already held two in the last month. The minutes of these meetings are at the disposal of the Brethren, and all M.M.'s are invited to attend these meetings.

At the March meeting the W.M. proposes, in the name of all his officers, that the Lodge shall create an honorary membership for Brethren who live outside England, especially in Germany; they shall pay no fees and be the guests of the Lodge if they should attend. This is accepted at the next meeting.

In May, 1876, new By-Laws, or rather alterations, are resolved. The interesting ones, apart from the raising of the several fees, are: The word "fine" to be altered into "donation to the poor fund"; the "not clothed" to be altered into "without masonic clothing".

At the meeting in June the Lodge decides to move to the London Masonic Club, Queen Victoria Street. In the minutes are recorded in English the arrangement made with this club, to the full length of twelve pages. It is also reported that there happened a mistake at the election of Bro. Buck, from Hamburg, as they wanted to elect not Bro. Dr. Buck, the Prov. Gd. Master of Lower Saxony, but his brother, C. E. Buck, who was initiated in this Lodge in 1816. This is corrected in the minutes, and the Secretary asked to write to that effect to Bro. Buck.

At the meeting in October, which is the first held in the Masonic Club, the cantata composed by Bro. Mozart for the opening of a new temple is sung. The accounts, submitted at the same meeting, show that after total receipts of £353 12s. 9d., only £1 11s. 6d. is left in the Lodge Fund.

At the installation meeting of the 13th December, 1876, it is clearly reported that the new W.M. appoints the two W.'s in the third degree and the rest of the officers in the first. Bro. C. Kupferschmidt, who was initiated in 1875, is appointed D.C.; he became W.M. of the Q.C. Lodge in 1896.

The W.M. reads a petition originating from the Montefiore Lodge No. 1017, addressed to the Grand Lodge, which concerns itself with the still existing rule in some German Grand Lodges, that only Christians can be admitted. This is discussed, and it is unanimously voted that the W.M. should sign this petition.

In the minutes of April, 1877, is mentioned correspondence with the Lodge "Brotherhood" in Bucharest, but without any details.

On 8th May, 1877, Bro. Kupferschmidt is paid £7 10s. for books for the library. The W.M. reports that it has not been considered suitable to represent the Lodge, as such, at the reception of Richard Wagner. Proposed by the W.M., a yearly subscription to the children's home "Humanitas", near Vienna, Austria, of £1 1s. is carried.

In November, 1877, the W.M. proposes the creation of a special D. of C. as a new office, as up till now the Master of Ceremonies was the lowest of the position of officers, and should therefore, in future, be known by its correct title, *i.e.*, I.G. This is confirmed at the next meeting.

Emergency mourning Lodge held in the first degree, but decorated in black and with peculiar ornaments usual only in the third degree. After an oration in memory of Bro. Andreas Friedrich, sculptor, Bro. Schaible hands to the W.M. apron and jewel of the departed Brother.

Flowers being used in the second degree are mentioned for the first time. From the beginning of 1878 the minutes are again kept in both languages—German and English.

At the May meeting, Bro. Harrer sings in the second degree Mozart's "Gesellenreise" (the journey of the fellowcrafts). In June of the same year, Bro. F. Wagner is thanked for having restored the ancient copperplate and for having printed Lodge Passports for the use of the members. At the same meeting the three questions to be answered by the candidate for initiation in writing during his preparation, are reported in full for the first time. This custom is still observed to-day. It is also reported that a deputation of Brethren of the Lodge was received by H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Germany, who is himself a Brother. At nearly every meeting during this period, presents for the Lodge library are noted and thanks expressed to the donors.

On the 12th February, 1879, we find a list of the yearly subscriptions as follows:—£1 1s., Girls' School; £1 1s., Aged Freemasons; £1 1s., Humanitas Children's Home (Austria).

At the April meeting the W.M. reports that the Centenary Warrant has been granted by the M.W. the Grand Master.

This Centenary Warrant gives the date for the celebration of the completed 100 years as 15th August, 1879, and a special letter from the Grand Secretary warns the Lodge not to celebrate the Festival earlier than 15th. On the other hand, the original Warrant is dated 25th August. To clear up these conflicting dates, Grand Lodge has now decided that the actual date of our birthday was 19th August, 1779. So in 26 years' time, the Bi-Centenary Warrant should bear that date, and the Lodge may be in the unique position of possessing three Warrants, each bearing different dates.

On the 21st April a special committee meeting, to which all Brethren have been invited, is held to give the Brethren the opportunity to express their wishes for the jubilee meeting. Many such meetings were held until all details have been thrashed out.

And then a bombshell. Grand Lodge informs the Brethren that the centenary festival cannot be held in Masonic regalia and with Masonic ritual, unless it is held at the statutory meeting place of the Lodge.

As the Masonic Club is too small, the Lodge decides to move for good to Freemasons' Hall, and to change the date of meeting to the fourth Wednesday of each month, as this is the only day available. This is confirmed at a committee meeting held on the 3rd September at the Guildhall Tavern.

Apparently all this received the approval of the authorities, as the next minutes are those of the Centenary meeting held on the 1st October, 1879, at Freemasons' Hall. Grand Lodge was represented by Bro. Dr. E. E. Wandt, Grand Secretary for German correspondence, Bro. H. G. Buss, Ass. Grd. Secr., and Bro. Thomas Fenn, P.G.Stwd.; from Germany were present Bro. G. W. Martin, Dep. Grd. Master of the Eclectic Grand Lodge, and many Brethren who represented individual Lodges, all in all 105 were present at the meeting. Bro. Dr. E. E. Wandt, in his reply to the W.M.'s address, mentions that it is the only Lodge which works in German and according to a German ritual, this being the reason why he, who is the first time with the Lodge, represents Grand Lodge, and he conveys not only the best wishes from the M.W. Grand Master, but from all Grand Officers and from every Brother under the United Grand Lodge. After these official addresses, an especially composed song is sung, the 100 years history is distributed. This, together with a reliable list of all past and present members, has been the work of Bro. C. Kupferschmidt.

Letters of apology for absence were read out from the M.W. Grand Master, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, T.R.H.'s the Duke of Connaught and Prince Leopold, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Skelmersdale, Lord Kensington, Lord Tenreden, Colonel Creaton, John Hervey and many others. From Germany, 32 letters of congratulation were received.

Amongst these is a letter from the Lodge, "The Golden Ball", in Hamburg, which Lodge was founded by Bro. Leonhardi, the founder and first Master of this Lodge. At this meeting a Lodge banner was given as a present by Bro. F. Seifert.

The Lodge possesses an interesting memorial of the Union in 1813, in the shape of a circular letter in German issued by the United Grand Lodge to the Lodges in Germany and printed in German. The following is a translation:—

CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ALL ANCIENT FREEMASONS IN ENGLAND TO THE BRETHREN IN GERMANY

By order of the M.W.G.M. of England I have the honour to inform you, for communication to all Br. Freemasons, that a general and lasting Union of the two branches of the order, which have been separated since the year 1736, has been established, and that the Grand Lodge of England, in memory of this event, has received the title of The United Grand Lodge of all Ancient Freemasons in England.

The modifications of the ritual which have been adopted in consequence of this happy union are stated in the new book of Constitution which is now being printed and of which the second part has already appeared.

The difficulties of corresponding with the German masonic lodges during the French invasion has prevented the Grand Lodge of England from reporting to the independent and affiliated German Lodges about the progress leading to this union.

It was quite impossible, as the correspondence on the part of these Lodges has not yet been generally renewed after the re-opening of communication with the continent, to add to this year's masonic calendar a correct list of these lodges which acknowledge the Grand Lodge of England or have been affiliated to them.

The Grand Lodge of England wishes, however, to afford an opportunity of renewing the connection of former times and has therefore authorized the M.W. Grand Master of England to issue a letter to the R.W. and V.W. Masters of Provincial Lodges and of Lodges independent of the English constitution and to request them:

1. To declare whether they wish to renew their former connection with the Grand Lodge of England.
2. To send, in case of affirmative, a correct list of all members of the above said lodges, so that their names may be entered in the books of the Grand Lodge of England.

The M.W. Grand Master has the intention of giving to all German lodges, which acknowledge the Grand Lodge of England and to all affiliated Lodges which have received their patents from such provincial Lodges as have been constituted by the Grand Lodge of England, a special number in order to distinguish them from those numbers which have been granted in consequence of the present connection, printing however in addition their old numbers in small print as an explanation, as they have formerly appeared in the books of the Grand Lodge of England.

The M.W. Grand Master hopes therefore that the R.W. and V.W. Masters of provincial and independent Lodges will hasten the sending in of the desired declaration and of the lists of members, so that next year's masonic calendar may be corrected accordingly.

It has been represented to the M.W. Grand Master of England, that some of the provincial lodges which received their patent from the Grand Lodge of free and accepted Masons of English constitution, have during the French invasion issued

patents for the erection of new masonic lodges in Germany, without giving information thereof to or requiring the consent of the Grand Mother-Lodge of England.

The M.W. Grand Master has taken into consideration that the difficulties of those times might excuse the irregularity of this proceeding and is therefore willing to acknowledge all Lodges of this kind as regularly constituted lodges and to attest their recognition, provided a report as to the condition of these lodges is sent in, either by the provincial Lodges to which they belong or by the V.W. Masters of these just mentioned Lodges.

The M.W. Grand Master of England has specially requested me to announce that he by no means wishes to force upon the affiliated German Lodges the modifications of the ritual recently adopted by Grand Lodge of England if national circumstances make a retention of the ritual hitherto used advisable for those Lodges in Germany working according to different systems.

If, however, agreement with the Mother Lodge appears preferable to you, the M.W. Grand Master expects to be informed thereof, so as to enable him to give the necessary instructions for the purpose of acquainting you with the ritual established by the Grand Lodge of England.

The M.W. Grand Master wishes, however, very much that the illustrious brethren of all systems of freemasonry, might consult annals of the original history of the masonic federation in order to become convinced that our ancient customs have not been changed by the modifications in the ritual recently adopted, but on the contrary have only been re-established.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master finally declares, in the name of the Grand Lodge of England, that the latter is disposed to hasten by just and conciliatory measures (the arrival of) that happy period when all brethren on the surface of the earth shall unite their hands in order to effect a sincere, exact and lasting federation of all the systems of freemasonry, which is the truly blessed and grand object of our ancient order, to the attainment of which the G.A.O.T.U. may give us his blessing.

The M.W. Grand Master wishes to the R.W. and V.W. Masters of provincial and independent Lodges peace and blessing and greets them by the holy number.

Written in the Grand Orient of London in the year _____ of the christian era.

PS. The R.W. and V.W. Masters of provincial and independent Lodges are asked to find out a friend in London who may transmit their correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England free of postage. Letters to this Grand Lodge will reach their destination safely under the following address.

To the Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge
of ancient Freemasons of England,

Freemasons-Hall, London.

(Printed by Bren Schulze & Dean, 13, Poland Street, Oxford Street, London.)

A code of "Particular" and General Bylaws of the Lodge is recorded at the back of a 1784 (5th) edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*, and is signed by the Founder, Leonhardi, and some of the first members of the Lodge; the name of Luder Hoffman, however, is missing. This is followed by alterations of the Bylaws and further signatures; even the Warrant for the Centenary Jewel is copied into its pages, and also a "Code masonique" in three languages, English, French and German; among other interesting items, the following may be mentioned:—

From the "Particular" Bylaws

11. The members of this Lodge recognise each other by the sign, word and grip agreed upon by the Founders on the day of Foundation.

13. If one or two black balls are given against a Brother proposed as a member, the Brethren giving them must explain their reasons to the Master in the Chair before the next regular meeting, otherwise these black balls are to be considered white ones. Three black balls, however, exclude from membership.

(This Bylaw is repeated, with respect to Initiates, under No. 19, and Bylaw 20 requires that if three black balls appear, a fresh ballot cannot take place for 7 months).

21. If it can be proved that the Master in the Chair has disclosed the name of a Brother who informed him that he has blackballed a Brother or a strange Candidate, he [the Master] loses from that moment for ever, through that crime, the honour of occupying the Chair.

From the General Bylaws

2. Noone is permitted to enter the Lodge . . . bareheaded . . .
4. The head is only bared during the taking of the oath and when the name of the Highest Architect is mentioned.
7. Whoever has something to say must address himself to the J.W. with the words, " Bro. J.W., I beg to be allowed to speak ".

These first Bylaws are signed by many Brethren, the first signature being " Joh. Leonhardi, Meister Vom Stuhl und Stifter der Loge " (Master in the Chair and Founder of the Lodge). As Bro. D. P. Dobbert has put beneath his signature, " Erster Aufseher " (S.W.), which position he reached only in 1786, it seems correct to assume that these signatures were given at different times, some with intervals of many years between the writing of the Bylaws and the date on which the Brother signed.

In the lists of members, the pages of which are all watermarked 1813, we find some interesting points: the Founders of the Lodge are entered under date 5th August, 1779, then Bro. Joseph Fricke is entered under 14th and Bro. Ernest Schoenborn (Secretary of the Danish Legation) under 19th. And it seems that the Lodge also held a meeting on the 23rd, as three Brethren are entered as initiated on that day, passed on the 9th and raised on the 13th September. Bro. David Behrens, who, according to the list, was initiated on 23rd August, and passed and raised on the 13th September, presented the Lodge with three Skeletons. He died in Marseilles in 1785.

On 31st January, 1795, it was decided to establish a Lodge of Instruction to meet monthly, " so that the Brethren be enabled to learn to carry out their offices without having the instructions before them ". At the same meeting a new law was made that " No Officer or member shall leave the Lodge for the preparation of a candidate, if he is known to him ".

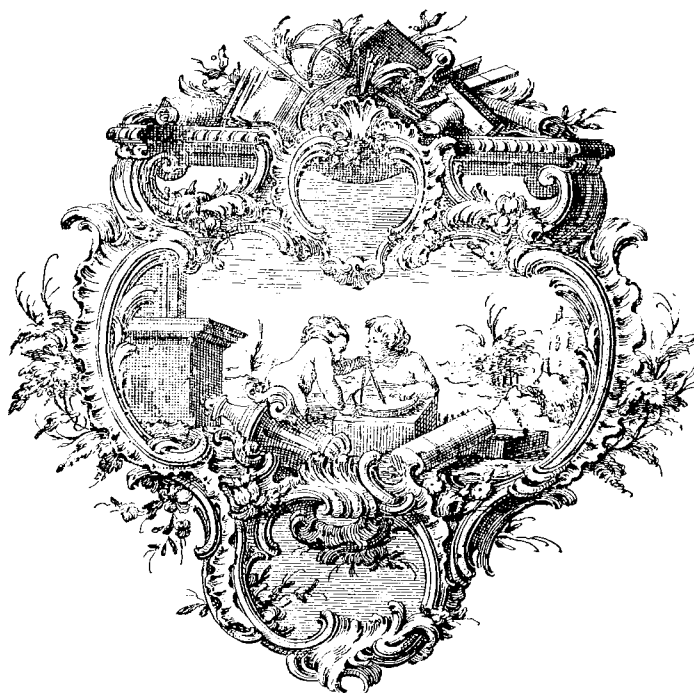
In the following February it was resolved to subscribe to the Freemasons' School in future ; " but if the arrears shall be paid, and how much shall be annually subscribed, is left to Bro. Treasurer to report at the next meeting ".

The following Inventory, taken by Bros. G. W. Doehrs and C. Lefort, is dated 13th January, 1821:—

<i>Articles</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
24 Swords	1 without grip 1 very badly damaged 2 with broken blades
3 Blue silk tablecovers	very dirty and with spots, especially those for the Secretary and Treasurer
3 black cloth ditto	in good condition
3 ditto ditto for chairs	idem
3 chairs covered blue	very dirty
1 blue silk cushion, with gold fringes	in good condition
1 black ditto	idem
1 kneeling stool, covered blue	dirty
1 black cover for same	good
1 Bible	very dirty, pages torn
Brass compasses and Square belonging to above	good
1 pair compasses, one square	made from black wood — good
3 Memento Mori, cardboard	much used
3 ditto old	not in use
1 triangular plate, white tin	good
3 wooden gavels	
3 brass candlesticks	
3 columns	
2 Carpets for the first and second degree	very old and downtrodden
1 cover with tears	idem idem
2 Skulls	both broken
two Cross bones	good
1 wooden Memento Mori	broken and not in use

<i>Articles</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2 blocks and 2 boards	for initiation in good condition
2 tin boxes, 1 ring cushion	not in use
1 Copperplate for Certificate and box for same	
10 Officers' Jewels	new ribbons in very good condition
1 English book of constitutions for Freemasons	very old
1 ditto new	not bound, only paper cover
3 songbooks, one with melodies	very good
3 songbooks, one with melodies	very good
2 ballotboxes with 31 white squares and 5 black balls	" "
1 tin Poor box	" "
3 pinewood tables, one square for the W.M., 2 triangular for the Sec. and Treas.	good
1 white shroud	"
16 black cloaks	"
1 coffin with black ornaments and cushion	"
1 book to inscribe the names of the assembled Brethren	

At the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Bernhart on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. The comments on this paper and the subsequent demonstration in June will be found at the conclusion of the Transactions of the June meeting.



St. John's Day in Harvest

WEDNESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1953



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *W.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Kent), *S.W.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Dep.G.Sw.B.*, *P.M.*, Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, *P.G.D.*, Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *I.G.*; and *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. Bernhart, A. May, A. B. Edwards, P. J. Watts, G. Holloway, R. C. W. Hunter, O. A. Forster, F. G. Partridge, V. E. K. Beckett, T. W. Marsh, W. S. Blofield, A. S. Carter, A. Parker Smith, J. G. Wainwright, G. W. Hookham, E. Wallace, F. L. Bradshaw, H. Hoffmann, C. H. Berman, W. H. Stanyon, F. J. Holmes, E. Newton, C. R. Walker, M. R. Wagner, A. G. Bartlett, R. A. Abell, M. Goldberg, R. Gold, F. E. Gould, W. Patrick, H. R. Edgecombe, H. L. Harnett, F. C. Milbank, B. A. Smith, Bernard E. Jones, J. A. McGilchrist, E. Winyard, J. D. Daymond, S. B. Dodman, A. E. Butler, D. M. Milstone, J. L. C. Dribbell, W. S. Seddon, J. R. Edwards, O. J. Hunter, E. R. Babler, A. F. Cross, J. O'Hara, B. Jacob, A. I. Sharp, H. M. Yeatman, H. E. Merritt, J. H. J. Dewey, A. L. Cook, F. E. Barber, L. J. Bedford, F. A. Butler, R. A. N. Petrie, A. Kipps, S. G. Bayley and F. M. Shaw.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. H. R. Barham, 813; J. Stevenson, 2310; F. Weiss, 6997; A. Baur, 2195; P. Jolmeier, 6997; L. J. Sewter, 3505; J. B. Ford, 2397; H. J. Myers, 7126; W. D. Brierley, 4078; C. S. Phillpot, 426 *S.C.*; A. Smudge, 2565; S. K. Westman, 238; W. K. Parker, 4611; R. C. Dobbin, 155; C. Whitefield, 3510; E. Werth, 238; H. Wharton, 6716.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were recorded from Bros. *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, *Pr.G.Sec.* (Co. Down); *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.* (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R.*, *P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Durham), *S.D.*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dis.D.G.M.* (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D.* (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, *P.G.D.*; G. Brett, *M.A.*; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland.

The Master referred in the following terms to the further serious loss which the Lodge had suffered by the death of Bro. Dr. A. E. Evans, *J.D.*, and the Brethren stood to order in silent sympathy with his relatives and respect to his memory.

IN MEMORIAM

ALBERT EDWARD EVANS

I am sorry to report that we have lost by death yet another of our members. Our Junior Deacon, Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Edward Evans, *C.B.E.*, died on Saturday, the 20th June, 1953.

A medical man of great distinction, he had specialised in the institutional treatment of mental deficiency, and was a noted authority on the subject, to which he devoted much attention after serving throughout the 1914-1918 War in the *R.A.M.C.* Among his published works were, *Account of a Tour of Dutch Mental Hospitals* (1929), *A Tour of Mental Hospitals in West Germany* (1933) and *Boarding-out of Mental Patients in the Scottish Highlands* (jointly, 1938).

Bro. Evans was the first Board of Control Inspector to be appointed under the Mental Deficiency Act of 1914, becoming a Commissioner in 1930, and being appointed Lord Chancellor's Visitor in 1938. He was created *C.B.E.* in 1948.

Our distinguished Brother was initiated into Freemasonry in 1924 in the Hogarth Lodge No. 3396, reaching the Chair in 1941. He joined the Royal Arch in the Hogarth Chapter in 1928, and occupied

the Chair of First Principal in 1944 and again in 1949. In the Mark Degree he was advanced in 1937 in the Studholm Lodge No. 197 and occupied the Chair five years later. He was also a Knight Templar and a member of the Rose Croix.

Despite his many activities in his profession, he found time to contribute a number of papers, chiefly on Hogarth, to his own Lodge, and one on *Wessel Linden and the Holywell MS.* to our Lodge. He read this to us on the 4th May, 1945, having been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1942. He was elected to Full Membership on the 7th October, 1949, and was appointed I.G. last year. It was my privilege to appoint him Junior Deacon at my installation, and we had all looked forward to his advancement to the Chair. He was the friendliest of companions, and bore his learning and distinction lightly. We miss him sorely; I ask you to accord his memory the tribute of a few moments' silent thought.

Attention was called to the following

EXHIBIT—

From the Library of Grand Lodge, a German Bible of 1622.

Four Lodges and forty-three Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

In continuation of his paper read at the last meeting, Bro. Bernhart described the ritual in use in the Pilgrim Lodge No. 238, and demonstrated some of the Furniture and Regalia. On the conclusion of the Lecture, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Bernhart on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the S.W., and carried by acclamation. The Master also offered the thanks of the Lodge to the Master of the Pilgrim Lodge for allowing the property of that Lodge to be used for the purpose of demonstration. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. J. R. Rylands, S. Pope, Norman Rogers, Ivor Grantham, C. F. Sykes and Lewis Edwards.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

We are in debt to Bro. Bernhart, an assiduous member of our Correspondence Circle, for his able and straightforward account of this famous Lodge, itself so excellent an example of the closer links which at one time existed with Continental Freemasonry.

Many thoughts must have arisen during the perusal of the proof and the reading of the paper. Outstanding amongst them may well be the reminder of the profound difference between the mental climate of the late eighteenth century and that of our own age. A cultural history of xenophobia has still to be written. Distaste at the presence of strangers in our midst has varied greatly over the centuries, but there have now and again been enlightened periods when a sentiment for the brotherhood of man has overridden the narrow politics of nationalistic advantage.

The latter half of the eighteenth century was an exciting period in the history of Western Europe. In the more restricted field of Freemasonry it saw many interesting developments. The grosser absurdities of Continental development had to some extent run their course; the good sense of the fundamental craft was gaining ground against the fanciful extravagances of the earlier years, and it is greatly to the credit of the "Moderns" Grand Lodge that it permitted and encouraged a Lodge in London to work in another language and another ritual. Apart from consideration of a more restricted expediency, the foundation of such a Lodge was wise and statesman-like.

The time was at hand when British Freemasonry was spreading all over the globe, and not only in countries under the British flag. Many English Lodges were founded on foreign soil, and indeed in the territory of other Sovereign Masonic powers. We remember a very recent paper by Bro. Hall Johnson describing the origin and growth of English Freemasonry in South America. There were other Lodges, under the English, Irish and Scottish Constitutions in China, Japan and other parts of the world. Some here present may know that there is an English Mark Lodge in Finland.

But the Pilgrim Lodge was something rather different. It was not a German Lodge in England holding its Warrant from some overseas Masonic authority; it was, and is, a Lodge with an English warrant operating in German. I know of no exact parallel in any foreign constitution, though something similar may exist in America.

Much that Bro. Bernhart has told is intensely interesting, but cannot in the nature of things appear in our Transactions, neither can we comment upon them. But we may compliment Bro. Bernhart on the admirable structure and admirable content of this paper, and

upon his extensive command of our vernacular. Many of us will certainly accept his invitation to visit him in his Lodge. It gives me great pleasure to propose that we extend to him our hearty thanks for a task well performed.

Bro. SYDNEY POPE said:—

When looking through the Masonic Year Book the various Lodges seem very much alike and many readers of our Transactions will, for the first time, learn from this paper of Bro. Bernhart, how very different from the remainder is the Pilgrim Lodge No. 238.

We are told that the Duke of Sussex was very much interested in the Lodge and that he visited it on at least three occasions, in 1815, 1816 and 1819. In 1800 H.R.H. Prince Augustus Frederick, afterwards Duke of Sussex, became a Joining Member of the Prince of Wales Lodge No. 259. He was the sixth son of George the third and had been initiated into Freemasonry in a Lodge in Berlin in 1798. The "high standing of some members of the Lodge with the Duke of Sussex, and his interest in all kinds of charities" would explain his interest in the Pilgrim Lodge; in addition to this he must have looked upon it as his second Masonic home seeing that it was "the only Lodge in England that worked in German according to a German ritual".

The Pilgrim Lodge was by no means the only one that was finding things difficult in 1834, for the revival of Freemasonry in the nineteenth century had not yet started. In some parts of the country the decline of Freemasonry in the early part of the century was actually steadied by Military Masons visiting and joining Lodges when troop movements rendered this possible. It was not until the "period of peace" occurred that the bottom was reached.

As Bro. Bernhart has told us, "This old and venerable Lodge" has survived bad times, and it will be the hope of us all that, should such a thing be found possible, it may once again be the Link it formerly was with Continental Freemasonry.

W. Master, I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Bernhart.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It is with much pleasure that I support the vote of thanks to Bro. Bernhart for his most interesting and instructive paper on such a unique Lodge.

Since the meeting I have had word of another Lodge, *i.e.*, Deutschland 3315, meeting at the Café Royal, and working a modified Emulation in German. My informant does not know if it is still working, but it certainly appears in the Masonic Year Book for 1953.

Many of the details of ritual are interesting as showing differences from English custom, as, for instance, that of 9th February, 1848, when a member was raised and given the life story of Father Adonhiram, after which he was given three distinct S. and W., *i.e.*, those of the Lodge, those customary in English Lodges, and, afterwards, those of a member. It would be interesting to know what these were, and how much they impinged on other degrees.

Yet some of the apparent differences may be understood from the fact that the German terms have been translated literally, as, for example, "Lodge passports", which are obviously equivalent to the old custom of issuing "travelling certificates", which were quite common at the beginning of last century.

But one feature is, indeed, delightful, *i.e.*, that an initiate should be called a "child" until he has been raised and accepted in a Members' Lodge, implying that he is to be brought up properly and admitted as of manhood stature only after due trial.

It is to the advantage of Masonic students that the records of this Lodge should be added to those of many other old Lodges in the *Transactions* of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

The Pilgrim Lodge is certainly an outstanding Lodge on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England. It is, therefore, surprising to find that no adequate history of the Lodge has ever been written. The Lodge has now found its historian, and it is to be hoped that full use will be made of his skill and enthusiasm.

There are many points in this paper upon which comment could be made; but I propose to confine my remarks to a single question connected with the earliest meetings of the Lodge.

In so doing, I must emphasise that such views as I may now express will be expressed in my personal capacity as a member of this Lodge, and not as Librarian to Grand Lodge.

Bro. Bernhart seeks to contend that the Pilgrim Lodge was born on August 5th, 1779—this being the date assigned to the earliest registration of names in the Grand Lodge registers. But, as Bro. Bernhart has already mentioned, the Warrant of Constitution is dated August 25th of that year, and this date is recited as August 15th in the Centenary Warrant. Which of these three dates (August 5th, 15th or 25th) correctly represents the birth of the Lodge? In my view, none.

In considering the nature of the events that took place on August 5th, 1779, it is necessary to look for the best available evidence. The best available evidence in relation to this matter is, surely, the contemporary record made by the Founders themselves—not entries in a register made subsequently by a clerk at headquarters, nor a recital contained in a Centenary Warrant issued a century later.

From the Petition dated August 16th, 1779, which was signed by all seven Founders, it is clear that the meeting which had been held on the 5th of that month was in the nature of a preliminary gathering, such as is held at the present day by the intending Founders of a new Lodge. To quote from the Petition itself, this gathering on August 5th had been “a particular Assembly held for that purpose”, the purpose being (as previously stated in the Petition) “to approve the choice of Officers”.

The date upon which the Lodge first functioned as a Lodge would appear to be none of the three dates mentioned by Bro. Bernhart, but August 19th. In support of this contention, I would quote from Grand Lodge (Moderns) London Register, 1768-1813, folio 401:—

Members	Names	Age	Business, or Profession	Residence	When made Masons	When Admitted Members
John Leonhardi			Notary Public	London		5 th Aug ^t . 1779
Luder Hoffham			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
J. F. Wrede			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
A. J. Cabrit			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
H. A. Corthym			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
J. C. Splitgerber			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
Joseph Frike			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
G. F. E. Schonborn			Sec ^y to Danish Embassy			19 th Aug ^t .
George Tawell			Merchant	London		D ^o .
Nicholas Hane			Merchant	D ^o .		D ^o .
John Hunczowsky	34		D ^r . of Physics	Vienna	19 th Aug ^t . 1779	
Jacob Rinder	29		D ^o .	Moscow	D ^o .	
Arnold Tideman	27		Merch ^t .	Livorne	13 th Sept ^r .	
E. T. Schmoll	29		Merch ^t .	Bristol	D ^o .	

From this extract, which gives the first fourteen entries, it will be seen that on August 19th there were three Joining Members and two Initiates, and that a month later (on September 13th) there were two more Initiates. It will not have escaped notice that August 19th is six days earlier than the date of the Warrant of Constitution (August 25th). It is, therefore, arguable that the first authorised meeting of the Lodge was the first to be held after the issue of the Warrant, that is to say, the meeting held on September 13th; but it is also arguable that the issue of the Warrant on August 25th regularised the meeting which had been held on August 19th. As the question of the effective date may in due course be submitted to me officially as Librarian to Grand Lodge, it would not be proper for me on this occasion to indicate the date to which I am inclined to lean. I cordially support this vote of thanks.

Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I have found much of interest in the paper read this evening. In February, 1848, there was considerable ceremony of “intrusting” after raising. The Brother was given the S., G. and W. of the Pilgrim Lodge, then those customary in English Lodges, and at the following members’ Lodge the S. and W. of a member. About the same period this last becomes the S., G. and W., or the S. and W., or W. only. I am inclined to think that this variation is one only of the Secretary’s record.

The whole paper shows that the Pilgrim Lodge possessed very considerable individuality. A most pleasing feature remains constant throughout the 175 years covered, for the Lodge uniformly contributed generously, not only to the Charitable Institutions, but exercised private acts of Benevolence towards cases of individual distress.

I beg to tender sincere thanks to Bro. Bernhart for a most interesting and informative paper.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I offer thanks to the Lecturer for a well-planned and well-phrased paper on so interesting a topic.

Although we in this country look upon the Inner Guard as a necessary Officer, the duties now discharged by him were in some Lodges performed by another Brother, and on the Continent by an Entered Apprentice. Mackey's *Encyclopædia* states that this Officer is unknown in the American system.

For the period from 1717 until the accession of Queen Victoria (when by reason of the Salic Law the Kingdom of Hanover devolved upon Ernest, Duke of Cumberland), Germany could scarcely be regarded as altogether a foreign country. The first two Georges were German born, and England and Hanover had the same Sovereign. Many of the Court officials and the Court tradesmen, as Bro. Bernhart states, were Germans, and not only were there Hanoverian troops, but mercenary soldiers were enlisted from other parts of Germany. One would like to learn from the Lecturer whether there were present in the Lodge, either as members or as visitors, any Brethren from these military forces.

Bro. F. BERNHART writes in reply:—

It is with a feeling of gratitude that I write these remarks to answer the comments I received orally and in writing. The W.M., in his remarks, states that there may be some similar position of a Lodge in the Americas. As far as I know, there was only the Lodge "Schiller" No. 263, in Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A., which was founded in 1867 by Bros. A. Rohns and F. W. Lichtenberg; the final charter was granted in 1870. This Lodge worked in German until the First World War, when their Grand Lodge ordered all Lodges to work in English. The Lodge has now about 500 members, most of whom are of German descent; the next largest group have Scottish ancestors.

Bro. Pope's remarks referring to the Duke of Sussex confirm everything I could possibly read in the old notes and minutes.

Bro. Sykes' remarks referring to the different S.'s and W.'s—I can only say I wish I could find something there. I have written letters practically all over Europe and could not find a parallel, but the nearest thing I found is well known to you all: the special W. used at the Old Bear Lodge at Bath. As far as the charitable activities of the Lodge go, I am afraid to confess that many contributions during the first 100 years cannot be traced any more, not even with the several Institutions. It is a great pity, as I feel certain that the Lodge would have a much higher credit with the Institutions than is in their books to-day.

I am especially grateful for Bro. Grantham's remarks, particularly to the Lodge's birthday. As he has now, as Grand Librarian, officially fixed this date as the 19th August, 1779, I will try my best that when the time comes for the Lodge to celebrate its bi-centenary, that the Brother then in charge of records, etc., will make sure that the warrant carries this date. The Lodge will then have three warrants with three different dates. Not quite usual, I think.

Bro. Lewis Edwards' remarks referring to members or visitors in the early period of the Lodges who belonged to Hanoverian troops or other soldiery from the Continent—I can only say that I had this point well in mind, but did not have the time yet to go further into this question.

Bro. Norman Rogers, with reference to Lodge Deutschland No. 3315. This Lodge never had the privilege to work a foreign ritual; it was—I do not know if one can say *is*—on the same footing as La France, L'Entente Cordiale, Italia, etc., who work in their native tongue, but Emulation ritual translated. I therefore still claim that this Lodge holds a unique position. "Lodge Passports"—I intentionally used this term, as it reminded me of the "Lodge Passport" with which I came to England (with photograph, only valid for three years, etc., etc., issued by the Grand Lodge of Vienna, Austria, in 1931). Going back to Bro. Rogers' remark about the "Life story of Father Adonhiram", this ritual is still in the Pilgrim Library, containing all three degrees; the only part that is missing is the opening. I have translated this MS. to the best of my abilities, and it is at the disposal of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, if the Lodge so desires. But obviously it cannot be printed.

FRIDAY, 2nd OCTOBER, 1953



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., W.M.*; N. B. Spencer, *P.G.D., as I.P.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), S.W.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C., J.W.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., J.P., P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer*; J. R. Dashwood, *P.G.D., Sec.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.R., P.M., D.C.*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C., I.G.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. P. B. Howell, I. M. McLean, H. L. Hogg, G. Sixsmith, G. Norman Knight, W. H. Stanyon, R. A. Pratley, G. Johnson, F. C. Milbank, A. Ivor Jones, L. J. Dymond, P. J. Watts, H. Carr, R. H. Rogers, C. H. King, A. I. Sharp, A. H. Antrum, S. G. Bailie, C. Marshal Rose, H. R. Wright, Bernard E. Jones, J. F. Dulley, C. T. Beynon, W. J. Laws, F. H. Gummer, T. Greenhalgh, L. K. Arkell, H. P. Trainer, T. W. Marsh, R. C. W. Hunter, A. D. Edson, J. D. Daymond, A. F. Cross, C. W. Parris, P. Dawson, H. H. Barne, W. H. Peterson, R. Gold, C. F. Sykes, R. W. Reynolds-Davies, W. Patrick, J. A. McGilchrist, B. Foskett, H. Baty-Scott, M. R. Wagner, C. Madison Roberts, A. G. Dennis, H. P. Healy, R. A. N. Petrie, E. J. Balderson, A. W. Russell, D. L. Cook, A. F. Ford, O. J. Hunter, S. E. Ward, H. L. Bradshaw.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. P. Smith, Lodge 5859; J. A. Matthews, Lodge 4669; F. I. Rogers, Lodge 1692; C. W. Reeves, Lodge 1513; H. R. Clement, X°, Finland.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Col. C. C. Adams, M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E., Pr.G.Sec. (Down)*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W. (Derby)*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P., P.G.D., P.M.*; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R., P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D., P.M.*; *Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D., P.M.*; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D., P.M.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R. (Durham)*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal)*; R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D. (Quebec)*; G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland.*

One District Grand Lodge, three Lodges, two Secret Monitor Conclaves and fifty-one Brethren were elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle.

Attention was called by Bro. Ivor Grantham to the following

EXHIBITS—

From the Library of Grand Lodge:—

“The Art Quarterly” (Autumn, 1949), Reprint of an article by Bro. G. Brett on “The Seven Wonders of the World in the Renaissance.”

The Holy Bible (1595 and 1616 Editions).

The Works of Josephus (1806).

Orbis Miraculum, by Samuel Lee (1659).

Icones Symbolicae (1628).

Solomon's Temple Spiritualised, by John Bunyan (1756).

The Cooke MS. (circa 1400) in facsimile.

Roof Bosses in Mediæval Churches, by C. J. P. Cave (1948).

Christian Iconography, by A. N. Didron (1886).

Photograph of XVIIth Century Brussels Tapestry.

From the Library of the Lodge:—

The History of the Bible, by Rev. Thomas Stackhouse (circa 1740).

An interesting paper by Bro. GERARD BRETT, entitled *King Solomon*, was excellently read by Bro. Ivor Grantham, as follows:—

KING SOLOMON

BY BRO. GERARD BRETT



BETWEEN the third and the thirteenth centuries," wrote Bro. Chetwode Crawley in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxvii, "there are not in the whole range of Western Literature a score of references to Solomon or to his Temple, and such as are known to exist are neither complimentary to the Wisdom of the King nor laudatory of the splendour of the edifice." I first came across this sentence some time ago, when turning over back numbers of *A.Q.C.* in the course of another inquiry, and was at once struck by the mistake it contains—a misstatement of fact, in that mediæval Western literature abounds with complimentary references to Solomon and to the Temple, and a mistaken implication—that no part of the Temple stories and legends was written before A.D. 1300. From this I went on to an attempt first to divide this historical material into the two categories of what is taken direct from the Old Testament and what is added and developed by either Josephus or a later author, and then to trace the history of each. My conclusions, such as they are, underline the belief that, whatever the date of the ceremonies may be, the historical material they contain has a history infinitely longer than theirs and quite separate from it.

In all this material there is, of course, the gap between the first and second Craft degrees on the one side and the third on the other. The origin of the Hiram legend proper, as Bro. Covey-Crump has demonstrated, is unknown and possibly unknowable; there are no traces of it in mediæval literature, and its absence where so much else is present is highly significant. The material in the first and second degrees, on the other hand, is mainly from the Old Testament, and, even when it is not, its origin is, I think, in every case traceable. . . . But mediæval literature, in revealing the transmission of this material, reveals also the recurring traditions about Solomon himself, his Temple, and his chief Architect; and I do not think anyone can study these traditions without beginning to wonder how old the legends may be in something at least nearly approaching the form in which we have them.

There are three strands in the Solomon tradition, all closely interwoven, and all bearing on the Masonic legends—the magician, the wise man and the builder. Of these, the third seems to have been the central one from the start, and I propose to pass over the other two rather rapidly in this paper and concentrate my attention on it.

To begin, then, with Solomon as a magician. The implication is found in two passages in the Old Testament (I Kings, iv, 29-34; Wisdom, vii, 17-22; the former, if not original, is at least older than the Septuagint translation into Greek of about the third century B.C.), and the latest writer on the subject points out further¹ that the events of Solomon's life, with its dark and disastrous end, were exactly of the kind to encourage such a myth. The myth had grown extensively by the time of Josephus (first century), who repeats its two commonest features—Solomon's power over birds and animals, and the books he had written.² It is made quite clear that the books referred to here were books of magic; and thus almost at the start we are introduced to the magical rituals which were to be a constant theme.

Magic, as we understand the word, takes three great forms—astrology, alchemy and ritual. Ritual magic is incidental in some degree to one if not both the other forms, as well as to much organized religion. Its most important use, and that in which it shows most clearly the aim of all magic—human control over non-human agencies—lies in demonology. It is in the Roman period, with the gradual break-up of the former organised religions, that we first become aware of the full importance of demonology, principally for use in exorcism; a series of sources from the Gospels on shows the importance for Jew and Christian alike of exorcism as a means of healing. Magical books attributed to Solomon were wide-spread; Origen³ (third century) refers to the exorcistic formulæ contained in them, and now for the first time we hear of the Seal of Solomon, which exorcised demons because it contained the

¹ E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic*, 47.

² Josephus, *Antiq.*, viii, 2, 5.

³ Origen, *Comment. ad Mattheum* xxvi, 63.

Holy Name of God—an idea which appears in different form in Revelation xiv, 1, and xxii, 4. Amulets of this period invoke Solomon's aid against a variety of ills:¹ as the magician who knew all the demons by name, and what ailments were caused by which, he was the obvious person to call on.

It is in the *Testament of Solomon* that the King's power and position appear most clearly; and the Testament, a Jewish work probably of the fourth century A.D., was to colour all European magical rituals for twelve hundred years. The Testament is hung on the thread of an autobiographical story of Solomon's life and reign, with stress on the building of the Temple. It is actually little more than a hand-list of demons, giving their names, the mischief they cause, and how they are to be exorcised. The demonology is far more developed than any other feature of the work, and shows signs of various foreign influences, notably Egyptian and Iranian, acting on its Jewish foundation. There are Christian influences, too;² indeed, its importance partly lies in showing how close to each other Christianity and demonology were.³

But the Testament has a wider importance. The first stage of demonology—paramount in the Testament—was a matter of exorcism and medicine. The next, which parts of the work foreshadow, was a change to demonology as a means of obtaining special benefits. To this end there was produced the series of manuals of demonology, which goes on into the sixteenth century, if not later. The most famous of these are the two Keys of Solomon; nearly all are attributed to him as a matter of course. It is here, perhaps, that it becomes most clear how great a figure Solomon the Magician was in the Middle Ages, and apart from the Manuals he reappears constantly in mediæval literature.⁴ Most of the legends in the vast Solomon-Magician corpus probably date from this time,⁵ and in any estimate of the mental atmosphere of the later Middle Ages he is a figure to reckon with. It was only with a further change in the character of demonology, and the rise of the new type of magician embodied in Faust, that Solomon lost ground.

The second strand in the tradition is that of Solomon the Wise Man. To a great extent, of course, the "Magician" element presupposes this, and in the earlier centuries the two are very hard to distinguish. In the earliest evidence, other than the Old Testament itself, Josephus⁶ mentions three points referable strictly to this idea—the "books" Solomon had written (apart, that is, from the purely magical books already mentioned)—a development from the generalised "Wisdom" which alone is attributed to him by the Old Testament; the riddles he exchanged with Hiram of Tyre, or his servant Abdemonus, which are the occasion for a disquisition on the wisdom of Solomon himself; and the Queen of Sheba's visit to test and hear his wisdom. Later, and apart from all three, is the reference in the Sermon on the Mount, significantly casual in its context, to "Solomon in all his glory".

In the Christian centuries the idea of Solomon's wisdom seems to have gradually separated itself from that of his magic, and stress is increasingly laid on the idea of him as the receptory of the Divine Wisdom—the Hagia Sophia itself; he appears in this light on a twelfth century fresco in S. Demetrius at Vladimir.⁷ There are glimpses of the idea of wisdom in general, both in the "Testament" and in other sources, in the ascription to him of all medical knowledge, indeed of the whole art of healing, without the implication of exorcism.⁸ The books appear again in the sixth century in Cosmas,⁹ "Solomon again wrote his own works, Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. For though he had received the gift of wisdom from God . . . he did not receive the gift of prophecy"; the riddling with Hiram and his servant, who here appears as Abdimus, in Jacques de Vitry's *History of Jerusalem*¹⁰ (thirteenth century). The Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of *Solomon and Saturn* is a separate manifestation of this general idea; another, showing how widely prolific it was, is the Arab legend that the original strain of all Arab horses derives from the stallion Zad-er-Rakib, given by Solomon to an embassy of Azdites.¹¹

It is in the encyclopædic age of the thirteenth century that the specific idea of Solomon as the repository of all wisdom comes to its full flowering. The mediæval notion of the Old

¹ Dorigny, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, iv, 1891, 287f. Brit. Mus. Cat. of Bronzes, 370, No. 3192.

² On this point cf. the Bordeaux Pilgrim (first half 4th century) on Jerusalem "there is here also a crypt, in which Solomon used to torture devils"; Palestine Pilgrim Text Society, 1887, 19f.

³ The fifth century mosaic in the Palazzo Arcivescovile, Ravenna, of Christ Trampling on a Serpent is a good example of the point.

⁴ See Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byzantinischen Literatur*, 281-285, and Suïds, *Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1931 edition, ii, 208. Josephus' story of the Ring is copied by many writers, e.g., Gervase of Tilbury, William of Malmesbury, Higden, etc. A wall painting of Solomon and the demon Marculf, dating from the mid-thirteenth century, was in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor, Westminster.

⁵ See St. John D. Seymour, *Tales of King Solomon*, 1924, passim.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.*, viii, 2, 5; viii, 5, 3; viii, 6, 5.

⁷ Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, iii (ii), 933-4.

⁸ e.g., Theodoret; Georgius Monachus, Cedrenus, etc.

⁹ Cosmas Indicopleustes, Hakluyt Society edn., 208, para. 239.

¹⁰ Palest. Pilgrim Text Soc., 1896, 17.

¹¹ Mercier, *La Chasse et les Sports chez les Arabes*, 1927, 182.

and New Testaments as complementary parts of one whole, the Old a direct prefiguration of the New, derives in its later form mainly from the "Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae" of Isidore of Seville, though it is by no means original in him. It was not worked out in detail for some hundreds of years after Isidore, but when it was, we find Solomon as the symbol of the Divine Wisdom, and as such the direct prefiguration of Christ Himself. This appears most clearly in the thirteenth century MSS. of the *Bible Moralisée*, where miniatures of the various events in the history of Solomon are accompanied by both the Old Testament text and a statement of the precise event in the life and ministry of Christ which is prefigured.¹

The same idea inspires the late mediæval version of the story of the Queen of Sheba. The story is Biblical in origin, and appears in Josephus: but with the passage of time its character changes. In the earlier Middle Ages, as well as in Byzantine tradition throughout, the Queen has many of the characteristics and attributes of the Roman Sibyls, whereas Jewish and Aramaic writers see her essentially as the riddle giver.² In twelfth century Europe, she was, so to speak, Christianised, and accepted into Western Christian legend, where she has remained ever since. Solomon is the Divine Wisdom; the Queen of Sheba is the Church coming from the ends of the earth to hear the words of Christ, as she appears in the twelfth century stained glass at Canterbury. Alternatively Solomon on the throne represents the Divine Wisdom on the knees of Mary, and the Queen of Sheba's visit, the Adoration of the Magi. The latter version is shown above the Central West Porch of Strasbourg Cathedral, in a relief of Solomon on the throne with the Virgin and Child above.³ The former is illustrated in the *Bible Moralisée*, and in the series of pairs of sculptured figures at Amiens, Chartres, Reims and elsewhere, which were the subject of a fierce argument in A.Q.C. xix. The older Sibyl-Prophetess idea did not die out completely: it reappears in the Nuremberg "Liber Cronicarum", of 1493; and on a German "Old Testament" Gothic tapestry of 1500, are two figures with the names "Salaman" and "Sibilla".⁴

The other favourite scene of the wisdom of Solomon—the Judgment—has a longer specifically Christian history. What may be a caricature of it is on a Pompeian fresco (*i.e.*, before the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79) in the Naples Museum; the earliest Christian representation is on the lid of a late fourth century silver casket in the Church of San Nazaro in Milan. There are other early mediæval examples; and it too is drawn into the encyclopædic explanation of the Bible. The *Bible Moralisée* makes the living child prefigure the Church, the dead the Synagogue.

The first, or Magician element in the tradition seems to fade about the time of the Renaissance. Not, indeed, that the belief in magic itself fades then; it was, in fact, the great age of Alchemy, and the Philosopher's Stone was often taken to be identical with the Seal of Solomon. But Solomon as a Magician was dying with the Magician conceived as an heroic figure.⁵ Solomon as a Wise Man was by no means dead, and with the beginning of serious Old Testament study he takes on a new lease of life. The idea reaches its height, perhaps, in a story told by Bayle in his Dictionary; that Joshua Barnes, Cambridge Professor of Greek, in 1710 wrote an epic poem of 10,000 lines to prove that Solomon was the author of *Homer*. It is only fair to add that Bayle admits a doubt whether this feat was not performed to please the Professor's wife, and so induce her to pay for his edition of *Homer*.

These two first strands in the Solomon tradition may at first sight appear to have little to do with the Masonic legends, but I suggest that they are important, both as disposing of the suggestion that Solomon was an unknown figure in the Middle Ages and as giving a background to the Temple story. They provide evidence of those general ideas on Solomon which the Middle Ages had, and which the Temple legends do, in fact, presuppose.

For the Temple is the centre of the Solomon tradition from the start. In the Old Testament books it is already the main event; and as Solomon himself and the personalities of his reign passed first into memory and then into legend—and especially after the first destruction of Jerusalem, as witness Psalm 137—the Temple became to an ever-increasing degree the symbol of past—and lost—greatness. Josephus tells the whole story at great length,⁶ and comparison of his account with those of the Old Testament reveals the accretion of legendary and marvellous details to the original. In all later sources the influence of Josephus can be traced, occasionally with acknowledgments, more often not; "almost every person", says William of Malmesbury⁷ (twelfth century), "is acquainted with what Josephus, Eucherius and Bede have said" (*sc.*, about the Temple), and in the late mediæval romance

¹ cp. Rhabanus Maurus' *Comment in Libros IV Regum*, where the passage on Solomon opens by saying that he is the "Praefigurator" of Christ through the extent of his Kingdom.

² See Kraus, *Byzantin: Zeitschrift* xi, 1902, 20f, also *ibid.* xii, 1904, 492. In the Testament she is stated to be a witch.

³ Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, 1910, 157.

⁴ Schedel, *Liber Cronicarum*, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. xlvi vo.; the tapestry was illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalogue for November 29th, 1929.

⁵ E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus*, 160; *Ritual Magic*, 208.

⁶ *Antiq.*, viii, 2, 6f.

⁷ *History*, iv, 2.

of "Titus and Vespasian",¹ Josephus is not only a main authority for the events, but appears as one of the chief actors in the drama.

Early Christian writers are, in the main, content to report the story much as Josephus tells it. Clement of Alexandria, in the *Stromateis*² (second century), gives the story of Solomon's reign in some detail, opening with the statements that he reigned for forty years, and that Nathan the Prophet lived in his time and inspired the building of the Temple, of which Sadok was the first High Priest, being the eighth in the line from Aaron. Later come the marriage of Solomon to the daughter of Hiram of Tyre, at the time when Menelaus came to Phœnicia from Troy—a good example of Clement's historical method of synthesising classical and Jewish history—and the "Letters" of Solomon—cited here from a lost work, *Alexander on the Jews*, and not from Josephus—which brought him 80,000 workmen for the Temple from "Hophra", King of Egypt, and another 80,000 from Hiram of Tyre, together with an architect named Hyperon, of a Jewish mother of the family of David; Eusebius, in the *Præparatio Evangelica*³ (fourth century), tells much the same story, quoting the lost author Eupolemos, and adding a long description of the building, with particular reference to the two brass pillars gilded with pure gold. John Chrysostom devotes part of a sermon to the argument whether its plan and design derived from Egypt, concluding in the negative. The *Testament* is contemporary with these, and, as its latest editor has pointed out,⁴ the Temple is the Leitmotiv of the whole work—a good example of the essential unity of the three strands in the Solomon tradition: it is in order to build the Temple that Solomon seeks and acquires the power over demons which forms the real subject of the book.

With Gregory of Tours (sixth century) we are approaching the Middle Ages. Gregory mentions the Temple twice. In his *History*⁵ it is the subject of the sole reference to Solomon, and is described as of such magnificence and splendour that the world has never seen its equal; in the *de cursu Stellarum* it is cited as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. In the lengthy *de templo Salomonis*⁶ of Bede (672-735), we first meet the allegorical interpretation of the Temple story which has been a feature of the Western approach to it ever since; Bede, like Josephus, is a source on which many later writers draw. Bede states the basis of the allegorical approach in his first chapter:—

"Domus Dei, quem aedificavit rex Salomon in Hierusalem, in figuram facta est sanctae universalis ecclesiae, quae a primo electo usque ad ultimum, qui in fine mundi nasciturus est, quotidie per gratiam regis pacifici, sui videlicet Redemptoris, aedificatur."⁷

His method is to start each section with the quotation of a sentence from Kings or Chronicles describing some feature of the Temple, and to give a long allegorical explanation of it; considerations of time and space make it impossible to cite examples: besides, much of it is intensely dull. Bede quotes some half-a-dozen times from Josephus, and twice from Cassiodorus' *Commentary on the Psalms*; his own influence is clear to see in the three most important later works of this class, Rhabanus Maurus' *Commentary on the Books of Samuel and Kings*⁸ (ninth century)—a great deal of which is taken word for word from Bede—Richard of Saint Victor's *de Tabernaculo Tractatus Secundus*⁹ (twelfth century), and the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (twelfth century). Of these, the first two give full importance to the allegorical approach of Bede; in the third it is much less to the fore. Comestor, whose work is an abridged and simplified Bible, is in general satisfied to tell a plain, but very detailed, story of the building and magnificence of the Temple; he relies mainly on the Old Testament and Josephus. Besides these writers, who are essentially ecclesiastical in approach, there are a number of others. Alcuin, for instance, refers to Charlemagne in the ninth century both as David and as Solomon, and, in reference to the new building, speaks of "that Temple of Aachen which is being constructed by the art of the most wise Solomon".¹⁰ Both the *Golden Legend*¹¹ (twelfth century) and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*¹² (fourteenth century) trace the whole history of Solomon, incorporating many of the later legendary additions, and Higden describes the Temple in considerable detail. From

¹ Ed. Herbert, Roxburgh Club, 1905.

² i, 21f; Basel, 1936 edn., 218f.

³ ix, 30f.

⁴ G. C. McGown, ed., 1922, 4.

⁵ i, 13.

⁶ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xcii, col. 735f.

⁷ The House of God which King Solomon built in Jerusalem represents the Holy Universal Church, which, from the first of the Elect to the last man who shall be born at the end of the world, is built daily by the grace of her peaceful King, that is, her Redeemer.

⁸ In *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cix.

⁹ *ibid.*, vol. cxvi.

¹⁰ v., Dring, *A.Q.C.*, xix, 1906, 52-4.

¹¹ Keeping closely to Comestor as a model.

¹² *Rolls Series*, vol. xli, 3.

a far distant source—Palestine itself—comes a legend of unknown age to the effect that Solomon himself was a stonemason.¹

This mention of Palestine leads on to the third class of mediæval sources on the Temple—the tales brought back by the Pilgrims. The building they saw was, in fact, the Mosque of Omar, but by no means all of them appear to have realised that—though as early as about A.D. 700 Bishop Arculf says firmly, “On the spot where the Temple once stood, near the Eastern gate, the Saracens have erected a house of prayer”²—and even some who do realise it write of the whole area as though the Temple were still standing.³ William of Malmesbury writes, “Here is the Church of Our Lord and the Temple which they call Solomon’s, by whom built is unknown, but religiously revered by the Turks”,⁴ and in the middle of the fifteenth century the Spanish traveller, Pero Tafur, “bargained with a renegade . . . and offered him two ducats if he would get me into the Temple of Solomon”.⁵

The esteem in which the Temple was held is clear in all the pilgrim accounts. “It exceeded all the mountains around in height”, writes Saewulf⁶ (A.D. 1102), “and all walls and buildings in brilliancy and glory”, and sixty years later Benjamin of Tudela reported seeing the two great pillars, each with the name “Solomon, son of David” engraved upon it, in the Church of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina in Rome.⁷ It is in line with these conceptions that in the rebuilding of Jerusalem after its capture by the Crusaders there was a “Templum Domini”, a “Templum Salomonis” and a “Domus Regia”, and Jacques de Vitry writes: “There is also at Jerusalem another temple of vast size and extent, after which the militant friars of the temple are called Templars. This is called Solomon’s Temple, perhaps to distinguished it from the other, which is called the Lord’s Temple”.⁸

The later period of the Temple literature was covered in Professor Swift Johnson’s paper in *A.Q.C.*, xii; the facts he brings forward substantiate the theory of the permanence of western Temple traditions at this late period, and it would serve no purpose to cite them in detail here. It is interesting, however, to note the persistence of the tradition in Palestine, as shown, for instance, in the Diary of Henry Maundrell, who went from Aleppo to Jerusalem and back in 1697, and refers to local legends of Solomon at Tyre (connected with the building of the Temple), Bethlehem and Jerusalem.⁹ The important point about almost all the later literature is the influence on it of the study of Ezekiel. This appears in both Richard of Saint-Victor, who wrote a Commentary on Ezekiel’s Temple, with accompanying plans,¹⁰ and Comestor¹¹; it led directly to the conclusion that the Temple of Solomon and the Temple described by Ezekiel were one and the same building. This is stated most explicitly late in the seventeenth century by the brothers Villalpandus; it is obviously present to the minds of many of the later writers¹², and to the makers of Temple models. Many of our own ideas of the magnificence of the building are probably to be traced back to it.

The Temple building appears more than any other feature of the Solomon tradition in works of art. It is, indeed, altogether absent during the first twelve Christian centuries in the West, but this absence is in line with the general dearth of Old Testament subjects at that time. Early in the thirteenth century, Solomon is shown kneeling and facing a Gothic building, with a pillared porch, in one of the quatrefoil panels by the south-western door of Amiens Cathedral (Fig. 1)¹³; he appears again, seated and watching the building of the Temple, in a Hamburg Bible of 1255 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.¹⁴ It cannot be accidental that these earliest representations date from the didactic age of the *Bible Moralisée* of Richard of Saint-Victor, and of Comestor. The fourteenth century, so far as my researches have gone, is almost a blank period for Temple pictures, but with the fifteenth, and the generations following the first wave of Vernacular translations of, and commentaries on, the Bible, figures of Solomon become ever more common, and we are able to see the importance attached to the Temple in the Solomon story of the time. The famous manuscript, *Les Très Riches Heures de Jean Duc de Berry*, now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, devotes a page

¹ Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, 1907, 45.

² Wright, *Early Travels in Syria and Palestine*, 1848, 1 (Arculf), cp. 48 (Bernard the Wise, A.D. 867).

³ The Romance of “Titus and Vespasian” declares (11.4248f) that after Titus’ Destruction of Jerusalem only the Tower of David and Temple of Solomon were left standing.

⁴ *loc. cit.*

⁵ Ed. M. Letts, 1926, 61; cp. the map of Bernard von Breydenbach, c. 1480.

⁶ Wright, *op. cit.*, 39-40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁸ *op. cit.*, 44-5.

⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*, 424, 456-8.

¹⁰ In *Visionem Ezekielis*, P.L. 196, col. 527f.

¹¹ *Dicunt enim in multis concordare compositionem templi materialis cum compositione templi spiritualis quod vidit Ezechiel.* (The composition of the material Temple is said to correspond in many ways to that of the spiritual Temple seen by Ezekiel.) *Historia Scholastica*, De Porticu.

¹² e.g., Ludovicus Cappella, *Triplex Delineatio*, printed in Brian Walton, *Apparatus Biblicus*, 1753. I have gone into this point, with special reference to Villalpandus, in an article, “The Seven Wonders of the World in the Renaissance”, *Art Quarterly*, 1949, 339f.

¹³ Vitry, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, Pl. 36.

¹⁴ Reproduced in Ehrenstein, *Das Alt Testament in Bildern*, 642.

to a scene similar to that in the Copenhagen Bible—the figure of Solomon facing a partially completed Temple.¹ Towards the end of the century this is again repeated in the Josephus, illustrated by the French miniaturist, Jean Foucquet, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the Temple is here an exceedingly elaborate French Gothic building (Fig. 2).² The earlier English representations are figures in Tree of Jesse designs, with one exception—the fourteenth century Queen Mary's Psalter.³ This is a series of illustrations of the history of Solomon, including the Temple building (Fig. 3), a scene similar to that in the Copenhagen Bible. The development of the Tree of Jesse in mediæval art is a very large subject,⁴ and it must be enough to say that the choice of figures in the earliest representations varies considerably. Solomon is by no means always one of them, and when he is present he carries a plain sceptre. In later years he appears regularly as one of the "standard" Ancestors of Christ, and at this time, too, the emblems carried by the figures come to be adapted more closely to the individual. David carries a harp, and Solomon either a sword of justice or a model Temple. Of the examples of the latter known to me, two are English and one Welsh, and the date of the earliest is also significant. This is the Jesse window in Margaretting Church, in Essex, dated to about 1460; the others, also in glass, are at Thornhill, Yorkshire, dated 1499, and Llanrhaiadr, Denbighshire, dated 1533. The Margaretting temple is a Gothic building with a spire (Fig. 4); of the other two, both taken from Jean Pignonchet's illustrations to a French Book of Hours dated 1498, that at Thornhill is hexagonal, and that at Llanrhaiadr cruciform, with a tower and apparently a minaret.⁵ Another figure of Solomon is contemporary with Margaretting. It is a roof boss in the nave of Norwich Cathedral, carved under Bishop Lyhart, 1446-1472. It shows him with a Temple model in the right hand and a sword in the left.⁶

Another tradition is represented by Raphael's Fresco in the Vatican Stanza—afterwards engraved and copied very widely—a building scene with nothing in particular to distinguish the Temple, but with Solomon and other figures standing in the foreground. Going from the sublime to the ridiculous, a similar, but not certainly the same scene is shown in a stained-glass window⁷ of Flemish early sixteenth century origin, brought to this country from Rouen at the time of the French Revolution and erected in Prittlewell Church, Essex (Fig. 5). It is one of a set of twelve, some of them copies from Dürer, and shows masons at work on a building, watched by two overseers in the background; an angel carrying a square flies above them. The Temple itself, together with the Pillars, the sea of brass and the chariot with the urn, appears among a great variety of other scenes from the history of Solomon in the series of small books of Bible illustrations produced in many European countries during the sixteenth century, with designs by contemporary engravers. The general character of these illustrations is shown in that reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, lxi, 1, opp. p. 132, from the Geneva Bible. With reference to the late Bro. Poole's remarks, *ibid.*, it may be mentioned that the idea of Bible illustrations of this kind and in this form appears first (to my knowledge) in a book published at Antwerp in 1528. The pillars, with their "bowls", appear in a separate illustration there, and in many others of the series, most of which seem to be contemporary with, or somewhat later than, the Geneva Bible. In the series as a whole we see the results of the earlier vernacular Bible versions; the comparison of these illustrations with those of the thirteenth century *Bible Moralisée*, itself containing pictures of many of the same subjects, is instructive. Later in the sixteenth and during the following century, a Temple building scene was commonly included in tapestry sets of the History of Solomon. The finest of these is the Brussels tapestry in the Imperial Collections at Vienna⁸; at least one English example is extant, an eighteenth century piece belonging to Lord Newton. It may be said of all these later Temple pictures that they bear out the substantial truth of Bro. Rylands' dictum, that with the passage of time the Temple bears an ever-increasing resemblance to a railway station hotel.⁹

So much on the Temple generally; but before I conclude there are one or two points of special interest. The first concerns the two pillars. In the Greek translation (the Septuagint), the two Hebrew names are transliterated as we know them to-day in Kings, but in Chronicles are rendered by the Greek words meaning "strength" and "right". Josephus gives the Hebrew words only, and the early Christian writers, where they mention them at all, do so without translation. The Vulgate does the same, and it is only in comparatively modern editions of it—the earliest I have been able to trace is the Paris edition of 1552—that a Glossary translates the words as "In fortitudine aut in Hirco" [in strength or in (a second

¹ Reproduced *ibid.*, 644.

² Reproduced *ibid.*, 646.

³ Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, British Museum, 1912, Pl. 116a.

⁴ See Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, 1934, *passim*.

⁵ *ibid.*; also Rackham & Baty, *Burlington Magazine*, 80, 1942, 62-6 & 120-4.

⁶ C. J. P. Cave, *Roof Bosses in Mediæval Churches*, 202 and pl. 157.

⁷ v. *Buider*, lxxxvii, 1904, 263-5.

⁸ Vienne Gobelinssammlung, set. lxxvii, No. 3.

⁹ *A.Q.C.*, xii, 1900, 162.

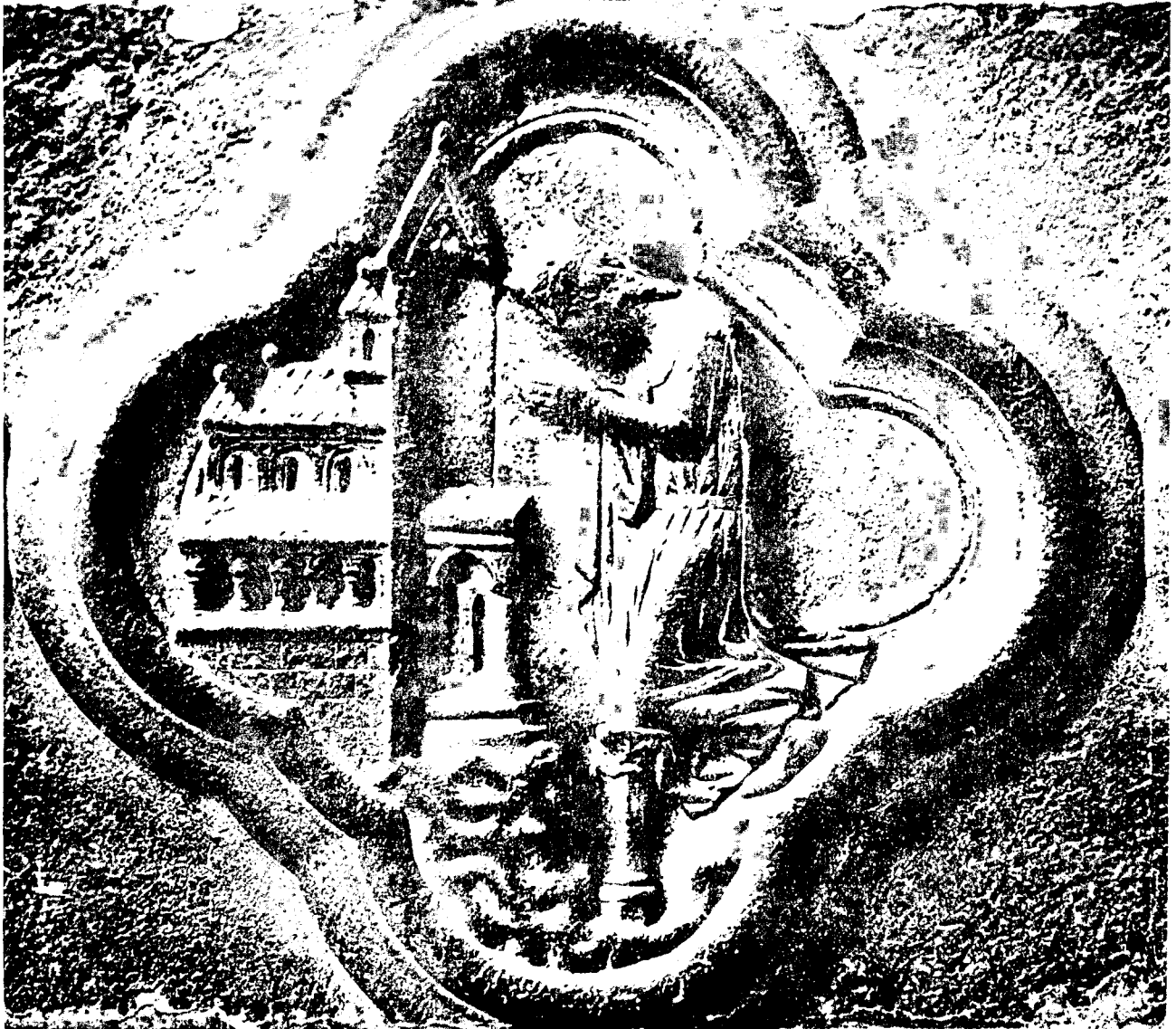


Fig 1. Solomon and the Temple. Amiens Cathedral, south-western door. About A.D. 1230. Photograph in the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced by permission. Crown copyright reserved

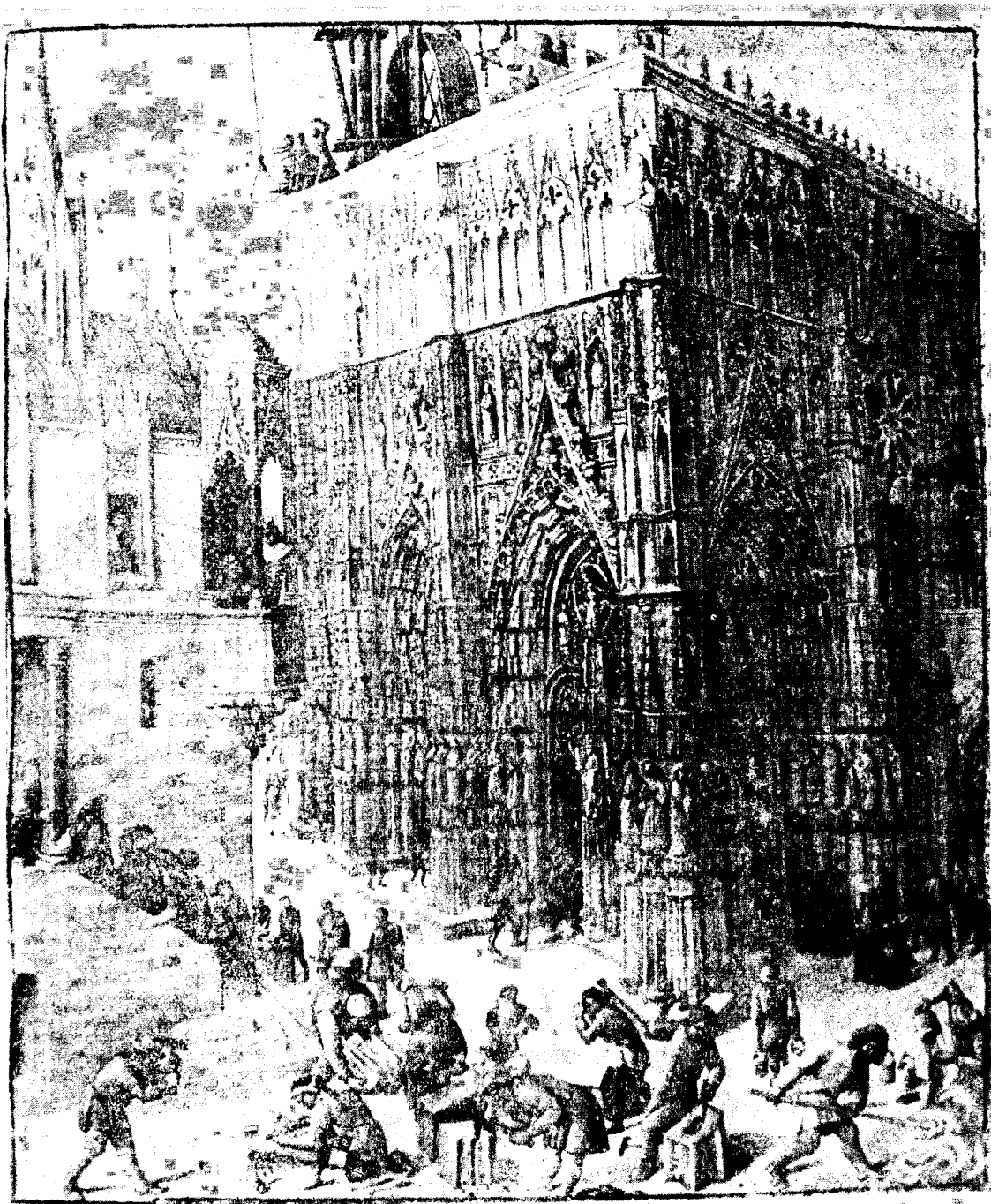


Fig. 2. Jean Fouquet, The Building of the Temple. Miniature from an edition of Josephus.
Shortly before A.D. 1500

Photograph of a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced by permission.
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Fig. 3. "Comment Solomon le Roi fit faire le Temple." Miniature from Queen Mary's Psalter. English, early 14th century
Photograph of a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced by permission. Crown copyright reserved

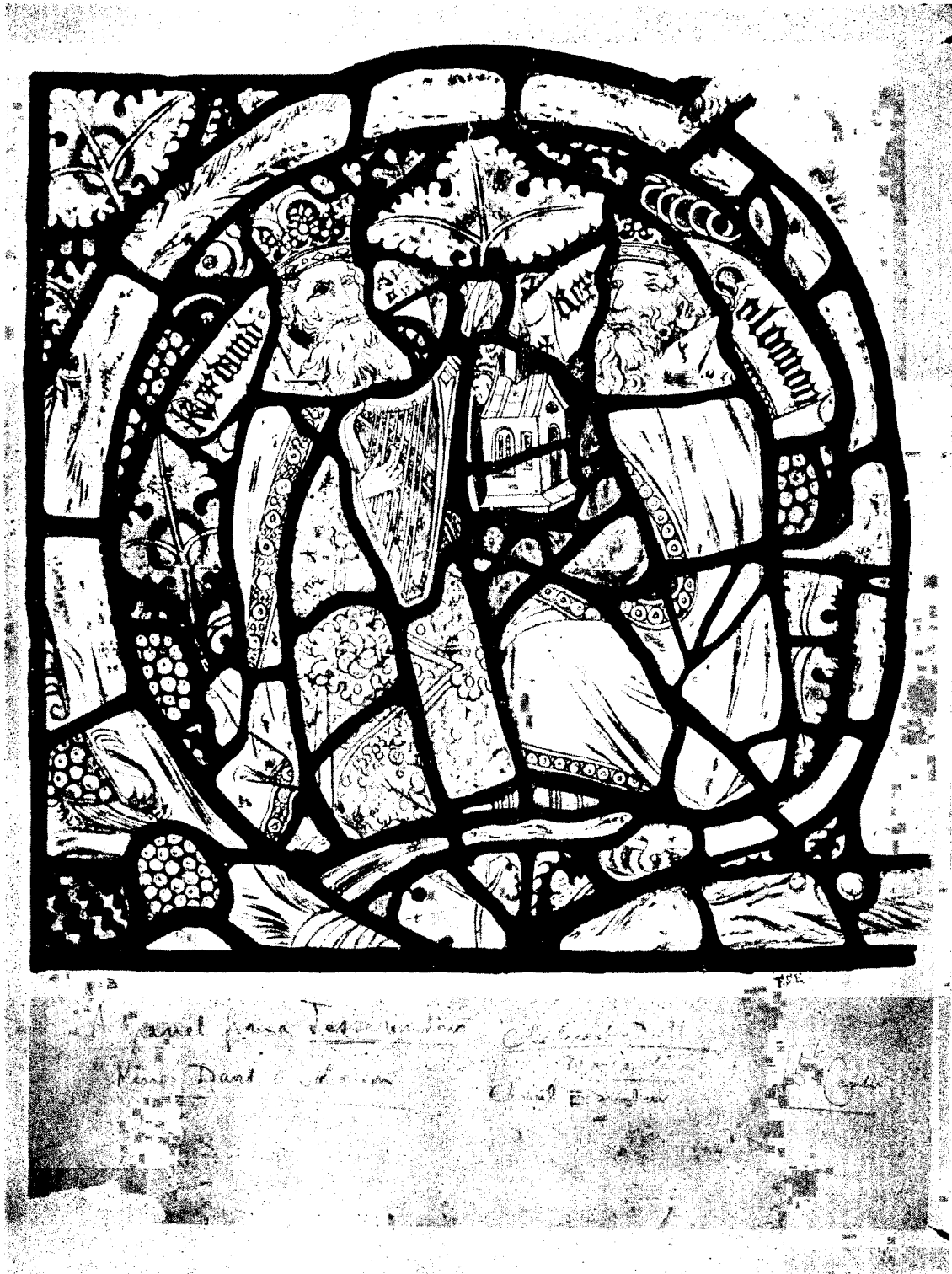


Fig. 4. Margaretting. Tree of Jesse. David and Solomon

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Fig. 5. Prittlewell window

Photograph of a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced by permission.
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meaningless word)] and “Praeparans sive praeparatio, vel firmitas” (preparing or preparation, or firmness).

The same Glossary, it is interesting to note, refers to a priest named J., of uncertain date, mentioned in I Chronicles ix, 10, and to a tribe of J.ites in Numbers xxvi, 12; the first of these appears to be the only ground for the legend attached to the name. Long before this, however, the significations almost as we have them had been attached to the pillars. Bede refers to them as “J., that is, firmness”, and “B., that is, in strength”,¹ being followed word for word in this by both Rhabanus Maurus and Comestor. Mediæval Jewish traditions about the pillars appear in Benjamin of Tudela, whose account of seeing them in Rome in 1160 has already been mentioned; and in the porch added to Würzburg Cathedral by Bishop Hermann of Lobdeburg, between 1222 and 1254, the two main pillars at the entrance are carved respectively with the letters B. and J. That the letters are of the same date as the porch itself, is, I fear, unproven and unprovable.² The Authorised Version of 1611 has “In it is strength” and “He shall establish”, and the discrepancy between this and the older traditional signification of J. is interesting, considering the date.

Mediæval sources have much to say about Hiram, though on the legend proper they are completely silent. The existence of two Hiram, implied in Kings and stated definitely in Chronicles, is accepted from the start, but there is some discrepancy between the accounts of Hiram the commoner’s parentage, and even of his name; Clement calls him Hyperon. As to the name “Abif”, the introduction of which into Europe is generally attributed to Luther’s Bible, it is worthy of note that it is mentioned in Rhabanus Maurus’ Commentary on the Books of Chronicles. He is mentioned as an architect rather than a bronzecaster by both Clement and Eusebius,³ but not by any of the later authors. The allegorical interpretation is stated most clearly by Bede, and in view of Bro. Covey-Crump’s suggestion of a confusion between Hiram (sometimes spelled “Iram”) and Adoniram, it may be said that the former is allegorised as the Teacher of the Church (the widow of the tribe of Israel) to the Gentiles, the latter, mentioned constantly as an overseer, as the Saviour Himself.⁴

I will touch on two other points which arise from these mediæval Temple sources. The first is that the tradition of moralising on the position and work of Masons is as old as Bede, followed here by Rhabanus Maurus.⁵ The second point concerns the legend that no metal tools were used in building the Temple, referred to in the First Lecture, also dates back to Bede, who moralises it by a comparison with the sentence in Revelation that nothing common or unclean should enter the Holy City. Richard of Saint-Victor repeats the legend, but gives up the difficulty involved; “non est mirum si in Salomonis operibus invenimus quod rectius mirari quam perscrutari possumus”.⁶

With this sentence we return to the basic conception of Solomon as a Wonder worker from which we started. I am aware that far from all the ground I have covered can be described as being immediately Masonic research, if by that term is necessarily meant something connected with the Order we know to-day. My aim, within the restricted field I have tried to cover, has been to suggest a background of tradition and legend. I do not want to imply that all or much of this tradition—if it was a tradition—was, so to speak, Masonic; but if, as the late Bro. Knoop and his colleague stress in *The Genesis*, Masonic tenets and principles are slow to grow, legends are even slower. Unlike tenets and principles, they are liable to change in their application; but even where this change may be suspected (and in no relevant case can it be proved), a useful purpose may be served by showing their age and development. Our knowledge of the extent of Old Testament learning at any given time before, say, the late fifteenth century, is very incomplete. I believe myself that even the scanty material presented here justifies the phrase “background of tradition” behind the particular form of many of our legends; and furthermore that though the gaps in time between the appearances of the various factors are sometimes long, it is more convincing to assume a tradition than an indefinite number of written sources, all repeating the same story, and almost all now lost.

The vernacular translations of the Bible which begin in the later fourteenth century, make the general tradition of Solomon, as then known, likely to be more popular than before. Their effect is to be traced in what may fairly be called the “Old Testament Revival”, which has greatly affected the character of all the Reformed Churches, and in the growth of the iconography of Solomon. The mediæval repertoire—the Judgment, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, and various figures of the King, generally part of a Tree of Jesse—is extended to include the Temple, the Idolatry, views of the Palace, Throne and details of buildings, and many small and fanciful scenes. But by the same token the effect of the

¹ *loc. cit.*, 330.

² Hessdorfer, *Der Dom zu Würzburg*, 1907, 11-12.

³ Clement, *loc. cit.*, i, 21, 130; Eusebius, *loc. cit.*, ix, 34.

⁴ Bede, *ibid.*, c. iii; Rhabanus Maurus, *ibid.*, col. 137.

⁵ Bede, *ibid.*; Rhabanus Maurus, *ibid.*, col. 137B.

⁶ *ibid.*, col. 224C.

vernacular Bible must have been to make the formation of entirely new legends, not directly dependent on the Old Testament, increasingly unlikely with the passage of time. The problem of the Masonic Legends is not how early they can be, but how late.

At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was recorded on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the J.W., to Bro. Brett for his excellent paper and to Bro. Ivor Grantham for his able rendering of it. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. J. R. Rylands, N. Rogers, Lewis Edwards, C. Marshall Rose, Bernard E. Jones, H. Carr and G. S. Draffen.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

We can agree without difficulty that Bro. Brett has established his two points: firstly, that Chetwode Crawley was not correct in the cited statements about Solomon, and secondly, that these statements were misleading in regard to the dating of the Temple legends.

Those of us who have referred back to Crawley's paper in *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxvii, in an endeavour to inform ourselves more fully on the subject, must have wondered how he came to commit himself to the opinions he expressed. Many of the references given by Bro. Brett in support of his case must have been available, or at all events accessible, to Crawley. Some of them must surely have been known to him, but it is evident that he was not impressed by any volume of laudatory references to Solomon or his Temple during the mediæval millenium following the third century.

Still, Crawley was concerned mainly with his presentation of the legend of the Quatuor Coronati, and I doubt if his general theme is really invalidated by this particular inaccuracy.

What does matter is that Bro. Brett has been led to submit to the Lodge a scholarly paper, admirably presented to us by our senior P.M., which paper leaves us with an enriched and enlarged view of that tremendous legendary figure who appears so majestically in our ceremonies.

Solomon as magician, as wise man and as builder, is a dominating personality. Bro. Brett has been able to paint of his rise in myth and legend, a picture which is strangely satisfying. The suggestion of the decline of his legendary stature with the rise of the Faustian conception is a shrewd comment, and must remind us at once of Spengler's melancholy approach to the philosophy of history. Yet Solomon can never quite disappear from the stage. That which is myth may be disproved; that which is legend may pass away, but that which is enshrined in ritual has exceeding permanence in the affairs of men.

There is a sub-division of Bro. Brett's three strands in the Solomon tradition which has always interested me—Solomon as a man of business. There is an O.T. passage well-known to many Masons. It relates to the supply by Hiram of Tyre of materials for the building of the Temple, and beneath the Oriental courtesies of the writing, the precise commercial basis stands out clearly. Hiram's letter is for all the world like a modern supplier's tender. The price to be paid is clearly stated in terms of measures of wheat, of wine and of oil. In return (and, let it be noted, the transaction was on the basis of payment in advance), wood was to be cut out of Lebanon and transported by Hiram to Joppa—"carriage, insurance, freight", as we might say nowadays—delivered to port of destination, where Solomon was to take over. "And thou shalt carry it to Jerusalem".

Nothing essential is omitted, even to the arrangements for the skilled creator and supervisor, who was to become a central figure in our legend. Modern business documents include, in modern terms, precisely the same details. But the O.T. business correspondence shows both Solomon and Hiram as hard-headed and shrewd men of business comparable with any since their time.

Whether Solomon be a figure of history, of legend, myth or only of ritual, there is no doubt that he was a factor in much mediæval speculation, and we are much in Bro. Brett's debt for his admirable presentation of what he modestly calls a contribution to the background of tradition. The origin of our Third Degree legend in its Masonic connotations remains a mystery: Bro. Brett's work is a valuable part of what must be done if we are ever to solve this intriguing problem.

I have much pleasure in moving that we accord to Bro. Brett our hearty thanks, expressing at the same time our gratitude to Bro. Ivor Grantham for his presentation of this valuable paper.

Bro. ROGERS said:—

It is with pleasure that I support the resolution of thanks to Bro. Brett for his scholarly and excellently annotated paper. Frankly, however, I am at a loss to know what purpose the author has in mind, and why he has spent so much time and effort to prove that King

Solomon's Temple was a magnificent structure, which can be deduced by those who take the trouble to read the Biblical story in I Kings.

That King Solomon began his reign most auspiciously, and that the decisions he gave on many difficult judicial problems which were regarded as almost super-human, no doubt gained for him a reputation as a sort of miracle worker.

As regards the Temple which his father David had wanted to build, this was considered a symbol of peace, and David was considered as unfitted, being a "man of war"; Solomon, therefore, raised himself to a high degree of religious feeling, because, as it were, the whole emotional content of his being became materialised in such a building.

A Midrashic legend has it that no sharp instrument (a symbol of war) was used throughout the building, and that there was a special animal reptile which cut the stones, these being prepared on a site two miles away, and then carried to the place where the Temple was built.

After such wonderful beginnings, Solomon's character deteriorated considerably, and his mania for building (this time palaces for his many foreign wives) led him to tax the people unmercifully, which was the main reason for the division of the kingdom at his death. He was, too, known to be a keen breeder of horses, as witness I Kings iv, 26, where it is stated that he had "forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots". Recent excavations are stated to have unearthed the actual stables where the horses were kept, and they appear to indicate that the horses were cared for much better than many of his subjects.

These are random thoughts on a paper which one finds it extremely difficult to analyse critically.

BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM writes:—

In the unavoidable absence of Bro. Gerard Brett, it was indeed a privilege to me to be permitted to read an abbreviated version of his paper on King Solomon; and it is to be hoped that this version, which I ventured to prepare without consulting the author, did not unduly detract from his closely-reasoned arguments.

Unless I am mistaken, this paper is one of the most striking contributions to the proceedings of the Lodge during the past few decades. In my view the most arresting passage in the whole paper is to be found in the sentence with which the paper ends—a sentence which for emphasis I here repeat as an inset to these few lines of comment: "The problem of the Masonic Legends is not how early they can be, but how late."

In his search for evidence of the existence of our Masonic legends in bygone centuries, Bro. Brett has tapped literary sources of information not readily accessible to the average student; and in the same quest Bro. Brett has introduced us to another source which, in the past, has received but scant attention—mediaeval pictorial art as represented in tapestry, in stained-glass windows, and in the figures portrayed by the skilled carver in wood and stone.

By way of illustration to this paper, it was a pleasure to be able to exhibit from the Grand Lodge Library a number of books and photographs, a list of which will, in accordance with custom, be published in our *Transactions*. Attention is particularly drawn to the fact that Grand Lodge now possesses a late seventeenth-century piece of Brussels tapestry portraying the Temple building scene to which Bro. Brett has referred. I would also venture to draw attention to Samuel Lee's *Orbis Miraculum, or the Temple of Solomon portrayed by Scripture-Light*, a work published in London in 1659. This illustrated volume contains a detailed description of every part of King Solomon's Temple, and concludes with a postscript containing what is believed to be the first printed allusion in the English language to one of the legends associated with the Royal Arch. As the Royal Arch has been declared to be an integral part of the Craft, perhaps Bro. Brett, in his reply, will feel able to allude briefly and discreetly to the fundamental Royal Arch legends, unless he feels that these distinctive legends fall outside the scope of his paper—a paper which has left us with a fascinating vista extending back throughout the ages.

I cordially support the vote of thanks which was passed with such acclamation at the recent meeting, and I join in expressing the fervent hope that an improvement in health will soon permit Bro. Brett to join personally in our deliberations on those rare occasions when he is able to return to England.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

Bro. Brett is to be congratulated on an interesting paper. If one may say so, what he has done was well worth doing and he has done it well. In scholarly fashion he has assembled the facts and legends of the Solomon tradition, with particular attention to Solomon

the builder. If, like other students, he has not solved the problem of the origin of the legend on which the ritual of the Third Degree is based, he has at least re-stated it in his final sentence, and with an authority which his research compels us to respect.

His criticism of Bro. Chetwode Crawley is obviously well-founded. If the earlier writer's statement had dealt with Western art instead of Western literature, as Bro. Brett shows, it would have been tolerably correct. Until the "Old Testament Revival", artists and craftsmen had been concerned with the old Dispensation chiefly, as they regarded it, for prefiguring the New, and had mainly selected only those episodes from the Old Testament as they could point to as such a prefiguration—what mediævalists call the New Alliance. As the author of the paper does not quote them, perhaps I might refer to two works of reference which I have found very useful on this and on similar subjects. The *Jewish Encyclopædia* shows that there was a school of commentators who took a much less favourable view of King Solomon and all his glory than we, as Masons, are accustomed to hold, looking upon him as an extravagant and grandiose Oriental monarch concerned at least as much with his own glory as with that of Him to whom the famed edifice was erected. Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionary of Christian Archaeology* gives an interesting and detailed account of the *embarras du choix* from which we can select, from small archæological objects, an iconography of the Jewish King. But of those we can only mention a representation strongly suggestive of St. George and the Dragon, showing Solomon on horseback trampling under foot the figure of a female demon. A constant struggle with these powers of darkness is one of the features of the magical legend which even includes his deposition from his throne by one of the demons, somewhat in the style of the tale of King Robert of Sicily.

Finally, although Bro. Brett expressly deals only with the Western world, we may perhaps be allowed to mention the part which Solomon plays in the legends and traditions of Mahomedan countries, of which the Arabian Nights is the best-known example.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN writes:—

Bro. Gerard Brett's paper is not, and does not purport to be, an examination into the origin of the Hiramic Legend. Nevertheless, indirectly it is a worthy contribution to the study of the legend. Indeed, I should go so far as to say that no student of the future, when examining the Hiramic Legend, should feel that his work is complete unless he has read this paper.

And this not only for the contents, but for the sources from which Bro. Brett has compiled his paper, and which are so excellently detailed in the footnotes. One cannot suppose that Bro. Brett has exhausted all the references to King Solomon between the third and thirteenth centuries, but he has produced enough to refute Bro. Crawley's statement in Volume xxvii of *A.Q.C.*

In the second paragraph of his paper, Bro. Brett mentions, almost apologetically, I think, that there is a gap between the first two Craft degrees and the third degree. I do not think that this is to be wondered at, for within the last year or more I have been coming increasingly to the view that the third degree is completely different in origin from the first two, and that to a large extent the coupling of the three degrees together—as they have been coupled now for more than 200 years—was the result of circumstance and not deliberate planning, and certainly not evolution. The study of the ritual content of the three degrees indicates, to my mind, two distinct avenues of thought, and no one can say that our three degrees are ritualistically a complete whole, in the sense, for instance, that the three degrees of the Rectified Rite, as worked in Switzerland, are a complete unit and represent development of thought in continuous progression.

However, all that is quite another story, and I merely mention it that Bro. Brett should not feel disappointed with the gap.

Bro. BERNARD JONES writes:—

I should like to be allowed to comment on just one of many points arising from Bro. Gerard Brett's learned paper. In assuming, as the ritual intends us to do, that Hiram of the narratives in I Kings and II Chronicles is the Hiram of our Traditional History, I am one of the many who have found difficulty in identifying an artificer (a worker who wrought in brass the Temple pillars, the molten sea, etc., etc.)—in identifying this cunning metal founder with "the principal architect at the construction of King Solomon's Temple", necessarily one

who must have had a life-long experience in designing and carrying through to completion buildings of dignity and importance.

In the *Constitutions* of 1723, Hiram becomes "the most accomplished mason on earth", and only a few years later Lodge ritual was identifying as the Master Architect the man whom I Kings and II Chronicles made very clear was a cunning metal founder. I confess I suspected here the hand of an editor unafraid to take liberties with his original material.

But Bro. Gerard Brett—in his erudite and most informing paper, which I have greatly enjoyed and from which I have much to learn—states that Hiram Abif "is mentioned as an architect rather than a bronze-caster by both Clement and Eusebius". This particular Clement was apparently of the second century and Eusebius was of the fourth, and, although Bro. Brett states that later writers do not refer to Hiram as an architect, we must. I feel, accept that as the writings of these two ancient authors have endured to this day and are known to scholars—Bro. Brett, for example—there must have been, all though the mediæval period, some learned men well aware that, in the early centuries A.D., Hiram had had a place in an architect tradition.

It is therefore possible, even not unlikely, that a legend persisted in some quarters, all through the centuries, that Hiram was more than Solomon's metal founder—that he was, indeed his "principal architect", to quote once again the familiar ritual. And, in the light of this possibility, some of us may have done an injustice to an unknown editor.

Bro. H. CARR writes:—

We are indebted to Bro. Brett for a valuable and learned paper which suggests a course of reading far beyond the normal range of Masonic students, and it may be said that he has, to some extent, corrected Chetwode Crawley's assertion as to the absence of references to Solomon and his Temple in the literature of the third to the thirteenth centuries.

There is, however, one whole group of source-material which Bro. Brett has omitted to mention, *i.e.*, the great Jewish poets, exegetes and commentators from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries whose writings form the very flower of Hebrew literature, esteemed second only to the Sacred Writ itself. A brief list of those whose commentaries achieved universal fame in the world of learning would include the following names:—

Solomon Ben Isaac, of Troyes (Rashi), 1040-1105. French.

Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam-Rashi's grandson), 1085-1174. French.

Moses Nachmanides, 1194-1268. Spanish.

David Kimchi (Radak), 1160-1235. Franco-Spanish.

I look forward to the day when one of our scholars will collect for our edification their commentaries on Solomon and the Temple literature, which will make an important addition to the present paper.

For me the sting of Bro. Brett's paper lies in the tail-piece, where he says that the problem of the Masonic Legends is not how early they can be, but how late. In the early versions of the MS. *Constitutions*, we find our first hint of legend associated with Aynon. Aymon and Naymus Grecus, etc., but hardly enough to indicate that the character formed any part of Masonic ritual or ceremony—if, indeed, any ceremony existed in those days.

Our next indications of legend are a good deal later, in the *Graham MS.*, 1726, where we find a Noachic legend which is clearly very closely related to the H.A. story as we know it to-day. The same document contains what appear to be the fragments of a legend concerning Bezaleel, with a "fidelity" theme; four years later Prichard, in his *Master's Part*, printed the earliest detailed version of the Hiram story. The *Wilkinson MS.* (which may be dated about 1727) also has a Hiram question which indicates the existence *in Masonic usage* of a Hiram legend at that time.

As to the words which habitually accompany the legend, between *Sloane MS.*, B.M. 3329, C. 1700, and *Masonry Dissected*, 1730, we have not less than five versions, all closely related, and yet sufficiently varied to indicate some degree of antiquity. When we consider these variations of legend and word, we are driven to the conclusion that they must have arisen in a period long before our earliest evidence of actual Lodge ceremonial and practice.

To the question, "When was the Hiram legend first incorporated into the Masonic ritual", Bro. Brett's paper does not provide an answer, but it does serve to show that in the latter half of those ten centuries there existed a kind of background of literary speculation and artistic imagery which indicate that the Temple of Solomon may—even at that early period—have formed the basis upon which a body of Masonic legend and tradition was gradually evolved.

Bro. MARSHALL ROSE said:—

In commenting upon Bro. Brett's most interesting paper, "King Solomon", why, one is tempted to ask, is so much made of the legendary stories about Solomon? We know that before the art of printing was established, travelling minstrels, such as Homer, traversed the then known world entertaining their audiences with stories which at one time contained some basic truth which, by constant repetition down the centuries, became more "far-fetched" and unreliable—Josephus perhaps less so than many.

Bro. Brett makes mention of three strands in the Solomon tradition especially bearing on Masonic Legends: "The Magical, the Wise Man and the Builder". To take one item, the Seal of Solomon as having power to exorcise demons. Here is the legend from a French source, *The Life of Solomon*, by Edmond Fleg (1929):—

"Then in the midst of the lightnings of the dream, the voice of GOD thundered, commanding, 'Michael, Michael, take the Ring of Heaven from under the Glory of My Throne, and carry it to Solomon.'

"The Archangel took the Ring which bore the four letters of the ineffable name upon the seal shaped like a five-pointed star. And behold, the four stones given to Solomon by the four visitations of the angels were suddenly set within the splendour of the Ring, which shone and flashed like continuous lightning, and blinded the Seraphim with its fires".

The author devotes a chapter on this Ring of Heaven which, it is alleged, gave Solomon power over nature, both animate and inanimate. It also acted as Solomon's conscience when he proposed to do an unkingly act, a voice within him would cry: "Thou hast chosen wisdom".

We may now link up two of Bro. Brett's "strands". Solomon, "the magician" and "the builder", when he makes reference to the Biblical story that "nor any tool of iron [was] heard in the house, while it was building". Why Bro. Brett makes mention of Bede in this connection is not clear. Many expositions of this tradition have been expounded. Again, to quote Fleg, who also links up Solomon's power over birds and animals with this tradition. The problem facing Solomon was, how were the blocks of stone to be cut without the aid of iron. The king was advised to make use of the Schamir, a mysterious worm which Persian and other traditions wove round the Solomon legends. It was able to cut the hardest stones. Legend has it that Moses, with its aid, engraved the Ten Commandments upon the Tables of Stone. Solomon was thus faced with another problem, where was this creature to be found. The king called the beasts, the birds and the fishes to his aid; all, except the Sea Eagle responded to his call. Thereupon Solomon commanded that a nest of the Sea Eagle be brought to him. This nest was covered with a bell of crystal. To get at his eaglets the eagle tried to break the crystal with his claws and beak, but without success. Then flying off, he disappeared for a day or so, then returning with a schamir in his beak, he placed it upon the bell, causing it to shiver and break in pieces. The schamir is described as no larger than a grain of barley and was to be found in the Mountain of Sleepers.

In *Miscellanea Latomorum*, Vol. xxviii (1944), is an exegesis on *The Legend of the Schamir*, by the late Dr. W. Wynn Westcott. Dr. Westcott, in tracing this legend, says: "However, some of the Rabbis of the Jews, with an oriental love of the marvellous, declared that the stones had been cut and squared by magical arts by the Schamir". He goes on to give an excerpt from an old ritual, which, *inter alia*, implied that one of the secrets, which certain men illegally conspired to exhort from H.A.B., was the secret of the Schamir", a wonderful creature which could cut stones".

Is there not in these a need for caution. In some Masonic circles there is a school of thought which is rather prone to try to graft fanciful ideas upon the main stem of Freemasonry. Thus we should be careful that we do not readily confuse fact with legend and remember that oriental imagination has run riot in the invention of legends regarding King Solomon.

One does not for a moment think any member of Q.C., would be guilty of so doing, least of all, Bro. Gerard Brett.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

Bro. Brett seems to be inclined to apologise for the subject of his paper. Only upon a very narrow and limited conception of what is Masonic Research could it be deemed inappropriate. The Temple bulks largely in our ritualistic system, and its builder can hardly be excluded. We cannot fully understand a word except in its context, nor any human activity except against its background. In any case Bro. Brett is to be congratulated on

having set out in perspicuous order the development of the Solomonic tradition, from the time of the Exile to the end of the Middle Ages. Possibly before the exile there may have been germs of the idea that Solomon was a wonder worker and a Master of Magic, but one would think, reading the chronicle of the desperate wars and frantic politics of two small buffer states between hostile great powers that there would be but small tendency in this direction. However, this is uncertain and may be left aside. Bro. Brett has in a very short paper, brought together a great deal of interesting information that is not easily come by for the ordinary student. I am not able profitably to discuss the paper from this aspect, as my knowledge of the subject is unsystematic and acquired only incidentally. However, I would like to make a few observations on the concluding paragraphs where matters are touched upon, in which I have a particular interest.

But first, I do not quite understand what is to be understood when it is said: "the legend that no metal tools were used in building the Temple", dates back to the Ven. Bede. It sounds as if the meaning were that this was the earliest appearance of a non-Biblical tradition. The traditions about that wonderful worm, the Schamir, are non-Biblical, and were conveyed from folk-lore by the rabbis to explicate the statement in I Kings vi, 7, that ". . . there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building".

Again I am not sure that I take Bro. Brett's meaning where he says in the next to last paragraph of the paper, that legends are slow in growth, and are "liable to change in their application", and adds that "in no relevant case can it be proved". I take it that this last statement is not general, but limited to Masonic legends. I quite agree with the conclusion of the paragraph, but would like to point out that, after all, King Solomon, as he appears in our Masonic formularies, is only an adventitious personage. In the Old Testament account he is naturally the central figure, about whom the whole story revolves. But this is not so in the Masonic tradition. Here Solomon is not essential, and indeed in the earliest form of the legend of the Master that we have he is barely mentioned. And in the earliest French ritual document we get a glimpse of the tendency to elaborate his connection with the events related, for the compiler gives a number of variants, which he says were current in the Lodges in various places, in which the wise king's part is stated in different ways.

It has been said that myth is like a parasitic vine, always ready to twine itself round any support it may find. And this, I think, is especially true of what is called the ritual myth, the variety under which the legend of the third degree is to be classed. The ritual myth arises from the ritual, and in many instances is no more than a detailed description of it in the form of a narrative, in which the personages are really the participants in the rite whenever and wherever it might be performed, "projected" back into the past as in a shadow-graph upon any personages, historical or legendary, who might seem appropriate to those who practise the ritual.

Bro. Brett states the problem of origin very neatly in his final sentence. It is how late the Masonic legend can be, not how early. But we must make a distinction; for there are two things whose respective origins are seldom the same. There is the story itself in its essential plot, and the costumes and scenery, so to speak, in which it has been clothed to give it an air of greater reality. I contend that the former is archaic and of an indefinite age. The latter would appear to date only from the time of the first printed versions of the Bible, and while in its main outline fairly well established by the beginning of the eighteenth century, it continued to be elaborated in minor details up to its end, and even into the nineteenth as well.

The observation that "our knowledge of the extent of Old Testament learning at any given time" before the late fifteenth century is incomplete is perfectly true, but that the existing manuscript translations could have made "the general tradition of King Solomon" popular, in the sense of being familiar to the populace, is very doubtful. The manuscripts, though existing in quite considerable numbers, would be in the libraries of monasteries and the larger churches. While I do not think the Masons as a class were all illiterate, many of them must have been familiar with the forms of letters at least, while some of them (perhaps not many) could not only read and write, but were more or less familiar with Latin. Yet even these would, one imagines, have had very little opportunity to become acquainted with the books in monastic libraries. In general their knowledge of the Scriptures would have extended no further than the lessons embodied in the services of the Church. And I doubt if the average priest or monk knew any more.

Now when we recall the significant fact that all the manuscript Bibles, and all the printed versions excepting only the first, translated the title of the architect of the Temple as "father" or "his father", while the Matthew's Bible, the first of the printed versions, transliterated it as "Abi" or "Abiv" (following perhaps Luther's translation) it would seem as if it was at this time—at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that the Masons became specially interested in the Temple. For it has been remarked that the Legend of

the Craft in its earlier form gives no special prominence to the building of this edifice, and in the slight mention given to it rather emphasises David's share in its erection than Solomon's. It was not until the last half of the seventeenth century that this mention became more strongly emphasized, and, as in the *Inigo* MS., the master builder given his full title in the familiar form. From all this it would seem very probable that it was early in the sixteenth century that the Masonic legend was given the scenery and costuming with which we are familiar, instead of being ascribed to Noah, Nimrod or Bezaleel, or perhaps to much later personages, historic or legendary. However, all this is not susceptible of proof. All I would contend for is that the legend existed prior to any such ascription, or what amounts to the same thing, that the ritual from which it arose has existed from time immemorial.

In one or two places I think Bro. Brett is rather obscure, or has not expressed himself so as to convey his meaning. In speaking of the two pillars he says that in the Book of Kings in the Septuagint the two Hebrew names are transliterated as we know them to-day. This is hardly accurate. For in Latin letters, representing those of the Greek, they are given as *Iachoum* and *Bolös*.

Again in referring to the Wurzburg columns, it is said that they are carved with the letters "J" and "B". While this is true as far as it goes, it suggests that only these initials are given. Actually, according to a reproduction of a photograph, the two names are spelled in full, though divided in a curious way, which does seem to lend some confirmation to the supposition that they were cut later than the columns themselves. They appear thus: IAC HION and BOO Z. The arrangement brings the first and last letter of each name close to an angle of the edge of the abacus of the capital, while the middle part is blank. Possibly the ON, which is a contraction, is meant for M.

Bro. E. WARD writes:—

In his most valuable compilation of data relating to King Solomon, Bro. Brett states:—"The origin of the Hiram legend proper, as Bro. Covey Crump has demonstrated, is unknown and unknowable".

In the first place the legends associated with King Solomon are one thing, but the inference that the Hiram legend is ipso facto synonymous with them, is quite another matter.

Secondly, if by "proper" is meant the original of the H.A. legend, then Bro. C.C. did not demonstrate that it was unknown and unknowable. It is true that there is a fairly wide choice, and the actual one revived may never be known, but all that was demonstrated was the improbability of a scriptural corroboration of the Masonic version.

As is well-known and generally agreed amongst us all, there is no mention of the death in Anderson's Constitutions of 1723, and the first we hear about it in the dramatic form is from Pritchard in 1730. But in Anderson of 1738 we find that not only is the death referred to, but in the passage (fifth charge), which in the earlier issue referred to F.C.'s, there appeared the substituted title M.M.'s. We can visualise the possibility of Anderson concealing the information in 1723 and deciding that after the 1730 exposure no further concealment was necessary, but it is hard to imagine that simultaneously he had made so gross an error as to confuse two distinctions which must have been specially important just at that period. It is, therefore, difficult to ignore the circumstantial evidence that the legend was introduced sometime between 1723 and 1730. If, however, a partly new system was being evolved from 1717 onwards, it would naturally be a slow process before reaching finality and the more complex third and last degree would need the largest measure of polish. Particularly would this be the case if the legend were introduced for a specific reason not existent prior to the formative era of G.L.

If then, that particular legend, even if not strictly in accordance with scriptural text, was the only one which in the minds of the ritual fabricators fitted perfectly the object in view, they would feel quite justified in adopting it. I suggest for consideration, that there was a very good reason, in congruance with which the H.A. tradition was ingeniously synthesised from fragmentary material. Hence, historically, it is not necessarily connected with Biblical allusions to the building of the Temple.

It has been argued that the Brethren of a bygone age would be just as opposed to innovations as they are now, and therefore a new legend would be unacceptable. But suppose it were explained that this was something which itself had been lost to Masonry and was found again. Suppose also, they brought out Luther's or Coverdale's Bible of 1535, or Thos. Wilson's Christian Dictionary of 1678 containing the very name to lend authority to the assertion of antiquity, is it not more likely to have been hailed with enthusiasm than otherwise?

It always seems to me that a most injurious explanation of the discrepancy in the accounts of Hiram's genealogy is that attributed by Kenneth MacKenzie (Royal Mas. Cyclo)

to Bishop Patrick. The latter suggested that Hiram's mother was of the tribe of Dan, but her first husband was of the tribe of Naphtali, by whom she had this son ; when she became a widow she married a man of Tyre, who is called Hiram's father from having adopted and educated him. Thus "of Hiram my father's", etc.

Bro. GERARD BRETT *writes* in reply:—

I appreciate very much the tone of the comments made by members of the Lodge on the paper *King Solomon*, and am grateful for the suggestions made by several of them, especially by Bro. Carr. I have very little that can usefully be said in reply. An implication, however, runs through several of these comments that I believe the Solomon and the Hiram legends to be necessarily connected. This is a meaning I did not intend. We know something of the earlier history of the Solomon legend ; nothing of that of the Hiram legend ; and very little of the earlier Masonic development of either. In the circumstances I hardly feel one can be sure ; but at present I do not believe the two are connected, and what I said of Solomon implies nothing about Hiram.

I am especially grateful to Bro. Grantham for the time and trouble he took both in preparing and reading the paper, and for his remark about the legends of the Royal Arch. I agree with this line of thought, but I would prefer not to give a direct answer now. One of these legends, which has appeared in a number of different times and places, has recently struck me most forcibly, and I would like the time to work on it before replying.

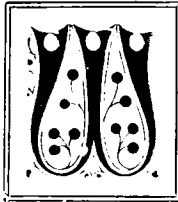
The discrepancy in the accounts of Hiram pointed out by Bro. Bernard Jones—namely, that some sources call him architect and others bronze caster—seems to me important, and is one that I think we should all like to know very much more about. I myself am unable to throw further light on it, as my efforts to trace an "Architect Hiram" tradition have so far produced nothing ; but I feel that in our study of the mystery of the Hiram legend we should at least be one stage further on if we knew the origin of this discrepancy. This seems to me an untried and possibly profitable approach.

Bro. Meekren makes a number of points. That at the end of his first paragraph covers a carelessness of expression on my own part, for which I apologise. What I meant was that Bede is the first mediæval author to mention the tradition, so as to make it clear that the later mediæval writers could have gone back to him rather than necessarily to a more distant source. When I said, speaking of legends, that "in no case can it (a change of application) be proved", I had in mind Masonic legends generally and those of Solomon specifically. To my mind, the essential process has been the taking over of the figure of Solomon and a number of complete and pre-existing legends about him, rather than a grafting on to a new trunk of legends once gathered round an old. My statement about the extent of Old Testament learning at any given time before the late fifteenth century, is one I would stand by, but I agree with Bro. Meekren that the number of those who had access to an actual Old Testament must have been very small. What I had in mind in this passage was that a great deal of this tradition, if it was a tradition, must be assumed to have been oral. I would say that it was not until the coming of printing and the resulting literacy that our culture became a written one, and that before 1500 at the earliest it was primarily oral. I feel that we should regard the spoken word as the most important element in the transmission of this and most other traditions.

The introduction into Europe of the word "Abif" is always associated with Martin Luther. When I was reading sources in preparing this paper, I ran across what may be an earlier and may be merely a very much later example of it. It is in the text of Rhabanus Maurus (ninth century), as given by J. P. Migne in the *Patrologia Latina* ; I have referred to this source in the paper. Rhabanus follows the usual mediæval method of giving first a Biblical passage and then his commentary on it, and where he comes to the name Hiram he gives the Latin words from the Vulgate "patrem meum", followed by two words in brackets, "(Heb. Abif)". It was not clear, however, whether this interpolation was Rhabanus Maurus, his early seventeenth-century editor Colvenor, or Migne himself. There may be nothing whatever in this, or it may be quite an interesting point.

To Bro. Ward I repeat that no inference that the Hiram legend is *ipso facto* synonymous with that of Solomon was intended by me, and that, for my own part, I believe at present that the two are entirely separate. If Bro. Ward will further forgive a direct contradiction, I still think that the late Bro. Covey Crump did demonstrate that the origin of the Hiram legend is at present unknown and unknowable. I would have said that the purpose of *The Hiram Legend* was far wider than demonstrating the improbability of a Scriptural corroboration ; and that the book was written to prove, and did prove, precisely that point.

NOTES



WILLIAM SCHWENCK GILBERT.—Sir Arthur Sullivan's connections with the Craft are well known, for he was for some time Grand Organist in the United Grand Lodge of England. That his famous collaborator was also a Mason would appear to have escaped the notice of his biographers. Perhaps this is understandable when it is realised that W. S. Gilbert joined the Craft in Scotland when he was a Captain in the Aberdeenshire Militia.

Gilbert was initiated in Lodge St. Machar No. 54 (S.C.) on the 12th June, 1871, and received his third degree on the 23rd June of that same year. The period between degrees was much less than that permitted nowadays. It would be interesting to know what Gilbert's reactions were to the drama of the Hiram Legend, for it can hardly have failed to make an impression on one so interested in the stage.

In all his published works, I have been able to find only one reference which might possibly be regarded as Masonic. It occurs in that notably unsuccessful opera, "The Grand Duke". I quote from the libretto [*The Savoy Operas*, Macmillan, London, 1927, p. 634]:—

Ludwig: Hush, rash girl! You know not what you say.

Olga: Don't be absurd. We're all in it—we're all tiled, here.

Ludwig: That has nothing to do with it. Know ye not that in alluding to our conspiracy without having first given and received the secret sign, you are violating a fundamental principle of our Association?

Song — Ludwig

By the mystic regulation
Of our dark association
Ere you open conversation
With another kindred soul,
You must eat a sausage-roll.

If, in turn, he eats another,
That's a sign that he's a brother—
Each way fully trust the other.

Etc., etc.

G. S. DRAFFEN.

The Chapter of Regularity No. 339 (originally No. 59), Penrith.—Two references in *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076* since the Royal Arch Chapter of Regularity No. 339, Penrith, Cumberland, secured a centenary charter in 1946, have prompted the placing on record of these notes.

In Vol. ix, pt. 1, p. 70, W.Bro. Wallace E. Heaton referred to the Chapter (though erroneously as Perseverance) as an example of how, even after the Union of Grand Chapters in 1817, some daughter Chapters worked for years without being attached to a Lodge; and in Vol. lxi, pt. 2, p. 208, W.Bro. J. Heron Lepper, who was personally familiar with the history of the Chapter, in an expression of his belief that in the remote districts of England "Modern" Chapters remained unaware of the regulation that they had to be anchored to a Lodge, mentioned this as an illustration, adding that the real tragedy came when the Chapter applied for a centenary warrant.

The Chapter of Regularity No. 339 meets under a charter of 1830, and officially its centenary was achieved in 1930; but its centenary charter is exceptional in that in its preamble reference is made to the foundation of the Chapter, then numbered 59, on 6th June, 1788. According to Supreme Grand Chapter records, as quoted by Hughan, the warrant was cancelled in 1809, and, following the Union of Grand Chapters in 1817, no new warrant was issued; but the Chapter possesses a minute book dating back to 25th January, 1818, recording meetings of the Chapter described therein as No. 59. The first entries in this book, under the date of 25th January, 1818, show that eleven office-bearers were present, the three Principals being described as "Chiefs" and the two Scribes as "Grand Scribes".

Five Master Masons were exalted, the relative minute reading: "The above Bretheren, being Master Masons, passed the chair in due form in the Master Masons' Lodge, and was exalted to the Sublime degree of Royal Arch Masons and paid their respective fees of £1-6s. each."

Another minute records a decision that the Chapter be held on "the first Sunday after the full moon in March and so continue every two months".

The minute book shows a succession of somewhat irregularly held meetings until the year 1823; then some pages are missing from the book; but beginning at the reverse end is an account, in copper-plate writing, surmounted by a painted scroll, of the "re-opening of the Chapter under a new Charter of Constitution" on 30th December, 1830. It then became the Chapter of Regularity No. 647, being anchored to the Lodge of Unanimity, now No. 339, which Lodge, by the way, is the junior "Modern" Lodge pre-Union of Grand Lodges in 1813. The original Penrith Lodge, dating from 1776, unfortunately lost its warrant in 1811; the Brethren met without a warrant in 1812; the new warrant came the following year.

Reverting to the Chapter of Regularity, two interesting points emerge: (1) In spite of being erased in 1809, the Chapter was functioning at the beginning of 1818, for the minutes of 25th January are clearly those of a Chapter with its officers in being; and (2) when the position was regularised in 1830, no question seems to have been raised about the bona fides of the Principals or the Janitor, the exaltations of whom were all at the period the Chapter officially did not exist. Furthermore, the ornately-inscribed minute records that "Companion Grundy was then called upon to explain the purport of the Meeting, which was done in a Most Appropriate and truly Masonic speech", and "the Principals received their Separate Charges in a Solemn and very impressive manner from our Sincere and faithful Companion Samuel Grundy". He, too, was an exalteé of the Chapter in 1818, being described as from the Lodge of Newcastle-upon-Tyne No. 26. There are several references to him in Bro. the Rev. H. Pooles book on Kendal Freemasonry.

Unquestionably, the Chapter of Regularity No. 59 was the first Royal Arch Chapter in Cumberland and Westmorland. It was not until 1946 that the present members of the Chapter No. 339 realised there was a history beyond 1830, because it was not within the knowledge of any of them that there existed this minute book going back to 1818, a book which continues the record up to 1876; and the production of the book led to the application for a Centenary Charter which, as already mentioned, includes reference to the foundation of the Chapter of Regularity No. 59 in 1788. One question has, however, remained unsolved—How did the Royal Arch spread to Cumberland and Westmorland, and, in particular, why to Penrith?

This takes us back to the era of the stage coach. It was not until 1773 that a service was started from London to Carlisle via Boroughbridge (Yorks.), and, to quote James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787), Penrith, also the junction of the road to Whitehaven, then a considerable port, became "perhaps the greatest thoroughfare in the North of England". A glance at a modern motoring map shows very clearly the route—the present A.66 road linking the Great North Road at Scotch Corner (south of Darlington) with the present A.6 road at Penrith. It is the route that is followed by the motor coaches from Glasgow to London. Between Penrith and Scotch Corner, the Pennines are crossed by the Pass of Stainmore.

In the light of this excursion into geography, the following sequence of pre-Union Royal Arch Chapters appears significant:—

No. 52—Concord, Durham.

No. 56—Vigilance, Darlington.

No. 59—Regularity, Penrith.

Having recently seen for the first time a copy of the third edition of Hughan's *Origin of the English Rite*, which, in an appendix, contains a list of pre-Union Chapters, the writer was prompted to try to find a connection between Darlington and Penrith. Chapter of Vigilance No. 111, Darlington, is fortunate in that its history has been the subject of investigation by W.Bro. W. Waples, Librarian of the Province of Durham, who addressed the Companions on the subject in 1942. From his paper, a copy of which has been lent to me, it is clear that, quite apart from any early links with an Hierarchical Order or Lodge of Royal Arch Masters, the Royal Arch under the then Supreme Chapter ("Moderns") had its constitution in Darlington on Sunday, 24th February, 1788, the Chapter of Vigilance being No. 56 on the roll. It is clear also that its constitution was secured by five of the Darlington Masons being exalted in the Concord Chapter at Durham—constituted in the previous year—and by Bro. Thomas Dunckerley granting a dispensation to the Concord Companions empowering them to constitute the Chapter at Darlington and invest the Principals. This was done on Sunday, 24th February, 1788.

The date of the original charter or warrant of the Chapter of Regularity, Penrith, was 6th June the same year. As at Durham and Darlington, the meetings were on Sundays; this is shown, not by any records, for they are non-existent before 1818, but by a reference in the late Bro. the Rev. H. Poole's book, *Union Lodge, Kendal, 1764-1864*, published in 1949. This shows that on 11th May, 1789, the Lodge at Kendal held 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".

It would seem reasonable to suppose that the sequence is clear—Durham, Darlington, Penrith, Kendal, and (in 1790) Carlisle, where Mount Horeb Chapter No. 69 was constituted.

It is not without interest that this spread of the Royal Arch into Cumberland was at a time when William Hutchinson, author of *The Spirit of Masonry*, was compiling his quite monumental *History of Cumberland*, published in Carlisle in 1794. The second edition of *The Spirit of Masonry* was also printed in Carlisle in 1796. Each contains a list of subscribers, and a number of Masonic names appear among the subscribers for the *History*, including no fewer than eleven members of the then two Carlisle Lodges. The inference is that Hutchinson made full use of his Masonic contacts. He, of course, was a Barnard Castle (Co. Durham) lawyer, with Masonic activities in and around the Darlington area, and he was a Past Principal of the Royal Arch. Beyond doubt he was friendly with James Clarke, a Penrith land surveyor and hotel-keeper, who was a leading member of the original Lodge of Unanimity, Penrith, and whose rather remarkable *Survey of the Lakes* (1787) bears an elaborate dedication to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge.

To revert to the Chapter of Regularity, there are two or three points of interest, even after the new charter or warrant of 1830. There were Sunday meetings as late as 1847. In spite of the decision of the Supreme Chapter in 1823 making membership of the Royal Arch open to Master Masons of twelve months' standing, exaltees continued to "pass the chair". In 1845, for example, the minutes of the Lodge of Unanimity—the Lodge to which the Chapter was anchored in 1830—show that Bro. Wickham, a doctor of medicine, "passed the chair" in the Lodge, and was proposed and seconded *in the Lodge* to be exalted "to the most excellent degree of Royal Arch Mason". At the subsequent Chapter meeting he was again proposed and seconded before exaltation. Again, on 10th April, 1848, again in the Lodge, "in the Third Degree it was proposed that Bro. Percival be exalted to the degree of a Royal Arch Mason at the next meeting of the Chapter". Against this entry, in other writing, is the word "Irregular", and that was the end of proposals in the Lodge.

As this is written in January, 1954, it may be of interest to add that exactly 100 years ago the Chapter had twelve members, one of whom, John Hamilton, had been Janitor since 1818, but had never been registered with Supreme Grand Chapter.

ROBT. E. BURNE

(P.Z., Regularity Chapter No. 339, P.P. 3rd G.P.,
Cumberland and Westmorland).

59, Musgrave Street, Penrith.

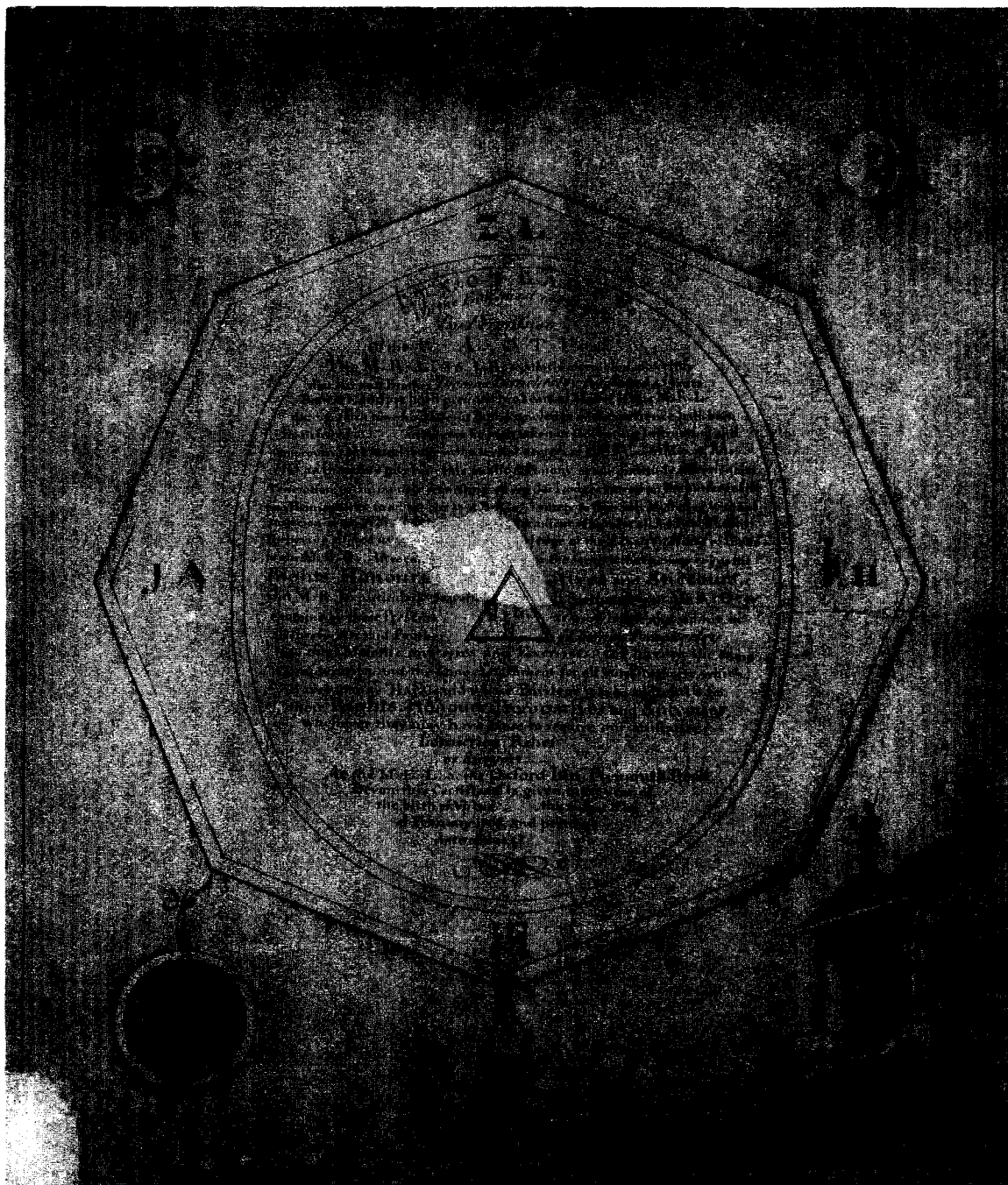
Dunckerley's Royal Arch Certificate.—The Certificate, reproduced opposite, was issued to Thomas Dunckerley by the "Moderns'" Lodge, then numbered 67. Lane gives this Lodge as formed at the Masons' Arms, Pembroke Street, Plymouth Dock (now Devonport), on 26th January, 1735, as No. 129; re-numbered 113 in 1740, 67 in 1755, and 56 in 1770. It was working at the Barnstaple Inn, Princes Street, in 1763, and at the Oxford Inn, Fore Street, from 1766. The Lodge was erased in 1777.

This Certificate was issued a year before the E.G. and R. Chapter began to issue Charters, and, as stated above, was issued by a *Lodge*, and not by a Chapter.

The picture in the right bottom corner is meant to convey that the way to the Temple of Honour lies through the Temple of Virtue. It was intended that the date should be given not only A.D., but also A.O., and "in the year of the birth of Virtue"; but these two latter have not been filled up. It is of interest that the Charter of Compact is also dated "in the Year of the Birth of Virtue 5379", while a blank draft Certificate in the possession of Grand Lodge bears the three dates, "the day of in the year of the Birth of Virtue 5379, A.L. 577, A.D. 176". Implying that whatever date might be filled up in the A.L. and A.D. positions, the Birth of Virtue date would remain 5379—in other words, that it was not a real date, but merely mystification.

The letters in the triangle are tantalisingly illegible. It would appear probable that there may have been a fourth letter in the apex of the triangle; if so, I suggest as a possibility

V
J H
H



Royal Arch Certificate issued to Thos. Dunckerley in 1768

Reproduced, from the original in Grand Lodge Library, by kind permission of the Board of General Purposes

On the other hand, the letter on the right might equally well be a "B", and that at the bottom may be "E"; in which case I can offer no solution.

A transcript of the Certificate, so far as it is legible, is given below. The letters M R L of S J B suggest "Most Respectable Lodge of St. John Baptist", but, if this is so, the second word has a very French flavour. Perhaps "Royal"?

TRANSCRIPT

I T N . . O T G . . A . . O T U
In the East, most enlightened

By Permission

Of the G . . A . . O T U . .

The M . . R . . L . . of S . . J . . B . . regularly assembled, do Certify
that our dear Brother Thomas Dunckerley Esq^{er} aged 43 years
Born at London hath presided two Years as Master of this M . . R . . L . .
during which time his Masonic skill, Knowledge and experience hath been
manifested in the care he hath taken in Governing Instructing and
improving the said Lodge in the several degrees of EP . . FC MM & RA
WE do therefore give him this public testimony of our gratitude affection and
Veneration unanimously requesting all regular Lodges spread on the face of the
two Hemispheres to admit our said Bro^r [in all] surety to their holy mysteries without
suspicion or doubt of chment of him for all his Bro^r Masons ;
He having assisted us ledge at the EXALTATIONS of Brethⁿ
to our M . . E . . O . . In reco r the same & that he may enjoy his
RIGHTS, HONOURS ATIVES and SUCCOURS,
Our M . . R . . L . . particularly prayeth [all] Brethren of our M . . E . . O . . to
examine by these Presents, acknowledge and admit, in
all surety our said Brother THOMAS DUNCKERLEY
into their Masonic mysteries and Exercises We having the same
Consideration and the same Attachment for all our Brethren, which
Travel or may Travel and whose Privilege it is to address Us for
their RIGHTS, HONOURS, PREROGATIVES AND SUCCOURS,
whenever they may have cause to require our assistance,
Instruction, Relief
or Support —
At the M . . E . . L . . at the OXFORD INN, Plymouth Dock
Devon, this Certificate is given, in the year of
the birth of Virtue ; the vulgar Aera
of February 1768, and peculiar
date of this O.

The Trial of John Coustos by the Inquisition.—Original documents from the Archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon, discovered and translated by a Member of the Lisbon Branch of the Historical Association, and reproduced by courtesy of that Association.

The first document is the denunciation by the Informer:—

On the 6th day of October, 1742, before the Inquisitor, Francisco Mendo Trigoso, there appeared Henrique Machado de Moura, an Attorney, married, residing at the entrance of the Rua do Valle, adjoining the Poyaes de S. Bento, Parish of Santa Catherina, and turned 40 years of age, stating:

that about one and a half months ago there appeared several teachers and adherents in this city of the new Sect called "Free Masons" condemned by the Apostolic See a few years past, and that the chief of these is an Englishman called Monsieur Coustos,¹ Master Diamond Cutter, living in the Rua Nova dos Mercadores near the Terreiro do Daco, who is a heretic; that his companions and followers of the aforesaid Sect are:—

Joao Pietri, a Goldsmith
Miguel Vandrevel, a Diamond Cutter
Alexandre Jacques Mouton, a Diamond Cutter
Lambert Blanger
Monsieur Bilhar, Book-keeper to an Englishman
Joao de Villanova, Goldsmith
all Frenchmen, and Catholics ;

¹ Coustos' full name, when it is given in the evidence, appears as "Joao Custo".

and that all the above-named hold meetings, sometimes during the day, sometimes by night, in different places, where they conduct their solemn ceremonies for those who join the Sect; that to-morrow, the 7th of this month, there is to be a meeting in the Quinta of Lambert Blanger, where this party will make his "professing".

That all this has been told him by Madame Leruite, and her husband, Monsieur Leruite, and two employees, whose names he does not know, Goldsmiths, residing in the Rua de S. Paulo, opposite the Mint, and all Roman Catholics. And this same lady told him that another lady of her acquaintance had said, she didn't know whether to her or to one of the employees, that Lambert Blanger had bought beeswax for to-morrow's function. And she had also heard Pedro Bersan, an Armenian, a former Merchant, and who frequently dines and sups in the house of Felipe Balistri, Merchant and Purveyor to Her Majesty the Queen, residing in the Rua Direita de Corpo Santo, say, that the said Sect existed in this city, and that the above-mentioned were all professors, and she gathered from him that he had further information about the same matter.

He also knows what a salesman of the said Felipe Balistri, by name Monsieur Eliot, also a Catholic, said, and to whom he, the informer, pointing out the obligation he had, under penalty of ex-communication, of telling the Holy Office all that he knew, receiving the reply that he would do no such thing, so as not to hurt friends who had done him no harm, nor had he any scruples about this.

That all this is known, and better than anyone, to Jose Gregorio, a Frenchman and Catholic, who was a salesman of Francisco (*sic*) Ballistri's, and at present residing with Madame Vandrevél, for the reason that he is a great friend of all the accused, and on this account, mistrusting the informer, might warn the others should he get to know that enquiries are being made about them.

Moreover he, the informer, knows from having heard this man tell Madame Leruite that a Chaplain and Second Secretary to the Papal Nunciature, called Dom Matheus, advised one of the accused not to divulge anything about the Sect to which he belonged in order to avoid harm coming to him, from which it follows that this party is also aware of what is being denounced.

He further stated that about fifteen days ago he heard Madame Leruite say that in the house of Pascal Jose Mouton there are two meetings and dinners at which all or part of the accused assisted, and that the said Mouton being invited to join the Society, refused the offer, and said he did not want them in his house any more for the fear he had; and that when he took the dishes to the table he went blindfolded; and the said Madame further stated she had advice that in the tavern of a Frenchman there were similar gatherings nightly.

And that this is what he has to denounce, and does so for the discharge of his conscience, having this obligation, and not from any odium he has against the accused, and that he only wishes to harm Lambert Blanger who caused him to be stabbed when he had appeared as Procurator against him, as also against the said Alexandre Jacques Mouton for the same reason.

And he did not make this denunciation earlier because he was making his enquiries with caution so that the people with whom he was speaking might not perceive his intent; and he has nothing further to say;

And all this being read over to him, he declared it was truly written, and signed it, together with the Inquisitor Francisco Mendo Trigoso. Manoel Affonso wrote it.

Franco. Mendo Trigoso

Henrique Machado de Moura

Nothing further appears for about 4½ months; then comes the evidence of a witness who, unable to give his evidence in Portuguese, has an Interpreter provided for him by the Inquisition:—

On the 11th day of February, 1743, in Lisbon, at the Clearance Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, Francisco Mendo Trigoso being present at the morning Audience, he sent for Cornelis Leruite, French by nationality, born at Liege in France, and living in this city of Lisbon opposite the Mint, where he exerts his occupation of Goldsmith.

And not understanding Portuguese, Balthazar Dromont, also a Frenchman, was sent for and told that he would act as Interpreter for Cornelis Leruite in that he should well and faithfully interpret the questions that were put, and the replies that were given, all of which he promised to fulfil under Oath of the Holy Gospels administered to him; and he declared that he was a native of Paris, residing in Lisbon in the Bica de Duarte Bello, which declaration was made out at the instance of the Inquisitor, being written out by Manoel Affonso Rebello.

Franco. Mendo Trigoso

B'ar Dromont

And thereupon the Oath of the Holy Gospels being administered to the said Cornelis Leruite, and on which he placed his hand, he was enjoined to tell the truth and keep it secret, all of which he undertook to fulfil through the said Interpreter ; declaring himself to be a Roman Catholic, of 49 years of age.

ASKED if he knows or suspects that any person has said, or done, anything, knowledge of which should be given to the Holy Office, he said " No ".

ASKED if he knows that some persons in this kingdom follow or profess any new Sect, or new Religion, giving obedience to the Superiors of such, they keeping inviolable secrecy, and observing its Laws and Statutes ; who the persons are, their names, where they live, and what reasons he has for such statements ? He said :—

that he bears witness to having heard a Monsieur Coustos, of whose nationality he is unaware, but brought up in England, a Diamond Cutter in this city, not knowing where he lives, but knowing him through going to market, say, that he belonged to a Society or Congregation which existed in France called " Freemasons ", and that both in England and France, and now also in this city, it had gained adherents, which he heard in the market place some eight months ago ; and that shortly after being present in the house of Lambert Bolange, a Frenchman also from his own place of origin, he received an invitation to a banquet. Amongst the persons invited there was, in the same house, the said Coustos who in the company of all those present said to him, witness, that if he would like to join their Society he would receive him together with the said Lambert Blanger ; to which he replied that if the latter were only to become a member of his Society if he, witness, joined, then he would never be. And never since has he spoken to the said Coustos, although he knows that this man went to his house and speaking in the shop to his wife Madame Leruite told her that he had to receive him, witness, in his Society ; and she replied that her husband ought not to mix with such rascals ; and the said Coustos had taken as a companion Jean Pietre, Frenchman, Goldsmith, living in the Rua das Flores, Bairro Alto, in the house of a widow named Vandrevél.

ASKED who were the persons who took part in the said banquet, and if he knows whether all, or some of them, are of the said Society, and are Roman Catholics ? He said :— that the persons who assitsed at the said banquet are named

Jose Bilhar, an employee of Puris Mellis, absent from this locality he knows not where ;

Jean Pietre, as aforesaid ;

Charmoa, a Diamond-cutter, residing above the Café in the Rua Nova, on the 4th floor ;

John Coustos, who is Grand Master of the Order of the Freemasons, also a Diamond-cutter, and whose address he does not know ;

Lambert Blanger, as aforesaid, a Fire-Arms Contractor, living in the Pichelaria ;

Vandervél, Diamond-worker, residing in the Corte Real in a lane opening onto the Rua do Corpo Santo, next to a Book-seller ;

Alexandre Mouton, also a Diamond-cutter, residing opposite the Church of S. Paulo in a house where dances are held ;

all Frenchmen except the said Coustos and Lambert Blanger, the latter being a Flamand, the origin of the former being unknown to him as already stated.

And of all these he, witness, only knows that they are brothers of the said Society of the said Coustos for the reasons given.

And as regards Alexandre Mouton, he knows because this same party told him so on several occasions (he does not remember whether any persons were present) that he was a brother of the Society in France where he had received his initiation ;

and he heard, he doesn't know from whom, that the said Lambert Blanger, after he left the Aljube where he was a prisoner, was received into this Society four months ago from now, his admission taking place in the house of an Englishman living at Belem ;

and one of the persons whom he heard relate what he has just said was an Attorney named Henrique Machado, a Portuguese, residing in the Poyaes de S. Bento ;

and that all are Roman Catholics with the exception of the said Coustos.

ASKED if he knows whether any more persons have joined and professed this new Sect or Society, and where they join or profess and in what manner, and if any women join ? He said :—

that he did not know of any other persons belonging to this Society or Brotherhood ; nor of any woman joining ; nor the form of admission or professing, as only they know who join and make their " professing ".

ASKED if, when the said Coustos invited him, witness, to join the said Society, it was before the banquet or after, and if on this occasion, as also that when he told him he was an adherent of this religion, he was in his normal mind, or perturbed due to any passion, or

overcome with wine ? Or if he saw that this Coustos spoke truly and seriously, or if he were jesting, or deriding him ; and in the same way as regards the said Mouton ? He said :—

that both the one and the other were in their normal minds when they told him what he deposed, and spoke truly, as far as he could gather.

ASKED how he knows that Coustos is the Head and Superior of this religion, and whether he has any news that this man and his associates hold any meetings by day or night ? He said :—

that he knows the said Coustos is the Grand Master because he, Coustos, said so himself, and all the others of the said Society also know it ; and that some of the persons referred to above go to Belem to the house of an Englishman who has an eating-house, called Baptista, and therein give their dances ; and many other persons go to the same house to divert themselves with them.

ASKED if he knows of any person of truthfulness, and of secrecy, who can depose on the matter of these same questions ? He said :—

that other people have heard of these matters, but does not know which of them would possess sufficient grounds for giving an absolutely reliable account of the nature required.

ASKED of what does this new religion or Society consist ; to what they bind themselves ; what ceremonies take place ; what aim they seek ; or what utility those who join derive ? He said :—

that the utility which the associates of this Society derive from it is, the helping of one-another in any part of the Kingdom, recognising each other as members by signs they have for this purpose ; and that the said Coustos told him that this Society was neither prejudicial to religion nor to one's neighbour ; nor to the Republic or to Crowned heads ;

and said nothing further, nothing as to their customs ; nor were any further questions put to him ;

And being read to him this his testimony, and through the said Interpreter, and by him heard and understood, said it was truly written, and he affirmed and ratified it, and would repeat it again if necessary ; and that he had nothing to add or subtract, change or correct, nor again to say to the usual formula, under charge of the same Oath of the Holy Gospels which was again administered to him ; and at which were present as honest and religious persons, who saw all, and heard all, and promised to repeat when called upon under charge of the Oath of the Holy Gospels, the licentiates Alexandre Henrique Arnaut and Francisco de Souza, Notaries to this Inquisition who ex causa assisted at this ratification and signed with the said Inquisitor ; Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it.

Franco. Mendo Trigos

Cornelis Leruite

Alex. H. Arnaut

B^{zar} Dromont

Franco. de Souza

And the witness having retired, the said Notaries were asked if they thought he was speaking the truth, and was worthy of credit ; and by them it was replied that they thought he spoke the truth and was worthy of credit ; and they again signed with the Inquisitor. Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it.

[Not signed by the
Inquisitor]

Alex. H. Arnaut

Franco. de Souza

The following day the original Informer is re-examined :—

On the 12th day of February, 1743, at Lisbon, in the Palace and Third Audience Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, the Inquisitor Manoel Varejao e Tavora presiding at the morning session, he sent for Henrique Machado, referred to in the preceding denunciation, and when the Oath of the Holy Gospels was administered to him, upon which he laid his hand, and under charge of which he was commanded to tell the truth, and keep it secret ; all of which he promised to obey.

To the usual formula he made no dissent.

ASKED if since he had made his denunciation to this Council on the 6th of October, he knew anything more from which further knowledge could be obtained of this new Religion or Congregation, the Laws they acknowledge, the teachers thereof, the ceremonies they perform, the utility they derive, and what end they pursue ? He said :—

that in spite of all the efforts he had made he had been unable to ascertain the ritual of the ceremonies, or the Laws which the teachers of this Sect observe, and could only discover that when they are “initiated”, it is with such caution and secrecy that the doors and windows are closed, and candles are used to light them withal in that Function, their banquets being given at the expense of the member newly joining ; and beyond this he knows nothing further.

ASKED if he knew whether any persons, other than those previously mentioned, had joined or "professed" this new Sect, and where they joined or professed the new Faith, and whether already there are fixed places for their functions, and whether any women also join ? He said:—

that he knew of no further persons other than those he had mentioned, and that subsequent to his having made his denunciation to this Board he verified that the meeting which he declared would take place in the Quinta of Lambert Blanger did not there take place, but at Belem, in the house of a foreigner named Joao Baptists, who has an eating-house, and that the dinner was prepared by one of the cooks attached to the Papal Nunciature whose name he does not know, but heard that he was a member of the said Society or Sect.

He is also informed that some of the gatherings take place in some rooms in front of the Travessa da Igreja de S. Paulo, below which there is a tavern where they sell brandy, financed by Lambert Blanger and Alexander Jacques Mouton ; however, he does not know what takes place in these gatherings ; and that he is informed that in some of these meetings some Irish women are present of whom one is called Anna Anastasia, but does not know the names of the others ; however, in the functions whereat they make their "professions", there is no evidence that these women assist, or even go there.

ASKED if he knows any persons who have been proposed as members of the Society, and whether or not they are Catholics ? He said:—

that he knows those who have been proposed or appointed members of the said Society, and knows that they are Roman Catholics through seeing them treated as such, except Monsieur Coustos, whom he takes for a Heretic, and who is Master of the said Society as he has already stated, and next to him is Monsieur Bilhar ; and it is stated that John Coustos says that he does not need to work, it sufficing that the members of the said Society provide for him ; that he heard Madame Leruite say this.

ASKED if he knows of any other person of truthfulness and secrecy who has knowledge thereof, and can depose on this subject ; and whether the persons he has heard recount these things were in their normal minds, and if they spoke truly, or whether on the contrary he observed they were in some anger or perturbation which might warp their judgment ? He said:—

that he knows of no others than those he has mentioned, and that the only other person who occurs to him as possibly knowing something of these happenings is a Frenchman who is under the protection of the English flag, called Monsieur Mariette, a business man living in the Rocio above the glassware shop, whom he thinks is a Heretic ; and that those persons from whom he heard the things he has recounted were in their normal minds, without any perturbation, and were truthful enough to express their abhorrence of the said Sect ; and that if he did not come at once to make this declaration of his, it was solely because he was investigating the matter, and had nothing further to add.

And this declaration being read to him, and by him heard and understood, said that it was truly written, and that he affirmed and ratified it, and would repeat it again were it necessary, and that he had nothing to add or subtract, change or correct, or anything new to say under charge of the same Oath of the Holy Gospels, which was again administered to him ;

And at which were present as honest and religious persons, who saw all, and heard all, and promised to tell the truth when called upon, under Oath of the Holy Gospels, the Licentiates Andre Corsino de Figueiredo and Manoel da Silva Diniz, Notaries to this Inquisition, who assisted at this ratification, and signed with the Denouncer and with the aforesaid Inquisitor ; Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

Henrique Machado Moura

Andre Corsino de Figueiredo
Mel. da Silva Diniz

And the Denouncer having retired, the said Licentiates were asked if they thought that he spoke the truth, and was worthy of credit ; and by them it was stated that they thought he spoke the truth and was worthy of credit, and they thereupon signed again, together with the said Inquisitor ; Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it.

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

Andre Corsino de Figueiredo
Nel. da Silva Diniz

The next document is the

CONFESSION

On the 21st day of March, 1743, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Third Audience Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, there being present at the morning hearing the Inquisitor, Manoel Varejao e Tavora, he sent to appear before him a foreigner, who on the 14th day of March

was brought in custody to the Prisons of this Inquisition ;¹ and for having petitioned an Audience the Oath of the Holy Gospels was administered to him, and upon which he laid his hand, under charge of which he was bidden to tell the truth and keep it secret, all of which he promised to obey, and thereupon said that his name was JOHN COUSTOS, married to Alice Barbin, a Diamond Cutter, Swiss by nation and born in the Canton of Basel, and residing in this City in the Largo dos Ourives de Ouro [Goldsmiths' Square], and who said he was a Protestant, of forty years of age.

ASKED for what reason he requested an Audience ?

He said that it was for the purpose of confessing offences pertaining to this Board.

Whereupon he was admonished that since he had made the very good resolve of confessing his errors, it was very desirable he should call them all to mind so that he might make a true and full confession of them, not being false to himself in the discharge of his conscience, the salvation of his soul, and good issue of his suit ; to which he replied that he would tell the truth.

That about two years ago more or less he came to this City, and desiring to introduce therein a Lodge of Freemasons he began to invite various persons whom he admitted to the said Lodge in the same manner which is observed in France and England and other Kingdoms from whence he came, he having been admitted in the City of London, which entry and formality is as follows :--

When any person wishes to join the Lodge, first of all the Grand Master is asked if he will accept him in the said Lodge, and being told that a reply will be given to him, the Master thereupon sets about advising the other members of the Lodge which, to be complete, consists of seven members or brothers ; and their votes committed to writing, are placed in boxes or urns which they have for this purpose, being finally examined to see if anyone is opposed to his admission, it being the Law and Statutes of the said Society not to grant admission whenever there is a contrary vote. And if all the votes are in agreement, a day is selected and assigned to him for his admission for which they choose a suitable place, the Master appointing one of the brothers whom they call a Warden to conduct and guide him in this ceremony ; and the person who is to join newly having arrived at the door of the house which they call a Lodge, and in which are all the other Brothers, and the door being closed he strikes thereon three times, and upon being opened one of the Brothers inside enquires what it is he wants, and upon his replying that he wants to become a Freemason, the door is again shut, and notice of his request is given to all of that Lodge which again sends to ask what his name and surname be, and whether he comes of his own freewill, and with all his heart, to join as member and Brother of the said Society ; and upon his replying " Yes " they blind-fold him, and take away from him everything that is of metal, such as gold, silver, brass, or any other, and conduct him within to where the Master and the rest of the others be ; and being presented to all, the Master again asks him if he comes of his own free-will to join that Society, and answering affirmatively, they unblind his eyes, withdrawing the handkerchief they had placed :

And then the Master tells the Warden who accompanies him to teach him the posture he should place himself in as a Mason, the which is to join the right foot to the left by the heel, and place the right hand on the left breast, then taking three steps towards where the Master is standing ; and this being done he is told to uncover the right knee and place it upon a masons' square, placing his right hand upon a Bible which is opened at the Gospel of St. John, and at the same time he is bidden to lay hold of a Compass with the left hand whereupon the left breast being uncovered he places thereon the point of the Compass ; and being in this position the Master, in the name of that Fraternity, and of the Grand Master of England, France and other kingdoms informs him that by the Oath which he is taking he must know that he is thereby obliged to keep inviolable secrecy about everything which takes place in the said Fraternity, and not to do anything which might offend any of the said Brothers, nor against the King, Republic, or to his religion, because if he should do the contrary his tongue will be torn out, and his heart in the same manner, to be buried by the edge of the sea, and the ashes of his burned body to be cast to the Wind, so that there be no more memory of him ; and that he keep this Oath so faithfully that, in foreign kingdoms, he will more easily allow himself to be killed than to permit the secrecy to which he has bound himself to be discovered.

And this being accomplished thereupon the Master takes the newly-joined Brother by the hand and, drawing him nigh, he calls two Wardens of the same Lodge and bids them do their office, whereupon they place upon him the appropriate insignia pertaining to that Order to which he now belongs, while the Master tells him that the Order is very much more noble than the Order of the Golden Fleece, the Order of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, and of all others in the world, for its being more noble and ancient than all those.

¹ Coustos himself says he was arrested on 5th March.

And thereafter the said two Wardens place an Apron of white leather upon the one newly joining, tied about the waist, and gives him two pairs of gloves, one for him to wear, and the other pair for his wife if he is married, and if unmarried then for him to give to the person for whom he has the greatest affection ;

And then the same Master teaches him the Signs he should observe to be recognised in any part of the world by the other Brothers, and to be able to warn himself against those who are not: which is the putting of the right hand in front of the throat in the manner of seeking to cut it, and then allowing the right arm to fall straight down, and also gives him the following signs ; to take the right hand of another person and place his thumb upon the last joint of the other finger next thereto, there being thus embraced the greater part of the hand, and saying at the same time, " Jacquem ", as also placing the right hand on the left breast and from thence placing the hand on the last joint of the thumb, saying at the same time the word " Boaz ".

And after performing all this, the Master tells him that he must keep all these secrets under the Oath which he took in that assembly, and that he observe great care not to talk about these matters unless in a closed Lodge ; and that if he should happen to be in the street, or in any other place, talking to any Brother and another person approaches who is not of the Society, he must immediately say that it is raining so that his companion may be aware that a person is present in whom they must not confide.

He further said that the above-mentioned Signs appertain to those newly joined who are called Apprentices and Officers,¹ and that those who attain to the title of Master have other different Signs which are the following: placing the thumb, the hand being open, upon the heart, and then taking the hand of the other companion and grasping the wrist thereof with his fingers, and saying at the same time the words, " Mag Binach " ; and those who are Masters have the obligation not to disclose these their signs, touchings, and words to the Officers and Apprentices, and can only perform them with those who are Masters ; which also those who are Officers observe with the Apprentices.

He further said that after having carried out the aforementioned, they all, by order of the Master, go to table which is found already laid out with foodstuffs and drinkables at the expense of the newly joined Brother, and being all seated according to their rank, proceed with the dinner until the Master knocks three times on the table with a small hammer, which is the signal established for them all to rise, which they do, and each taking hold of his glass the same time as the Master they raise them aloft with the same uniformity and thence convey them to their lips to drink, observing in these actions the same formality which soldiers are in the habit of practising in the handling of their muskets ; and all drinking to the health of the King, and of the Fraternity, they again raise their glasses aloft and thence convey them three times to their faces, finally placing them on the table, and continue eating until the Master asks some of those whom he knows can sing, to one the Song of the Apprentices, to another the Song of the Officers, and to another the Song of the Masters, all of which ceremonies take place within three hours, more or less, for it being a Rule amongst them not to permit exceeding the said time nor to keep the Lodge open for more than the aforesaid period of three hours ; and therein they drink various healths, some to the Grand Master of the Fraternity throughout the world, others to the said Brothers, and others to the Officers and Apprentices ;

and by and by the Master, for the better perception of Apprentices and Officers, causes one of the more instructed to repeat all the ceremonies and actions observed, that thus they may be better enabled to memorise them.

And if within the said period any of the said Brethren swear by using the name of God, or of the Devil, or utter any bad word, he is mulcted by a pecuniary fine which they have established according to the gravity of the offence committed, which fine is immediately collected and placed in a box which they have for this purpose, and is used for distributing among the poorer Brethren of the said Fraternity.

And thus being concluded the said ceremony and dinner they all go to their homes ; and if anyone there wishes to stay a bit longer, he can no longer speak about subjects which pertain to the Fraternity.

He further said that the formation and signification of the Lodge or Assembly in which they meet is the following:—

In the house or room in which the Lodge is formed, and where they admit those newly joining, the windows are all shut so that the daylight may not enter, and therein is found placed a table, lengthwise with three large wax Candles on the top thereof in the form of a triangle, viz., two on the two corners of the top of the table, and the other in the middle of the bottom part, the which Candles signify the Sun, the Moon, and the Master of the Lodge, for that as the Sun gives light by day, and the Moon by night, so the Master should govern and direct his officers and Apprentices that they may fulfil their duties. At the head

¹ Possibly this word is a mistranslation.

of the table is the principal Master of all, and next at the sides are the other Brothers according to their rank up to the last place where sit those who are called Wardens. The floor of the said Lodge has a design in white chalk wherein are formed several borders serving as ornament together with a shining Star with a "G" in the middle signifying the fifth science of Geography to which all officers and apprentices should aspire. In the same Lodge there is a Bible or Book of the Gospels placed upon a stool upon which he who newly joins takes Oath, and also signifies the obligation they have of keeping the utmost secrecy and observing the Statutes of that Fraternity.

There is also a Compass in this Lodge, whose signification is applicable to the Master, giving him thus to understand that in the same way as the Compass being placed with one of its points on the ground cannot fail in the correctness of the circle which the other point describes, thus also the Master should circumscribe his actions so that they be without fault, and by thus complying set a good example to others. Also in the same place there is a Square, a Level, and a Plumb Line, all signifying the obligations which the officers and apprentices have of governing their actions so that they be correct in all things and conform to the duties pertaining to each one. In the same Lodge there are delineated, in the manner described above, three pieces of window glass in the like of three windows, one being to the East, one to the West, and the other to midday,¹ all of which signify the Hours and Light given, by which the officers and apprentices go to and from their labours.

He further said that on the floor of the said Lodge there are fashioned two Columns, one with the letter "J" and the other with the letter "B", which means "Jacquem" and "Boaz", which are the signs of the Apprentices and Officers as above said, and the signification of the two Columns indicates this Fraternity of Freemasons to be more ancient than Solomon's Temple by coming down already instituted from the first Kings of Asia, and that Solomon was one of the early Masons, by which token when he built the Temple he had two Columns of Bronze made, one on the right-hand side with the name "Jacquem", and the other on the left thereof with the name of "Boaz", thus distinguishing between the Officers and Apprentices who took part in the work of building, and so able to distinguish one from the other for the payment of wages due, using the said signs for the better distinguishing of each other, as portrayed, he believes, in the 1st or 2nd Book of Kings, Chapter 7.

And the same as above described they cause to be fashioned these columns in the said Lodge for observance of Officers and Apprentices the same as Solomon practised in his works. There is also delineated a Ladder with Seven Rungs, whereon those who rise to be Officers proceed by one step forward for each Rung until they reach the last, remaining in that position to join the right foot to the Left by the Heel, thus forming the shape of the Square, which they use in their ceremonies; and the signification of the Ladder of seven rungs in this — that the number of Three is that governing the Lodge, namely, the Master and two Wardens, and the number of Five is that which precisely constitutes a Lodge, and the number of Seven is that which makes a Lodge more perfect and complete, thus combining Master, two Wardens, two Officers, and two Apprentices, to the number of Seven.

He further said that they are in the habit of giving the above explanations to all those who newly join in order that they may thus arrive at the signification and meaning which each of the said things has; and in addition thereto they also teach that the complete and perfect Lodge should have three Columns to support it, denominated "WISDOM", "STRENGTH", and "BEAUTY IN ADORNMENT".

He further said — that the first Institution and Origin from which were derived the signification of the Apron, Gloves, and other ceremonies the Officers and Apprentices use, as also the signs of the Masters, come from the time when Solomon built his sumptuous Temple, whereby for the better administration of the work, and distinguishing between Officers and Apprentices labouring therein, he, Solomon, made the separation of Signs above described, and which were initiated by a Master named Hiram who was next in government to Solomon and to whom alone was revealed the Sign which pertained to him as Master in order thus to be differentiated from the other and inferior Officers who worked in the same undertaking. And one of the officers or apprentices perceiving this, in order to learn the secret sign which he had, three of the Officers arranged amongst themselves that, upon the first occasion on which he next came to the Temple to give the customary orders, they would compel him to reveal the said Sign, appropriating for the said purpose the three doors of the three sides which faced East, West and Midday; and when the said Master was come he was asked by the officer at one of the doors for the said Sign, he replying that he could not divulge it by the prohibition he had, and that they, being already a long time in the service, would in due course arrive to attain that position they desired, whereupon the officer struck him upon the head with a wooden bar; and the Master seeking to escape by the remaining doors the others did likewise give him another blow, one with a wooden lever, and the other with a hammer, also of wood; and with the last blow he fell dead; and in

¹ Or French "midi".

order that the said officers might hide this deed, they buried him in a distant spot that he might not be discovered.

After three days came Solomon to enquire for him, having noticed his absence, and seeing that he did not appear, he appointed fifteen of the said officers to use all possible diligence in discovering the end which had come to the said Master.

And fifteen days having gone by in this search, one of the said officers came to that spot, and being much fatigued with the journey, he sat down by the side thereof; and where inadvertently clutching hold of a small tree in that place, it came to his reflection that he had pulled it out of the ground with great ease by which it appeared to be well evident that the ground had been well dug over in that spot a few days before; and becoming more curious to know what was there, he discovered the body of the Master which had there been buried.

And giving an account of this, King Solomon caused a command to be given to the Officers and Apprentices that they divest themselves of everything which was of silver, or any other metal, and that, wearing their Aprons tied to their waists, which they now use, as also gloves on their hands, they should go to the said place and disinter the body; and that the first thing they should do was to take hold of the hand thereof making him the said signs, which still to-day are practised by Officers and Apprentices.

And setting forth on that errand they arranged between themselves that if on the body of the Master or in his pockets, they did not find the means of ascertaining what the signs were which in his capacity as Master pertained to him, they would follow the course of using the first word and sign which they practised amongst themselves as Officers and Apprentices; and all being arranged in this manner, they came to the place where the body lay; and making the Sign of the Apprentices, which is to lay hold of the joint of the finger next the thumb, it became severed out of its rottenness; and making him the second Sign, that of the Officers, which is to lay hold of the joint of the thumb, seeking thus to raise up the body, it also became detached in the same manner, whereby they saw it was necessary to lay hold of the wrist, and thus raising him in effect, the first word which he who raised him uttered was "Mag Binach", which means "it did stink"; and it came from that time to be as a Sign for the Master this last action of laying hold of the wrist, and the said words; and for this reason they still to-day observe the same insignias, ceremonies, and signs as aforesaid.

And they took the body of the Master to the King, who ordered it to be buried, being accompanied by the officers and apprentices with the same insignias; and upon his sepulchre was ordered to be engraven the following: "Here lies Hiram, Grand Master Architect of the Freemasons".

He further said that when any apprentice newly joins, the Master explains the meaning of closing and opening the Lodge, to which end he asks what motive or cause brings him to that place, and the apprentice saying that he comes to learn the Art of Masonry, the Master thereupon explains that just as the Sun appears in the East to give Light to the Day, thus the Master should open his Lodge with promptness and care to let his officers work, and for this reason when they hold their meetings they give the first place at the Table, which they call the East, to the one they recognise as Master, and thus as the Sun sets in the West, so ending the Light and terminating the Day; thus the Wardens of the assembly are found in the lower places at the Table, which corresponds to the West for the closing of the Lodge after the determined period of three hours, and each of the Brothers be free to go and attend to his own affairs.

He further said that all the matter above explained he, the confessor, learned in the Kingdom of England where there is an infinity of these Masters of the Fraternity, and by the great study and application which he made he could understand all that he has set forth above; and he doesn't know if there is any book containing the above-said for the reason of not violating the secrecy which must be observed with the said signs, and he is only aware of a book entitled "Constitutions of Masons", in which are found some things pertaining to this matter, however, they are those of less importance, and not relating to the management and secrecy of all this Fraternity; and he is informed that one of these books is to be found in this city in possession of a Frenchman named Monsieur Balestri, a Purveyor to the Queen residing by the Corpo Santo, who has the said book, although not belonging to the said Fraternity, and he knows this from the book-keeper of the said foreigner called Eliot.

He, the confessor, further said:—

that he admitted various Brothers to the said Fraternity, constituting himself on these occasions Master of the said assemblies, twice in his own house, and others in the house of a French merchant called Rovero, residing in the Pichelaria; and others in the house of M. Vilanova, of French nationality, residing in the Calcade de S. Francisco; and others in the house of a foreigner called Baptists, living at Belem where he runs an Eating-house; and the furnishings and insignias with which the ceremonies were carried out, each one kept

those belonging to him, there not being in this city a regular and fixed place for keeping them in the manner ordinarily practised abroad where chests are kept for the said insignias with the name of the owner on each in order to avoid getting them mixed, and so as to know to whom they belonged.

He further said that he, the confessor, knowing of the Pontifical prohibition for continuing with this Fraternity, he considered the advisability of discontinuing to admit more Brothers, or holding further meetings. However, he resolved to continue with these as heretofore through some foreigners having told him that such prohibition was only intended against the Portuguese, and by no means against those who were not Nationals.

He further said that in this city there is an English foreigner, Mr. Dugud, a man of great judgment, and of independent means, living near the Remedios in the house of Alexandre de Gusmao, he thinks, who told him that he also was a Master of these Lodges, but that he didn't practise in this city nor dealt here with anything relating to this matter, which he only did when in his own country.

And that the members and brothers of this Fraternity are many, and he only remembers at present the following:—

Mr. Fosc, English, Bookseller, residing in this city but doesn't know in which street ;

Mr. Gordon, Scotchman, occupation and address unknown ;

Mr. Ivens, English, Watch-maker, who has a shop in the Capella, doesn't know where residing ;

Mr. Brule, Frenchman, Merchant, residing in front of the Mint ;

Mr. Felix, also French, Merchant, residing behind the Cate de Que Faras, and two of his companions called Mr. Grinhe and Mr. Mastil, all of whom live in the same house ; however, only Mr. Felix is a Mason and the other two companions are not.

Mr. Julian, Frenchman, Merchant, residing in this city, doesn't know where.

Mr. Charma, Frenchman, Diamond Cutter, residing in the Rua Nova.

Mr. Vandervel, doesn't know his nationality, a Diamond Cutter, residing in the Corpo Santo.

Mr. Pietri, of Paris, Goldsmith, residing in the Bairro Alto.

Mr. Villanova, Silversmith, Frenchman, residing in the Calçada de S. Francisco ;

all of whom he, the confessor, admitted as members of the said Fraternity, except the first four, but knows they are Masons by their so telling him, and who were admitted in their own Countries from whence they came to this Kingdom ;

And for the hour being passed his Confession was not continued, and he said no more, nor to the usual form ; and this his confession being read to him, and by him heard and understood, he said it was truly written, and that he affirmed and ratified it, and would repeat it again if necessary, without having anything further to add, subtract, change, or correct, nor again to say to the usual form under charge of the Oath of the Holy Gospels which was again administered to him ; at which were present as honest and religious persons, who saw, and heard all the aforesaid, and promised to tell the truth of what they were asked under charge of the same Oath which the Notaries also took and who "ex causa" assisted at this ratification, and signed with the prisoner and the said Inquisitor. Alexandre Henrique Arnaut wrote it.

Mel Varejao e Tavora

JOHN COUSTOS

Mel Lour. Monteyro

Franco. de Sousa

And the prisoner having retired the said Notaries were asked if they thought he spoke the truth, and was worthy of credit, and by them it was said that they thought he spoke the truth and was worthy of credit, and they again signed with the said Inquisitor. Alexandre Henrique Arnaut wrote it.

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

Mel. Lour^{co}. Monteyro

Franco. de Sousa

The next document is the continuation of the "Confession":—

On the 26th day of March, 1743, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Third Audience Chamber of the Inquisition, the Inquisitor Manoel Varejao e Tavora being present at the morning Audience, he sent to appear before him JOHN COUSTOS, the prisoner referred to in this suit, to continue his confession, and being present the Oath of the Holy Gospels was administered to him, on which he placed his hand, and under charge of which he was bidden to tell the truth and keep it secret, all of which he promised to obey ; and thereupon said that he remembered further things,—

that the reason and foundation that the Masters of this Fraternity have for causing those who newly join to take the Oath upon a Bible, or book of the Gospels, at the place of that of St. John is the following, — that when the destruction took place of the famous Temple of Solomon there was found below the First Stone a tablet of bronze upon which was engraved the following word — JEHOVAH, which means “ God ”, giving thereby to understand that that Fabric and Temple was instituted and erected in the name of the said God to whom it was dedicated, that same Lord the beginning and the end of such a magnificent work, and as in the Gospel of St. John there are found the same words and doctrine they, for this reason, cause the Oath to be taken at that place, thus to show that the whole institution of this Fraternity is founded on the same doctrine which Solomon observed in his sumptuous work, and the reason he has for saying this is for having heard it so declared by some of the french and english Masters, though he does not know from whence they obtained this doctrine for its propounding.

And he further said that the Master of any Fraternity is honoured amongst the brothers thereof with the title of Venerable or Worthy.

He further said that the reason for all the secrecy, and the end which they pursue, is so that the administration of these Fraternities may not be investigated or understood, as much in the observance of the Signs they practise as in the words and other actions, and be only known to the members of that Fraternity and by no means to those who are not companions of it; and that their only aim is to help one another for which purpose there are in England and other Kingdoms special boxes in which are kept the monies which the members pay every month, and upon the occasion of their joining, withdrawing therefrom only that portion which is necessary for the dinners they give, and with what is left over they help their poorer brethren needing such assistance; and that he, the confessor, doesn't know, nor can perceive, that there be any other aim which the said Fraternities pursue, or that there be anything else in them other than he has stated or explained to this Board, and if there were, he would have been sure to know of it by the many times he assisted at such functions in England.

He further said that in addition to the persons he has named to this Board as members of the said Fraternity, there are the following. —

Mr. Mouton, Frenchman, Tailor to the French Ambassador, and residing in the Bairro Alto, but doesn't know which street.

Mr. Bolange, Frenchman, Merchant, a native of Liege in the Kingdom of France, and residing in the Largo dos Escudeiros.

And he further declared that all the Lodges, and lesser Fraternities which are to be found dispersed amongst the different Kingdoms, unite to send to the principal Lodges in England and France all the contributions they receive from the members who newly join so that thus there may be a better and more equal distribution amongst the poorer brethren needing such help.

And that this is all that he has to declare and confess to this Board without knowing or hiding anything else pertaining to this matter; and that he makes deposition of all he has related as being true, and for the ease of his conscience, asking at the same time that this Tribunal deal in all mercy with him, with the certainty that if he, the confessor, had understood he was doing wrong he surely would not have so practised.

It was said to him that he took very good counsel in resolving to confess his offences, and it is desirable that he should bring them all to his memory in order to make a true and full confession of them all, not placing himself or anyone else as a false witness, seeing that it is wiser for him for the discharge of his conscience and speedy issue of his trial; and for again saying that he remembered no more, and that if he does, he will come and declare it to this Board he was again admonished in form, and sent to his prison; and being read to him this his confession, and by him heard and understood, said that it was truly written, and that he affirmed and ratified it, and would repeat it again if necessary, and that he has nothing to add, diminish, change or correct, nor again to say to the usual under charge of the Oath of the Holy Gospels which was again administered to him; at which were present as honest and religious persons who saw and heard all, and promised to tell the truth of what they were asked under charge of the same Oath, the Licentiates Manoel Lourenco Monteyro, and Manoel da Silva Diniz, Notaries of this Inquisition, who ex causa assisted at this ratification and signed with the prisoner and with the said Inquisitor. Francisco de Sousa wrote it.

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

JOHN COUSTOS

Mel. Lourco. Monteyro

Mel da Silva Diniz

And the prisoner having retired to his cell the above Licentiate was asked whether they thought that he spoke the truth and was worthy of credit, and by them it was said that they thought that he spoke the truth and was worthy of credit, and they again signed with the said Inquisitor.

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

Mel. Lourco, Monteyro
Mel. da Silva Diniz

Next comes the

EXAMINATION OF JOHN COUSTOS

following upon his confession

On the 30th of March, 1743, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Third Audience Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, the Inquisitor Manoel Varejao e Tavora being present at the Morning hearing, he sent for John Coustos, the prisoner referred to herein, to appear before him, and being present the Oath of the Holy Gospels was administered to him, upon which he laid his hand, and under charge of which he was bidden to tell the truth and keep it secret, all of which he promised to fulfil.

ASKED if he had carefully pondered his offences, as urged by the Board, and desires finally to confess them for the necessary discharge of his conscience and the speedy issue of his case ;

He said that he had so pondered, and could remember nothing more.

ASKED how long he had been in this city ; what motive brought him here ; what religion he professes ; and what manner of life he led ;

He said that two years ago, more or less, he came to this place with the idea of earning his living by cutting precious stones ; that he professes the Anglo Protestant Religion, as already exposed to this Board.

ASKED if he was brought up in the Protestant Sect as soon as he reached the age of reason, or if at any time he was a Roman Catholic and subsequently voluntarily joined the aforesaid Sect for any circumstance or motive he had ;

He said that upon reaching the age of reason he was brought up as a Protestant, that being the Religion of his parents and relatives.

ASKED if he remembers having said to this Board that he followed and professed the new Sect and Brotherhood of Freemasons, of which he was a Master and principal head of certain groups in this city, practising therein all that he has declared, and whether it is true ;

He said that he remembered all that is embraced by the question, and that it is true.

ASKED who was the Master who taught him the aforesaid Sect, from what book he learned the rules and doctrines he has confessed, and how many years he has been a member and teacher of this Fraternity, and where he effected his admission ;

He said that it was in England where he learned all that he has confessed to this Board, and that the Masters were various who taught him and does not now remember who they were, it being 14 or 15 years ago that he became a member of the said Fraternity in the city of London where he then was.

ASKED if in the Lodges which are held in the foreign kingdoms they practice anything more than what he has exposed ; what this new practice would be, and who invented it, and between which persons it is practised ;

He said that in the said Lodges they practise all that he has confessed, and that there is nothing else beyond what he has set forth.

ASKED if in the said Lodges they do not practise anything else beyond what he has said, what is therefore the end and aim they seek by all their ceremonies, solemn Oaths, and preparations which they are accustomed to observe in their meetings ;

He said that the only purpose they have is to maintain the secrecy which all the members should keep.

ASKED if the only motive to which the said Rules and other ceremonies are destined is for the enforcing of secrecy as he says, what is therefore the end and final purpose aimed at by this secrecy in view of such heavy and unusual penalties and further circumstances observed giving so well to discern another and stronger impulse governing them ?

He said that the purpose of such secrecy was so that all the brothers dispersed throughout the world may be recognised by each other by the signs which they practise between them and do not disclose them to other persons who are not of the same fraternity, and that the utility which they derive is the helping of one another in any part where they may find themselves.

ASKED how it was possible that what he is saying be true when it is totally dissonant to reason that there be men prepared to submit themselves to such extraordinary penalties for such a ridiculous motive as he has suggested, unless there was some greater impulse which would attract their desire, and make them willing to submit to such severity ?

He said that the penalties to which they submit themselves have no other explanation than that he has already given, and that they were introduced more for instilling respect and fear in those who newly join than for the mere purpose of carrying them out, and that he recognises it is a mistake to impose such severe oaths for matters of such little substance.

ASKED if the secrecy of the signs which they observe is alone the cause of these oaths and penalties; what connections the ceremonies of the three lighted candles, the selected manner of all the actions, have with these oaths and penalties, and the superstitions and erroneous explanation of all the facts, all these being entirely separate and distinct from the observance of the signs and oaths they practise amongst themselves?

He said that he well recognises that the ceremonies and action mentioned in the question are inappropriate for the purpose sought; however, that he was always taught they were observed from being deduced and drawn from Solomon's Temple, in whom, Solomon, they recognise as one of the principal Freemasons, as he has already stated in his confession, and as the first institutors of this Fraternity so determined it is for this reason they are so followed.

ASKED why he was endeavouring to exculpate himself with such frivolous reasons and explanations as he is setting forth when the aim to which everything is directed must be very different from what he has declared, for its being certain that for the observance of signs, and being able to help one another, has no fitness or connection whatever, nor the explanations and doctrines they have gone to Solomon's Temple to fetch, and other ceremonies and secrets they practise observing therein such extraordinary and never-before-seen caution.

He said that he well recognises that some things have no connection with others; however, he cannot say what is the reason why such ceremonies are observed, the only aim being that which he has already asserted, and that only persons with greater perception, as for example Mr. Dugud, can give better explanations, and thus satisfy the full scope of the question.

ASKED if in the said Lodges and meetings there are no other laws and ceremonies beyond those he has declared, what is therefore the basis and reason he has for saying that this new order of Freemasons is more Noble than any other in the world?

He said that the basis and reason he has for saying that the Order of Freemasons is more noble than any other in the world is due to its coming from the time of Solomon at which there was not yet any other Order, and was followed and embraced by Princes and Exalted persons in the world, and for this reason was more noble and Illustrious than any.

ASKED where he had ascertained that this Fraternity comes from the time of Solomon, and who imparted to him the other reasons he has expounded to this Board for its being esteemed beyond all others as the more ancient and noble,

He said that he had always heard so say and some Masters of the Fraternity had unfolded to him that in some old books unknown to him would be found all that is contained in the question.

ASKED if he knew that the Order of Christ, that of St. James, and others, mentioned in his confession, were instituted and approved by the Superiors (of the Church), and as such are established and approved?

He said "Yes".

ASKED if he thus knows that the said Orders are found established with approval of the Superiors, how does he thereupon dare to say to this Board that his of the Freemasons is the most noble of all, knowing very well, as he has admitted, that his is reprov'd and condemned by a supreme Apostolic Edict, which was published on this matter?

He said that he has already declared the reason for saying that the Order of Freemasons was nobler, and that even if he knew of the Pontifical prohibition as he saw that nothing wrong was practised in the Lodges, and was told moreover that the aforesaid prohibition did not apply to foreigners, he for this reason continued to practise it and consider it good.

ASKED if he knows that he has the obligation of not introducing new Sects and abuses into this Country, nor to cause scandal to Roman Catholics who as such live in the Pontifical obedience to which they are bound?

He said that he knows his duty very well, which he will in future observe as he ought, and that the introduction of the said Fraternity was through being persuaded to this, and understanding that he was not doing wrong.

ASKED why he maliciously pretends to excuse himself, if he knows very well that through this new Sect being abhorred it was unnecessary to seek any further reason than that of its being condemned by the Supreme Legislator to whom belongs his decision?

He said that he admits having had advice of the said prohibition for various persons having mentioned it; However, he persuaded himself that it was so much "talk", and that it did not concern foreigners, as others also told him.

(Here the session was suspended, and the continuance of the Examination postponed.)

CONTINUATION OF THE EXAMINATION

On the 1st day of April, 1743, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Third Audience Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, the Inquisitor Manoel Varejao e Tavora being present at the morning audience, he sent for John Coustos to appear before him, and being present he was administered the Oath of the Holy Gospels upon which he placed his hand, and under charge of which he was bidden to tell the truth, and keep it secret, all of which he promised.

ASKED if he had given thought to his offences as admonished, and desires finally to confess them, as being convenient for him in the better despatch of his case, so that mercy may be shown towards him ?

He said that he had so thought, and that he had no more offences to confess.

ASKED if he remembered having said to this Board that in the Society and Brotherhood of Freemasons there are laws and penalties for all those brothers who use bad language to one another, or speak of the Devil, or say anything against the Republic, and if this is true ?

He said that he remembered having said this.

ASKED if in the said Society and meetings there are also rules, Statutes, or Doctrines, pertaining to religion ? What rulings do these contain about it ? Who was their author, and if indeed they are observed by all the members and brothers of the said Society ?

He said that in the said Society there are no laws referring to Religion.

ASKED how it is possible that there are no laws and Statutes pertaining to Religion if he be confessing all the other rules which they observe amongst themselves tending to the method and governing of life of the members and brothers of the said Society ?

He said that he has already stated that there are no Laws or Statutes pertaining to Religion, nor do foreign Kings permit that in their assemblies they treat of matters pertaining of them.

ASKED if it is permitted to the members of the said Society for each one to follow any Religion they wish, or if it is essential that they follow any special one, and which one this is ?

He said that members of the said Society are permitted to follow any Religion they wish, and not only is this permitted but that also in the Oath which they take upon joining they promise each one to follow their religion.

ASKED how does he expect to persuade this Board that in such Society and assemblies there is nothing culpable worthy of castigation when he is acknowledging and confessing that in such they permit, and introduce by this means Liberty of Conscience, thus giving motive and occasion for all to follow, with irreparable loss, this horrible, scandalous, and abominable permission ?

He said that they did so in order that they might admit all classes of persons following different Religions ; however, it is not in his mind or intent to approve or condemn by such fact as to which of the two ways is the better, thus leaving arbitrament free to work for better or worse, and for this reason the practice of matters pertaining to religion is forbidden in their Lodges.

ASKED why he seeks to excuse himself by this means when it is morally impossible for persons of different religions who join their assemblies to fail in practising the doctrines belonging thereto, as being all very natural and appropriate to those who follow similar errors and Sects ?

He said that in their Fraternity it is not permitted to speak of religious matters, this in order for their own protection, for if Kings and Parliaments came to know of it they would, without any doubt, not permit similar assemblies.

ASKED upon what Book, Statute or Rule, the Masters of the said Lodges base themselves for administering Oath to those who newly join in the manner described, admitting persons of whatever kind of Religion they be ?

He said that the Masters of the principal and almost all the Lodges of England appoint every year a Duke or other exalted person as Grand Master of all the Lodges and bodies, for the administration of which they issue the necessary Rules taken from a book which they have for this purpose which all the Masters of the Lodges dispersed throughout the Kingdom scrupulously and inviolably observe.

ASKED who is the Author of this Book ? Where was it printed and published ? Who is in the habit of sending for it in this city, and who are the persons who have it ?

He said that this book comes from the time of Queen Isabel (Elizabeth) of England, daughter of Henry the eighth, who, desiring to know what constituted this Society of Freemasons, which already then flourished, sent to investigate this matter by the Archbishop of Canterbury who took her a book which contained all the maxims of this Society, and which has been preserved and augmented throughout the course of time to the present, and from which the said rules and doctrines still continue to be drawn ; however, he does not know who was the first Master who commenced to compile such book, and only seems to remember hearing that it was one of the Kings of England.

ASKED if he himself knows all that this book contains ? What matters are treated therein ? What is the aim and utility they pursue, and if therein there is anything else other than what he has declared to this Board ?

He said that he does not know all that the book contains ; however, he always heard it said that the matters therein treated all pertained to the Society of Freemasons ; and that in the said book there is also written all the difficulties experienced in ancient times to get the Kings permission for these Societies ; as also those actions worthy of praise which each one of the Masters performed in the said time.

ASKED how he therefore can deny that in the said Society they do not treat of matters of greater weight if he is confessing to this Board the great difficulties that were always experienced in securing the Kings permission for such Societies ?

He said that allowing that if Kings mistrusted the said Societies it was due to their not knowing of what they consisted ; however, that after investigation they recognised that in the said Societies there was nothing culpable, and actually the King of England himself, and his Son the Prince of Wales, are also Freemasons, the said King having been admitted when he was Prince for it not being permitted to Royalty undergoing similar acts of admission by the submission and kneelings which they practise therein ; and that he, the declarant, saw the admission of the Prince of Wales above mentioned.

ASKED how what he is saying could possibly be true if the same reason, which applies to Kings not submitting themselves to similar acts of Reception, ought also to be considered for Princes to whom by their Supreme and Sovereign Pre-Eminence it would be unbecoming in their person for a similar act to be performed by a subject ?

He said that the Princes are in truth received as he has said, and the reason for the difference is this ; because they are not considered Absolute Monarchs as are the Kings, and for this reason submit themselves to all these ceremonies and, in addition, take the Oath, but mention of the penalties is not made to them on account of their Quality.

ASKED if in the said Societies they do not treat of any other thing than he has described, what is therefore the aim and the utility which the Princes draw in enlisting themselves as professors of the said Society ?

He said that the Princes have no other aim and purpose than to acquire knowledge of the secrets which the members of the said Society observe, and for this reason they enlist as professors.

ASKED why does he continue to excuse himself with frivolous and inconclusive replies when he knows very well that for the Prince to know all that passes in the said assemblies it would not be necessary for them to submit themselves to like actions unworthy of their estate and Person when they possess by their own facilities and free-power means to force subjects to reveal the matters which are treated in their meetings down to the smallest detail ?

He said that as England is a Kingdom which permits liberty to its subjects, the King could not oblige his subjects to declare the secrets of the Society without first being convinced that something therein was worthy of punishment, and as the King has no such information and the Princes desired to know what was taking place in the said meetings, for this reason they submitted to the ceremonies of their joining.

ASKED if he remembers having stated to this Board that their Lodges and assemblies were held in places and houses which were selected for this purpose, and if he recalls any others than those he has mentioned ?

He said that he does not know of any more than those mentioned in his confession.

ASKED if they had also a part or place determined upon for minding the instruments which they used on the said occasions, and in which house his were when he was brought under arrest to this Inquisition ?

He said that each one of the members was in the habit of keeping his own belongings, and those of his own are in the house of an english-woman named Richar residing in the Rua Nova of this city.

ASKED if in the said Societies there enter persons of all sexes and quality, and if in the Lodges which he founded in this city some Portuguese also joined, and who were they ?

He said that persons of all estate join the said Society ; however, that by no manner of means could they admit women owing to the considered risk of their violating secrecy ; and that he does not know nor is he aware that up to the present any Portuguese whatever has joined, although there is no prohibition to this effect.

ASKED if in the Lodge of this city they also practised the helping of one another, having for this purpose a cash fund, for payment of wages, with revenue which they apply to this purpose ?

He said that in Portugal they have no money or fund whatever that he knows of, things not being so far established as in foreign kingdoms, and for this reason they spent the fees of those newly joining upon dinners, and he only remembers giving a charitable donation of money to a foreign lady of nobility who was ill.

He was thereupon told that he seek to examine his conscience, as has been recommended so many times by this Board, and that he resolve entirely to confess his offences, declaring the other things which take place, and it is presumed are performed in the said Lodges, because if he will so do he will help in the better issue of his suit and will thus put himself in the state whereby Mercy will be shown towards him ; and for again repeating that he had no more offences to confess for having said and confessed all the truth, he was again admonished in form and sent to his prison, there being first read to him this Session which by him was heard and understood and said that it was truly written, and signed together with the said Inquisitor ; Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it.

Manoel Varejao e Tavora

JOHN COUSTOS

The suit being at this stage, By Order of the Inquisitors I made it concluded. Manoel Affonso Rebello wrote it.

And finally, the account of the Torture:—

On the 25th day of April, 1744, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Audience Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, at the morning hearing, the Inquisitors ordered to appear before them JOHN COUSTOS, prisoner incarcerated in the dungeons of this Inquisition, and being present he was told how that he had many times been admonished by this Council that he should make final confession of his guilt, and the true intention he had in committing what he has avowed, the which he, prisoner, using unwise reflection, has so far not seen fit to do ; they now inform him that his case has been examined by persons of the Indictments, of clean conscience, who duly considering the matter have taken a drastic decision regarding punishment from which he can free himself if he will wholly confess his offences, and the truthful intention he had in committing them, being again admonished with much charity that he avow his full transgressions and the true intent thereof, for the convenience it would be to him for the unburdening of his conscience and good outcome of his case ; and for saying that he had nothing more to confess, nor had any other intent than that he had declared, the Council, the Attorney-General, and the Prisoner, were bidden to arise, and thereupon was read to him the Sentence of Torture as hereafter set forth. Manoel da Silva Diniz wrote it.

The Inquisitors, Ordinary, and Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, being in agreement that these Indictments after being examined, and the circumstantial evidence which from them, and judicial proofs, result against John Coustos, Protestant, Diamond Cutter, native of the Canton of Basel, residing in this city, and the prisoner referred to herein, of his having introduced and practised in this domain the Sect of Freemasons, holding various meetings and assemblies in secret places appointed for this purpose, constituting himself Master and Head thereof, causing great scandal to many Roman Catholics by the said meetings and conventicles, about the which it is presumed with sufficient reason that they practised many other things than those the prisoner has confessed, ORDER that before any further report is made, the Prisoner, John Coustos, be put to torment in compliance with the decision which has been taken regarding his case, where he will be questioned by the Accusatory Writ of Justice in order that he be brought to declare all the rest which was practised in the said meetings and conventicles, directing that thus it be carried out, without prejudice to the case or by the Prisoner confessed.

Simao Jose Silv. Lobo

Mel. Varejao e Tavora

And being read as aforesaid the Sentence of Torture to the Prisoner, John Coustos, and by him heard and understood, and for his not appealing from it, nor other motion from the Holy Office, the Inquisitors ordered that due execution be given in conformity with the decision taken in his case, for which purpose the Prisoner be taken to the Chamber destined to Torment : which was carried into effect. Manoel da Silva Diniz wrote it.

SESSION IN THE TORTURE CHAMBER

On the 25th day of April, 1744, in Lisbon, in the Palace and Torture Chamber of the Holy Inquisition, the Inquisitor Manoel Varejao e Tavora, and the Deputies Joaquim Jansen Moller and Felipe de Abranches, being present at the morning Audience at 10 o'clock, they sent to appear before them JOHN COUSTOS, the Prisoner referred to in this Indictment, and being present the Oath of the Holy Gospels was administered to him, upon which he laid his hand and under charge of which he was bidden to tell the truth and keep it secret, all of which he promised to obey ; and thereupon he was told that, by the Chamber in which he found himself and the instruments which therein were, he would well understand how painful and troublesome would be the measures which had to be taken with him, the which he could avoid if he would but wholly and faithfully, confess his offences ; and by saying that he had nothing more to declare he was sent below, and the Physician, Surgeon, and

other Assistants for the applying of torture were sent for to appear before the Council and to whom was administered the Oath of the Holy Gospels, upon which they laid their hands, and under charge of which they were bidden well and faithfully to carry out their duties, all of which they promised to obey ;

And thereupon was ordered to be carried out the torture to which the Prisoner had been sentenced ;

And being stripped of those clothes which might be an impediment in the applying of the said torture, he was laid on the Rack, and the binding commenced ; and thereupon it was protested by me, the Notary, that if he died under that torture, that any of his limbs should break, or he lose any of his senses, the blame would be his and not that of the Inquisitors and other Attendants who carried out judgment of his case according to the merit of it ; and being properly bound he was given all the torture to which he had been sentenced, and which would occupy more than a quarter of an hour, all of which truly occurred ; and the said Inquisitors and Deputies signed.

Alexandre Henrique Arnaut wrote it.

Mel Varejao e Tavora

Felipee de Abranches

Joaquim Jansen Moller

Castello Branco

Coustos was made to take part in an Auto da Fé on 21st June, 1744, when he was sentenced to four years in the Galleys ; he, however, managed to get word to some English friends, and on the intervention of the British Minister at Lisbon, he was liberated about the end of October, and conveyed to Portsmouth by the Dutch Vice-Admiral, arriving in London on 15th December, 1744.

Born about 1700, Coustos was, before 1732, a member of the Lodge No. 75, held at the Rainbow Coffee House in London, now the Britannic Lodge No. 33. (See the *History of the Britannic Lodge*, by William Sanderson, 1929.) He became a Founder of Lodge No. 98 at Prince Eugene's Coffee House, St. Alban's Street, Constituted 17th August, 1732, which, in 1739, received the name "Union French Lodge", and ceased to exist in 1753.

He published his account of his sufferings in London in 1746 ; another edition was published in Birmingham in 1790.

For an account of early Freemasonry in Portugal, from 1735, see the Inaugural Address of Bro. Cart de Lafontaine (*A.Q.C.*, xlii, pp. 294-308).

LEGEND OF THE QUATUOR CORONATI

(i.e., THE FOUR CROWNED ONES, THE FOUR MARTYRS)



are often asked, "Who were the Four Crowned Martyrs, and why has the Lodge adopted their name as its title ?"

QUATUOR CORONATI is the name of a festival which, held by order of the Roman Church on the 8th November, celebrates the memory of nine martyrs, a group of five and one of four.

When the Emperor Diocletian went to Pannonia to visit the marble quarries, he found there at work with others four stone-masons of extraordinary skill. Their names were Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus and Castorius. They were secretly Christians, and with them was associated an artisan, Simplicius, who, in the course of the story, is converted by the four and accompanies them on a visit to Bishop Quirillus in prison to be baptised. The Emperor was delighted with their skill, and at various times gave instructions for them to hew him pillars, capitals and other objects, and a statue of Æsculapius. Each time they produced the work ordered, which found high commendation, but neglected to carve the desired statue, or idol, as they deemed it. This would possibly have escaped the Emperor's notice, had not the "philosophers" (possibly *overseers*, or perhaps *architects*, is intended by this term), inspired by jealousy of the favour

shown to the five sculptors, drawn his attention to the omission. They also accused the five of being Christians, and excelling through the force of magic. This latter charge left the Emperor unaffected; he declared that such good workmen were not to be put to shame, but honoured; but he renewed his order, which the Five subsequently firmly refused to carry out. The Emperor caused them to be gently reasoned with to no purpose, and finally, incensed, not so much at their religious scruples as at the disobedience to his commands, he desired the tribune Lampadius to examine and coerce them. Lampadius lost patience, and, incited thereto by the philosophers, ultimately ordered them to be cast into prison. This was done, but "in that same hour Lampadius was seized by an evil spirit, and, tearing himself, expired sitting in his judgment seat". Diocletian Augustus was so enraged at this that he ordered the Five to be enclosed while living in leaden coffins and cast into the river. "Bishop Quirillus, hearing of it in his prison, was deeply grieved and passed to the Lord, all of whom suffered on the sixth day of the Ides of November" (8th November). "After 42 days Nichodemus, a Christian, raised the coffins with the bodies of the saints, and placed them in his own house."

Eleven months later, according to the MS. (thus one year and twelve days after the martyrdom), Diocletian entered Rome, and immediately ordered a temple to be made to Æsculapius in the baths of Trajan, and an image of the god to be carved and set up therein. When this had been done (implying a lapse of several months at least), he ordered that all the soldiery should present themselves before the image and offer incense, more especially the city militia. Among these were four "cornicularii", who declined so to do, being Christians, and their refusal having been brought to the notice of the Emperor, he ordered them to be scourged to death with lead-weighted thongs. Their bodies were cast to the dogs, and lay in the streets for five days. Then the blessed Sebastian, with the holy bishop Melchiades, gave them interment by night three miles from the city. "This had happened at the same time, namely, on the 6th of the Ides of November, but two years later." The names of the Four were unknown [and remained so for centuries], but Melchiades ordered that under the names of the former Five their anniversary should be observed. Thus far the legend.

Accordingly, one festival was set apart for the Five Sculptors, named as above, and the Four (unknown) Cornicularii. The festival did not, however, immediately become generally known, as now, under the title of that of the "Quatuor Coronati": even so late as the *Arundel* MS. in the twelfth century it is called "The passion of the holy martyrs Claudius, Nicostratus, Simphorianus, Castorius and Simplicius". The earliest use of the designation now so familiar to us has been traced to the Sacramentary of Gelasius (492-496). In Bede's Martyrology it is called, "8 November. In Rome, of the Four Holy Crowned Martyrs, [and] Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, Simplicius"—thus, of the Four (unnamed) and of the Five (by name), showing that the names of the Four were still unknown, although their title of Four Crowned Ones had been partially adopted since the time of Gelasius. The real names, stated to be Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus and Victorinus, were not revealed till the ninth century, and there is reason to suspect that these names are simply adopted from other groups of martyrs, whose memory had diminished with the lapse of time and change of fashion.

In A.D. 605 the title "Quatuor Coronati", as designating the conjoined groups of five and four martyrs, had evidently become usual, because in that year Pope Honorius I caused a church to be erected to their honour on the Cœlian Hill in Rome out of the ruins of a former temple to Diana. The church still stands, and is one of those from which a cardinal's title is derived; at York, in 1521, there was a Laurence Cardinal Quatuor Coronatorum.

It is somewhat curious that there are strong grounds for believing in the substantial truth of the legend. If we test the *Paris* and *Arundel* MSS. (which have not been copied from each other, but rather from a much earlier common original) by the ascertained dates of history, we find them corroborated in a manner very unusual with monkish legends.

Porphyrius states that the first martyrdom occurred on the 8th November, and that 42 days and 11 months, or one year and 12 days afterwards, Diocletian returned to Rome. The contemporary chronicle of Eusebius names the 20th November, 303, as the date of Diocletian's entry. Counting one year and twelve days backwards, we arrive exactly at the date of our legend, viz., the 8th November, a remarkable accordance which it would have been difficult or impossible for a mediæval monk to arrive at, and which almost proves that the account must originally have been written by one who himself lived in those times. The martyrdom of the sculptors would therefore be in A.D. 302. Allowing nearly a year after the Emperor's entry for the completion of the temple in Rome, the date of the second martyrdom would be A.D. 304.

We have seen that in the first case the religion of the sculptors was not the primary offence which entailed their death; they were cast into prison for disobeying Cæsar's orders, and killed in an access of rage at the death of Lampadius. This agrees with history. Hunzinger, by comparing Lactantius and Eusebius, has fixed the earliest persecution under Diocletian as beginning in February or March, 303, so that in November, 302, Christianity would not in itself be a crime against the state. He further defines the height of the persecu-

tion as commencing about May, 304. The Four Cornicularii were martyred, as shown already, simply because they were Christians, which at that date, November, 304, constituted a criminal offence. In May, 304, according to Eusebius, an imperial decree covering the whole empire ordained that incense and libations were to be offered to the gods, and it was provided that in Rome the Christians should everywhere be forced to do so or suffer death. This is exactly the state of affairs represented in the legend of the Cornicularii. Further, it will be remembered Quirillus died of grief on the 8th November, 302. The exact date of his death has not been recorded in history, but the chronicle of Eusebius informs us that his successor entered on his work in A.D. 302, which again supports the legend.

The question still remains, "Why were the four soldiers called coronati?" Everyone who has laid down his life for his faith is supposed by the Church to have earned the crown of martyrdom. Why ascribe it so especially to these four? It has often been suggested that the word is a mere ignorant corruption of "cornicularii". To a certain extent this is correct, but it does not quite explain all the facts. Here, however, Dr. Begemann steps in and cites the 10th book and 44th chapter of Livy as proving that there were two personal distinctions or decorations known in the Roman Army—"armillis aureisque coronis" and "corniculis armillisque argenteis". There were thus two classes of decorated soldiers—"coronati" the higher, and a lesser called "cornicularii", both distinctions being probably badges worn on the headpiece. That the soldier martyrs should have received brevet promotion after death in the minds and speech of the faithful seems only natural, especially as the word so happily referred also to the crown of martyrdom.

In later times the fact has been overlooked that the Coronati were soldiers and not Masons; they have been lauded as exemplary Masons, a description which would justly apply to their companions, the sculptors, but not to them. This scarcely needs explanation: all nine were commemorated on the same day; the two groups became confused, the soldiers gave their title of "Coronati" to the joint festival, but the occupation of the sculptors was ascribed equally to all nine.

In more than one document connected with the art of Masonry, the Four Crowned Ones appear as patron saints of the Masons, although their renown has much decreased in later times until it is well nigh forgotten. It cannot, indeed, be shown that any Mason-guild in England categorically recognised the Four Crowned Martyrs as their patron saints, whereas on the Continent not only Masons, but many other trades using the hammer, square and chisel, such as carpenters, were undeniably dedicated to them; but at least they were very early known in this country, as the existence of a church of the Quatuor Coronati in Canterbury, A.D. 619 (*vide* Bede), testifies, and the earliest mention of them in a Craft document is to be found in this country also. It is in the *Regius MS.*, the Masonic Poem of the fourteenth century, to be found in the British Museum.

In the Ordinances of the Strasburg Fraternity of Stonemasons, 1459, we find the following invocation: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the Holy Mother Mary, and also of her blessed servants, the Holy Four Crowned Ones, &c." It will be observed that the profession of these four soldiers has been forgotten, and that they have assumed the trade of the Five Sculptors, who are not mentioned at all.

Practically, therefore, the Four are really Nine, their festival being the 8th November, which is the date of their respective martyrdoms, although two years separated the events. That is why we hold our own annual festival in this Lodge on the 8th November.

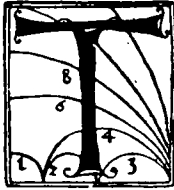
G. W. SPETH.



REVIEW

LES CHANTIERS DES CATHEDRALES - By Pierre du Colombier

(A. and J. Picard et Cie, 82, Rue Bonaparte, Paris)



THE author, who is not well known on this side of the channel, examines the economic and administrative problems arising out of the building of cathedrals and other great buildings of mediæval France. This aspect of architectural history has aroused less interest among French scholars than among those of England and Germany, although some of the important documents were published in 1911. The material available in France appears to be less abundant than in England and M. du Colombier has often to turn to English Fabric Rolls and Royal Accounts to substantiate and illustrate his conclusions. He pays generous tribute to Knoop and Jones, who initiated the scientific study of the economic aspects of mediæval building in this country, and to Salzman, who has recently published an even more comprehensive survey as well as to the authors of other more specialised studies of buildings, both here and on the continent.

The book deals with the building departments (*chantiers*) attached to the great mediæval buildings where a nucleus of workmen seem generally to have been permanently employed and which could be expanded or supplemented by separate organisations when some great scheme or construction was planned. In France, as in England and Germany, large timber workshops or Lodges were erected in connection with the building departments, and here the masons worked and ate their mid-day meals. Here new-comers were welcomed and given any necessary assistance, but in France these Lodges failed to develop any corporate life “(existence spirituelle)”, for there are no traces of guild statutes like those binding on Masons in various English cities, nor was there any elaborate territorial organisation of Lodges as in Germany. There is no mention of the great assemblies which form rather an obscure chapter in the history of English and German masons.

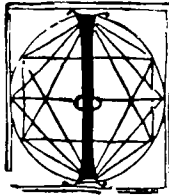
The author deals in some detail with the various grades of craftsmen and their tools and also discusses the question of the authorship of the designs of great mediæval churches and castles. He agrees with English scholars in thinking that there was a good deal of variation, and that in some cases the lead was taken by learned and active ecclesiastics and in others by master masons who are not always clearly differentiated from their fellow craftsmen and who often continued to do some of the skilled manual work. He shows that no very great amount of theoretical knowledge was necessary. No ground plans or measured drawings have survived and it appears that the buildings were marked out on the site by means of a furrow. France is fortunate in possessing a number of drawings of specific buildings, but it is not clear whether these were executed before or after they were constructed. Apparently the masons relied on precedent, experience and the example of existing buildings.

Perhaps the most stimulating chapters of the book are those which give an idea of the enormous physical difficulties which had to be overcome, especially in the transport of vast quantities of stone, lime, sand and timber. The author shows, for instance, that a wagon with a yoke of oxen could only have brought one cubic metre of stone from the quarry of Berchères to Chartres in the course of a day. Often quarries were situated much further away and the stone had to be hauled first to a river, then loaded on barges, unloaded after a long, slow journey and reloaded again on wagons before reaching the site of the building. Besides building materials, large quantities of food and other supplies were needed for the masons, who were assembled from far and wide. Shortage of funds was a constant anxiety, for enthusiasm for a new building quickly waned and, until more benefactors could be induced to come forward, the work was held up. No wonder that building proceeded at an irregular pace, *modo intensius, modo remissius*. The miracle is that these great buildings were ever brought to completion.

The book is generously illustrated with excellent reproductions from manuscripts, sculpture, stained glass and panel pictures for, although mediæval artists very seldom set out to portray contemporary scenes, in representing subjects such as the Building of the Tower of Babel, Solomon's Temple or the City of Troy, they showed craftsmen of their own times working with the tools and mechanical devices with which they were themselves familiar. Most interesting of all are the sculptured figures and portrait busts found in the carved decoration of some great cathedrals which represent the master masons and were placed in position by the nameless sculptors whose work adorns and completes the finished building.

A. BAKER, Ph.D.

OBITUARY



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Alven, Eric Gustav, of Alexandra Road, London, N.W.8, on 13th August, 1951. Bro. Alven was a member of the Savage Club Lodge, and held London Grand Rank. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1925.

Anderson, William Fenton, of Deane, Bolton, Lancs., on 21st May, 1953. Bro. Anderson was a Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 146, Bolton, and P.Z. of St. John's Chapter No. 348. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in June, 1925.

Balaam, Albert Edward, of Stanbury Road, London, S.E.15, on 8th October, 1951. Bro. Balaam was a member of Rye Lodge No. 2272 and joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1944.

Bayon, Dr. Henry Peter, of Little Shelford, Cambridge, in February, 1953. Bro. Bayon was a Past Master of Cavendish Lodge No. 2620. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in November, 1944.

Benson, Jesse Noble, of Everett, Washington, U.S.A., on 2nd May, 1953. Bro. Benson was a member of Olivet Lodge No. 436, of Gladbrook, Iowa. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1948.

Biggs, Albert Edward, of Winslow, Bucks, on June 24th, 1953. Bro. Biggs was a Past Master of Sir Reginald Wingate Lodge No. 2954, in Khartoum, and Past District Grand Standard Bearer of Egypt and the Sudan. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle for nearly 40 years, having joined in 1914.

Brewer, Frederick, of Tyndale Park, Herne Bay, on 4th December, 1952. Bro. Brewer had held London Grand Rank, and was a Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in March, 1948.

Bridge, Jonathan, of Castleton, Lancs., in November, 1952. Bro. Bridge was a Past Master of St. Martin's Lodge No. 2320, and a member of Unity Chapter No. 298, Rochdale. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1920.

Brook, Major Walter Berridge, of Kisumu and Ngong, Kenya, early in 1953. Major Brook was a member of Lodge Equator No. 4337, Kisumu, and held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was at one time our Local Secretary for East Africa, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since March, 1928.

Cartwright, Ernest Henry, M.D., B.Ch., of Tunbridge Wells, on 22nd February, 1953, in his 88th year. Bro. Cartwright held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for over sixty years, having been elected in January, 1891. He was elected a full member of the Lodge in May, 1947. (For a fuller Obituary notice, see page 39).

Chant, Maurice George, of Cassiobury Park, Watford, on 9th January, 1953. Bro. Chant was a Past Provincial Grand Warden of Herts., and also held London Grand Rank. In Grand Lodge he was promoted from Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies to Past Grand Deacon in 1949. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Clapp, Percy Walter, of Park Langley, Beckenham, Kent, on 15th April, 1953. Bro. Clapp was a Past Master of London Dorset Lodge No. 3221, and Past Z. of the attached Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1944.

Des Graz, Charles Geoffrey Maurice, O.B.E., of The Albany, Piccadilly, on 1st March, 1953. He was a specialist in books and manuscripts, having been more than 30 years with Messrs. Sotheby and Co., of which he became Chairman in 1949. He was a Past Master of Victoria Rifles Lodge No. 822, and a member of the St. Alban's Chapter No. 29. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1946.

Ellis, Lt.-Col. William Francis, C.M.G., O.B.E., of Tangier, Morocco, on 11th July, 1953. He served in the South African War, and in the War of 1914-18, being mentioned four times in Despatches. After his retirement, he settled in Tangier, where he was a member of the Tangier Port Commission, and British Vice-President of the International Legislative Assembly. He was a Past Master of Mooltan Lodge No. 1307, and Past Z. of the attached Chapter, and Past District Grand Master of Gibraltar. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1910.

Evans, Dr. Albert Edward, C.B.E., of Mill Hill, N.W.7, on 22nd June, 1953. Bro. Evans was a Past Master of the Hogarth Lodge No. 3396, and First Principal of the attached Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1942, and was elected a full member of the Lodge on 7th October, 1949. (For a fuller Obituary notice, see page 83).

Finlayson, Christopher, of Malvern, Victoria, on 22nd November, 1952. He was a member of Australia Lodge No. 57, V.C., and Winder Chapter No. 3984. He became a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle in June, 1923.

Found, Thomas Lidstone, of Portsmouth, in November, 1952. Bro. Found was a Past Master of St. Michael le Querne No. 2697, and was appointed to Grand Rank as Past Grand Standard Bearer in 1933, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1949. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1920.

Franks, George Leonard William, of Westcliff-on-Sea, on 30th January, 1953. Bro. Franks was a member of Ranelagh Lodge No. 834. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1923, and became a Life Member in January, 1924.

Griffiths, Frederick, of Kendal, on 1st March, 1953. Bro. Griffiths was a member of Union Lodge No. 129 and Winder Chapter No. 3984. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1930.

Hagley, George, of Penarth, on 23rd May, 1953. Bro. Hagley was a member of Glamorgan Lodge No. 36 and St. John's Chapter No. 36. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in March, 1920.

Hallett, Henry Hiram, of Taunton, on 5th March, 1953, aged 81 years. Bro. Hallett was a member of the Lodge of Unanimity and Sincerity No. 261, and of the attached Sincerity Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1920, and was elected a full member of the Lodge in November, 1942. He held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and was for many years our Local Secretary for Somerset. (For a fuller Obituary notice, see page 67).

Holmes, Edward Bethell, of Stoke Newington, on 23rd March, 1953. Bro. Holmes was a Past Master of Chingford Lodge No. 2859 and of Beaconsfield Chapter No. 1662. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1927.

Jacklin, Captain James Valentine, of Royston, Herts., in January, 1953. Bro. Jacklin was a member of Cantabrigia Lodge No. 3532. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1928.

Johnstone, Dr. James, of Richmond, Surrey, on 16th February, 1953. Bro. Johnstone was a Past Master of Richmond Lodge No. 2032, and Past Z. of the Savage Club Chapter No. 2190, and was appointed to Grand Rank as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1906, and became a full member of the Lodge in 1945. (For a fuller Obituary notice, see page 39).

Legg, Francis George, of Duke Street, Bath, on 20th June, 1953. Bro. Legg was a Past Master of St. Alphege Lodge No. 4095. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1948.

Lepper, John Heron, B.A., B.L., in London on 26th December, 1952. Bro. Lepper was the Senior Past Master of our Lodge, to full membership of which he was elected in October, 1922, having joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1914. He was a Past Grand Deacon, and Librarian to the United Grand Lodge of England, as well as a Past Grand Deacon of Ireland. A fuller appreciation of Bro. Lepper will be found on page 9.

Lovell, Charles H., of Cheam, Surrey, on 11th March, 1953. Bro. Lovell was a member of St. Mark's Lodge No. 857. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1914.

Lusty, Dalby William, of Mill Hill, N.W.7, in June, 1953. Bro. Lusty was a Past Master of Kent Lodge No. 15, and a member of the attached Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1952.

McAllister, William Pringle, of Barnsley, Yorks., on 23rd December, 1951. He was a Past Master of de Lacy Lodge No. 4643, and a member of St. Oswald Chapter No. 910. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Macdougall, Sir Alexander, of Prestwick, Ayrshire, in January, 1953. He was a Past Master of Lodge Perfect Unanimity No. 150, Madras, and was appointed to Grand Rank as Past Grand Deacon in 1928. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1928.

Mackay, John Hutchinson, of Germiston, Transvaal, on 29th September, 1953. Bro. Mackay was a Past Master of Golden Thistle Lodge No. 744, S.C., and Substitute District Grand Master, Transvaal. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1952.

Marshall, Frank George, of West Wickham, Kent, on 4th August, 1953. He was a Past Master of Pro Deo et Patria Lodge No. 4425, and a Committee Member of the Bromley Masonic Circle. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1947.

Mason, Dr. Harold, of Leamington Spa, on 12th March, 1953. Bro. Mason 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, 1922.

May, Thomas James, of Wallsend, New South Wales, early in 1953. Bro. May was a Past Master of Inverell Lodge No. 48, N.S.W., and Past King of Chapter No. 72. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1927.

Meeke, Raymond, of Marlborough Road, Sheffield, on 13th August, 1953. Bro. Meeke was a member of St. Leonard's Lodge No. 2263. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

Merrick, Edward George, of Listerhills Road, Bradford, Yorks., on 23rd April, 1953. Bro. Merrick was a Past Master of St. Laurence Lodge No. 2330, Pudsey. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

Morphett, John William, of Kedah, Malaya, on 10th July, 1953. Bro. Morphett was a member of Lodge Kedah No. 3830. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1953.

Moss, Lt.-Col. William Edward, of Sonning, Berks., on 25th February, 1953. Bro. Moss was a great collector of books and an authority on English Bindings of the sixteenth century. He was a member of Apollo University Lodge No. 357, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined as long ago as March, 1899. He was the author of a number of articles in our *Transactions*.

Nicholson, George Beams, of North Shields, on 27th December, 1952. Bro. Nicholson was a Past Master of St. George's Lodge No. 431, and Past Z. of the attached Chapter. He held the rank of Past Provincial Grand Standard Bearer in the Province of Northumberland. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1946.

Osborne, Frederick Stephen, of Bognor Regis, in December, 1952. Bro. Osborne held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in October, 1942.

Palmer, Stanley, of London, on 20th January, 1953. Bro. Palmer was a Past Master of Avondale Lodge No. 2395, and Past Z. of Royal York Chapter of Perseverance No. 7. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

Pharazyn, Eric Louis, of Kitale, Kenya, in June, 1952. Bro. Pharazyn was a Past Master of Mount Elgin Lodge No. 5082, and Past Z. of Kenya Chapter No. 3727. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1949.

Prynne, Sherard J. H., of Welwyn Garden City, on 10th January, 1953. Bro. Prynne was a member of Parthenon Lodge No. 1826 and Progress Chapter No. 1768. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1927.

Raward, Gordon, of Suffolk Road, North Harrow, in February, 1953. He was a member of St. Thomas' Lodge No. 142, and joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1949.

Rees, Thomas Ernest, of Rhyl, in April, 1953. Bro. Rees was a member of Highgate Lodge No. 1366, and also of the attached Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1898, and became a Life Member in 1928.

Rickard, Frederick Smedley, of Bedford, on 2nd October, 1953. Bro. Rickard was a member of Dalhousie Lodge No. 508 (S.C.), Singapore. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1949.

Reeve, George Robey, of Purley, Surrey, on 10th March, 1953. Bro. Reeve was a member of Eccentric Lodge No. 2488 and of the attached Chapter, and held London Grand Rank. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1951.

Roberts, Nicholas Tinsley, of Louisville, Kentucky, on 3rd December, 1952. Bro. Roberts was a Past Master of George Washington Lodge No. 904, K.C., and for many years was shorthand reporter to the Grand Lodge of Kentucky. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1946.

Roberts, William Lee, of Royal Exchange, London, E.C.3, on 13th August, 1953. Bro. Roberts was a member of West Lancashire Lodge No. 3088, and had been over 40 years a member of our Correspondence Circle, having joined it in June, 1912.

Rogers, Norman, of Plymouth, on 6th December, 1953. Bro. Rogers was a member of Plym Lodge No. 3821 and of Harmony Chapter No. 156. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1937.

Sharples, James William, of Quilmes, Argentina, on 6th March, 1953. Bro. Sharples was District Grand Master of South America, S.D. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1926.

Seton-Kerr, Malcolm, of Church Stretton, Salop, on 24th May, 1953. Bro. Seton-Kerr was a member of Salopian Lodge No. 262, and was a Past Provincial Grand Warden of Shropshire. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1949.

Stock, William Stuart Vernon, of Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs., in May, 1952. Bro. Stock held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Provincial Grand Warden of Bristol. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1947.

Sutherland, Herbert Stanley, of Grosvenor Villas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in May, 1953. Bro. Sutherland was a member of Wear Valley Lodge No. 1121 and its associated Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle nearly 40 years, having joined in October, 1914.

Ward, Lt.-Col. The Hon. Roderick John, of Cleobury Mortimer, Worcs., on 2nd October, 1953. Bro. Ward was a member of Mount Kenya Lodge No. 5638, and joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1939.

West, Clarence Jay, of Appleton, Wisconsin, in January, 1953. Bro. West was a Past Master of St. James' Lodge No. 41, Wisconsin. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1929.

Westwood, Guy Bertram, of Wimbledon, on 7th July, 1950. Bro. Westwood was a member of the Caribbean Lodge No. 4826. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1949.

Westwood, William Josiah, of Durban, Natal, on 16th August, 1953, in his 71st year. Bro. Westwood was a member of Addington Lodge and Chapter No. 1937, and a Past District Grand Warden of Natal. He held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and at the time of his death he was our valued Local Secretary for Natal. He had joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1947.

Williams, David John, of Bath, on 11th February, 1953. Bro. Williams was a member of Royal Sussex Lodge No. 53 and of the attached Chapter. He held the ranks of Past Provincial Grand Registrar and Past Provincial Grand Third Principal. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1946.

Williams, Percy Edward, of Whitchurch, Glamorgan, in May, 1953. Bro. Williams was a Past Master of Penarth Lodge No. 4113 and Tennant Chapter No. 1754. He had received the rank of Past Provincial Grand Warden. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1952, and had taken up the duties of Local Secretary for South Wales.

ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1953:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

The Provincial Grand Lodge of Down, Ireland
The District Grand Lodge of Burma
Prince Edwin Lodge No. 125

Lodge of Amity No. 137
Lodge of the Nine Muses No. 235
Temple Lodge No. 558
Invicta Lodge of Ashford No. 709
Gundulph Lodge No. 1050
Lord Warden Lodge No. 1096
Lodge of Concord No. 1135
Lodge of St. George No. 1152
St. Michael's Lodge No. 1273
Hervey Lodge No. 1692
Weald of Kent Lodge No. 1854
Graystone Lodge No. 1915
Stour Lodge No. 2305
Ermine Lodge No. 2351
Godson Lodge No. 2385
Bradstow Lodge No. 2448
North Kent Lodge No. 2499
Lodge St. Michael No. 2933
West Wickham Lodge No. 2948
United Service Lodge No. 3124
Silver River Lodge No. 3389
Royal Colonial Institute Lodge No. 3556
Per Mare Per Terram Lodge No. 3609
St. Andrew's Lodge No. 3948
St. Peter's Lodge No. 4193
Gavelkind Lodge No. 4266
Shorncliffe Lodge No. 4330
Romney Marsh Lodge No. 4743
Manor of Bromley Lodge No. 4810
Hoo St. Werburg Lodge No. 4829
Leyton St. John Lodge No. 4860
Kingsgate Lodge No. 4882
Pilgrims Lodge No. 5008
Kenelm Lodge No. 5158
Lodge Malaya No. 5213
Eden Park Lodge No. 5379
Duke of Kent Lodge No. 5818
Kent Provincial Grand Stewards' Lodge No. 5866
North Surrey Masters' Lodge No. 5905
Crofton Oak Lodge No. 6097
Binnewith Lodge No. 6338
Wrekendike Lodge No. 6401
Quoinstone Lodge No. 6481
Sidcup Lodge No. 6552
Lodge of Antient Bromleag No. 6716
Saedingburne Lodge No. 6728
Lodge of the Seven Hills No. 6857
Flambard Lodge No. 6874

William Sennock Lodge No. 6932
 Durobrivae Lodge No. 6956
 Lodge Kinabalu No. 7047
 Cross in Hand of Bickley Lodge No. 7060
 Balmoral Lodge No. 7118
 Port Elizabeth Royal Arch Chapter No. 711
 Westfield Lodge of Instruction No. 3686
 Manor of Bromley Lodge of Instruction No. 4810
 Lodge of St. Barnabas Lodge of Instruction
 Goodwill Lodge of Instruction
 Bromley and West Kent Masonic Study Circle
 Totteridge Masonic Circle
 Surbiton Masonic Library
 Prince Mason Chapter No. III, I.C.
 Lodge Southern Cross No. 398, S.C.
 King Edward VII Lodge No. 61, S.A.C.
 Holdfast Lewis Lodge No. 96, S.A.C.
 Torrensvalle Lewis Lodge No. 104, S.A.C.
 Garden Vale Lodge No. 243, V.C.
 Brighton Vale Lodge No. 471, V.C.
 Gardenvale Lodge of Instruction
 Lord Kitchener R.A. Chapter No. 26, V.C.
 Gardenvale R.A. Chapter No. 71, V.C.
 Earl Kitchener Mark Lodge No. 43, V.C.
 Gardenvale Mark Lodge No. 117, V.C.
 Southern Cross Conclave, O.S.M., No. 27
 Melbourne Conclave, O.S.M., No. 59
 Tasmania Conclave, O.S.M., No. 81
 Adelaide Conclave, O.S.M., No. 86
 Sydney Conclave, O.S.M., No. 92
 Ballarat Conclave, O.S.M., No. 95
 Amicitia Conclave, O.S.M., No. 96
 St. George Conclave, O.S.M., No. 113
 Newcastle Conclave, O.S.M., No. 120
 Osiris Lodge, Switzerland
 Lodge "Royal Protea" No. 163, Netherlands Constitution
 Standard Lodge No. 440, California
 Masonic Research Group of San Francisco

BRETHREN

Herbert Stanley Aberg
 Haddon Clifford Adams
 Norman Murdoch Aitchison
 Kenneth Alfred Allen
 Fred Lee Almand
 Hurlburt Anderson, Jnr.
 William Claudius Lionel Andrews
 Thomas Angelo de Angelis
 Frank Anstey
 Arthur Heslop Antrum
 Leonard Wilfred Archer
 John Armitage
 Vernon R. Arms
 John Leonard Ashby
 Elmer Tom Ashman
 Vincent Ernest George Atherton
 John Robert Avery

 Ralph Bell Baggett
 George T. Ballard
 John Neville Banks
 Eric Barnett
 Kenneth Myer Arthur Barnett
 Malcolm Ernest Barrett
 Owen Charles Barrett

Alvy Everett Bartholomew
 Richard Alexander Horsman Batchelor
 Osborne Robert Sacheverel Bateman
Hon. William Ralph Seymour Bathurst, *T.D.*
 Alfred Beech
 Torris Severin Bendixen
 Joseph Benjamin
 Iden Albert Ronald Bennett
 Albert Henry Berman
 Llewellyn Glover Betts
 David Allison Bewley
 Charles James Billings
 Ethelbert Henry Bingham
 Ellie John Bisson
 Kaj Bjerrum
 James Parkinson Black
 Daniel Merritt Bliss
 Percy Bloom
 Schuble C. Boggs
 Charles Henry Bone, *M.B.E.*
 Horace William Bonner
 Arthur G. A. Bonny
 J. Pierre Bordner
 Pedro Borio
 John Hubert Bottomley, *E.D.*

Dr. Leopold B. Bourne
 Harvard Foster Bowman
 Albert Irvine Brayshaw
 Kitchener William Alfred Bridges
 Bert Benjamin Briggs
 Geoffrey Brian Bromfield
 Colin Bruce
 Arthur Loftus Bryant
 William Edward Burrier
 Frederick Lackenby Bush

Hartley Anthony Cadd
 Daniel James Campbell
 Ernest Alfred Cannell
 Edward James Carse
 Alfred C. Carter
 Howard D. Caswell
 Gordon John Allingham Cassidy
 Albert George Cavers
 Ellis Robert Chamberlain
 Taft Chapman
 George Childs
 George Edward Childs
 George Ellsworth Clabaugh
 J. J. Clark
 Samuel Welch Clark
 Henrik Ernst Gustaf Clément
 Colin Edward Clyne
 Stanley Allan Clover
 Sydney James Coates
 Henry Wilson Coil
 George Laban Coleman
 William Henry Coles
 Ronald William Henry Collings
 J. Williamson Cook
 Allan Henry Conradié
 Rev. George McDowell Cordner
 Lionel Deucalion Cowling
 Harold Cecil Cox
 James Mitchell Craigo
 Samuel Walter Cecil Crookes
 Frank Crooks
 Edward Crossley
 James Alfred Croucher
 Frank Crowthers
 James Hawkins Crutchley
 Garth Augustus Culham
 Alton T. Curtis

Maynard Athelston Dakin
 Basil John Daleboudt
 Charles Henry Chessyre Dalton
 Hugh Davies
 Victor Andrew Davis
 Harold Pullen Dawton
 George Percival Delicate
 Ben M. Deutsch
 James Dewhurst
 Ross Edwin Dickson
 Edgar M. Docherty
 Charles Garrick Dodd
 Norman Mitchell Draper
 Daniel Fleming Dukes, Jnr.
 John Francis Dullely
 John Speedie Winton Dunn
 Frank Dupree, Jnr.

Leslie John Dymond

Charles Edward James Eather
 Frederick William Eckstein
 James Bennett Ellis Eddon
 Arthur Daniel Edson
 Charles Henry Edwards
 Thomas Norley Edwards
 William Wright Edwards
 William Theodore Engel
 Jay Glover Eldridge
 E. Eliahoo
 Carl Erich Erickson
 Eric Ernest Spillet
 Albert Frederick Evans
 Joseph Jewell Evans

Cecil Henry Faiers
 Major Arthur Ralph Fallon
 Floyd A. Falls
 Stanley S. Fatkin
 Henry Tatham Fawcett
 Douglas Keith Fenton
 James Ronald Firth
 Dr. Clyde Reuben Flory
 Frithjof Eugen Wladimir Eide Fonahn
 Hubert Foster
 Harold Clement Forrest
 Oswald Armstrong Forster
 Harry Fowling
 Harry G. Frame
 John Richard Gibson Freeman
 Robert Simson Frew
 Leo Jessen Friis
 Thomas William Fripp
 Arthur William Frisby, C.B.E., E.D.
 Harold Edward Fryer

Aryeh Z. Gance
 William Gowan Gardner
 John Compton Garrud
 Honore Florent Eric Gautier
 William James Geall
 Albert Laurence George
 Augustus William Gibson
 Arthur Reginald Gill
 Tiberio Glass
 F. G. Gleed
 Jack Patrick Glenie
 John Edward C. Godfrey
 John P. Goggin
 Walter Jerome Gordon
 William Gould
 Henry Walter Grace
 Orval C. Graves
 James Northey Gray
 Edward Grayson
 Alfred Thomas Green
 Everett Jennings Greene
 Percival Victor Greensmith
 Edward John Griffin
 Trefor Griffiths
 Francis William Grueber
 Burton L. Gwinn

Ernst Hagmann

Kenneth Alan Gordon Hague
 W. A. Hailey
 Harry William Hale, *O.B.E.*
 Andrew Richard Hall
 Sydney Hall
 Oscar Harold Hamby
 Jeffrey Hubert Hamm
 Clement Edward Hand
 Edwin Marcus Gray Hanlon
 Alan Edward Harding
 Frederick Joseph Daniel Harris
 Robert Edward Harris
 Orville Goodwin Harrold
 John Burnett Harshman
 E. Wayne Heath
 Norman Heaton
 William Robinson Heley
 Thomas Robert Henderson
 Frank Henry
 Eric George Stanley Higgins
 Clarence Kenneth Hill
 Joseph Ronald Hinchliffe
 John D. Hitchcock
 Alexander Hodge
 Olav From Hoff
 George William Hogg
 Edmund Holden
 Sidney Edward Albert Holland
 Edward Gordon Holton
 Herbert William Frank Hooker
 Patrick Joseph Hope
 Eugene S. Hopp, *M.D.*
 Frederick John Horman-Fisher
 Walter James Horn
 Dr. Juan Tomas Horvath
 Frank Charles Hoskins
 James Edward Houston
 Joseph Ralph Howarth-Woods
 Robert Steele Hoyle
 Harry Owen Hughes
 William Morgan Hughes
 Dudley Samuel Waller Humble
 Richard Wagner Hunt
 James Campbell Hunter
 Oliver James Hunter

 Albert Edward Ilsley
 Richard B. Ingham
 Richard A. Ingram
 Wilfred Ireland
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 Leo Ivanovszky
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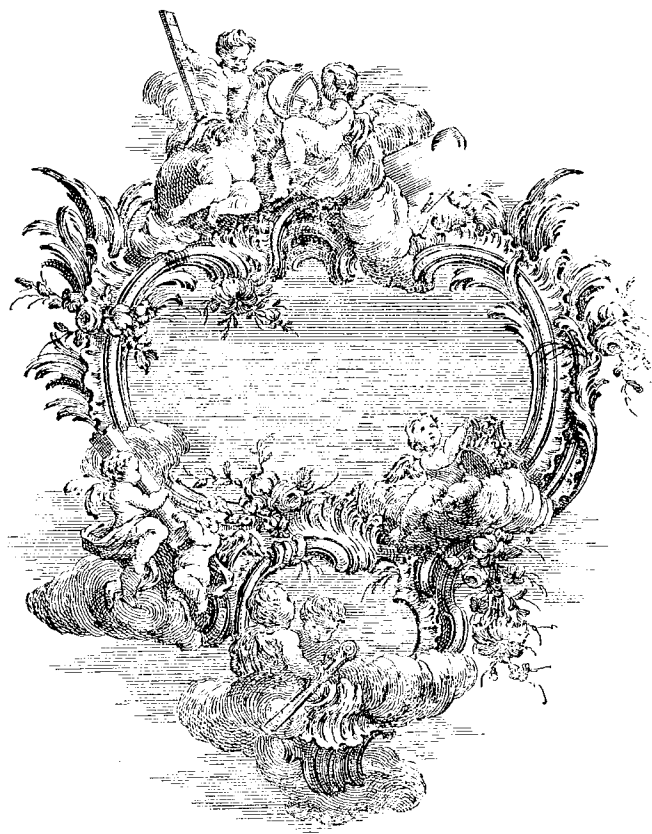
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