

→* 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 LXVIII.

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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*, of which ten volumes have been issued, 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 over 3,600 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

THE MASONIC UNION

BY NORMAN ROGERS, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., *Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 2076*

One sometimes wonders if many of the Brethren who are members of our great and glorious Institution fully realise what happened in December, 1813, when two rival Grand Lodges were merged under the name of "The United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of England". We ought to know more about that Union, for is it not the United Grand Lodge which provides all English Freemasons with their certificates, and to which they have promised allegiance?

Very few members take the opportunity of learning the causes, details and results of that Union, and still less do they appreciate the enormous effect it had on the Craft in England and, incidentally, on the whole of English-speaking Freemasonry. In providing some of the information in this short summary, it is hoped that it will stimulate members to go more deeply into the subject. For convenience, it will be divided into two parts, *i.e.*, The events leading up to the Union, and The Union itself, with its results.

I. EVENTS LEADING TO THE UNION

Our legendary history must necessarily be separated from recorded history, which bears witness that, in the early seventeenth century, Freemasonry was mainly Operative in character, though non-Operative (or Speculative) members were often admitted to its ranks—this state of affairs is particularly evident in Scotland. That there were Lodges of Masons in existence—both Speculative and Operative—at the beginning of the eighteenth century is certain, but they appeared to owe no allegiance to a recognised ruling body; a copy of the Old Charges apparently constituted a Lodge and provided means for its government.

The best-known account we have of the formation of the "Original", "Regular" or "Premier" Grand Lodge is that contained in the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, edited by Dr. James Anderson, and this details how four old London Lodges met on St. John the Baptist's Day (24th June), 1717, constituted a Grand Lodge, and elected a Grand Master and two Grand Wardens. This Grand Lodge was composed of Operatives and Speculatives, and it was, at first, intended to act as a governing body for the Lodges in London and its vicinity (*i.e.*, "within the Bills of Mortality", or ten miles from London), though it soon extended its sway; on its pattern other Grand Lodges of the world were later founded. Ireland, for instance, formed a Grand Lodge in 1725, and Scotland in 1736.

In 1725 the old Lodge at York, which had existed for many years, constituted itself "The Grand Lodge of All England", but it did not extend its influence to any great extent. A number of other Grand Lodges were operating at various times in England, but, by the end of the eighteenth century, there were only two main rivals, *i.e.*, "The Grand Lodge of England", formed in 1717, and the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Constitutions", formed in 1751. The "Original" or "Premier" Grand Lodge was, strangely enough, termed the "Moderns", for, even in 1726, an advertisement drew a distinction between "Antient Masonry" and the "Moderns" (meaning the new Grand Lodge). No wonder, therefore, that the later Grand Lodge of 1751 became known as the "Antients", especially as "Ancient" was part of its title; towards the end of the eighteenth century its members were also known as "Athol" Masons, because the two Dukes of Athol were Grand Masters of the "Antients" Grand Lodge for many years (1771-1781 and 1791-1813).

In the 1720's and 1730's there was an epidemic of "Exposures" of Freemasonry, and much confusion and difficulty was experienced by the Lodges. Certain alterations were made in the Ritual by the "Moderns" Grand Lodge to prevent the admission of spurious masons into the Lodges, and these, along with lack of leadership, caused much discontent, and really led to the formation of the "Antients" Grand Lodge in 1751. So successful were the latter, under the leadership of Laurence Dermott, who became their Grand Secretary in 1752, that they were actually recognised by the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, to the exclusion of the "Original" or "Premier" Grand Lodge. In addition to the differences in esoteric details of the Craft ceremonies, there was a marked variation in organisation, for, while the "Moderns" did not officially recognise the Royal Arch, which they worked in a separate Chapter, the "Antients" considered it to be an essential part of their system. An "Antients"

warrant was, in fact, not only a sufficient authority for working the Craft, but also the Royal Arch, Mark and Knights Templar degrees ; many of these warrants still exist.

For many years the relations between the rival Grand Lodges were anything but cordial, some Lodges insisting on re-making those of the rival body before admitting them to their meetings. But a definite step towards the Union was taken in 1797, when the "Antients" tried to get their Grand Lodge to form a Committee to meet one from the "Moderns" for the purpose of effecting a Union ; it was not carried then, but was brought up again and passed in December, 1809. By the end of the eighteenth century the two Grand Lodges had begun to draw nearer to one another, more fraternal feelings were engendered, and interchanges of private Lodge members took place.

But the most vital step was taken by the "Moderns" when, on 12th April, 1809, they passed a resolution to the following effect:—

"That this Grand Lodge do agree in Opinion with the Committee of Charity that it is not necessary any longer to continue in Force those Measures which were resorted to, in or about the year 1739, respecting irregular Masons, and do therefore enjoin the several Lodges to revert to the Ancient Land Marks of the Society."

The next stage was the formation of a "Moderns" Lodge of Promulgation in 1809, which made certain alterations to bring them into line with the "Antients", such as the institution of Deacons (not a general "Moderns" practice, though some Lodges had them) and the re-introduction of the Installation Ceremony, which, it was admitted, had been "neglected". This ceremony was then promulgated by a Board of Installed Masters formed for the purpose ; and with it the powers of the Lodge of Promulgation were brought to an end on 28th February, 1811, the way to a Union being left clear. Joint Committees then went to work "to put an end to diversity and establish the one true system", and they directed their efforts towards framing the necessary Articles under which the Union should be effected. The appointment of Grand Master was also amicably arranged. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George IV) had been Grand Master of the "Moderns" from 1790 to 1813, when he declined re-election ; his brother, the Duke of Sussex, was installed in his place on 12th May, 1813. In the "Antients" Grand Lodge, the 4th Duke of Athol had been Grand Master from 1775 to 1781 and from 1791 to 1813 ; he retired, whereupon another son of King George III, the Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria in 1819), was elected Grand Master on 8th November, 1813.

These two sons of George III speedily effected an agreement, for, on 25th November, 1813, the Articles of Union—21 in number—were signed and sealed at Kensington Palace, by the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master, and three others for the "Moderns", and by the Duke of Kent, Grand Master, and three others for the "Antients". These Articles of Union were duly ratified by both Grand Lodges at their respective meetings on 1st December, 1813, after which they closed until St. John the Evangelist's Day, 27th December, 1813.

II. THE UNION

The great day of Masonic unity arrived, when the Grand Masters and Brethren assembled at Freemasons' Hall, the Temple being so arranged that Officers and Brethren of the two Grand Lodges were completely intermixed. There were two Grand Masters in the East, one on either side of the Throne, with two Senior and two Junior Grand Wardens. First, however, the Grand Masters and Grand Officers had assembled in separate rooms, from which they issued in single file, meeting at the door, and marching into the Temple two and two. The Act of Union was read, proclaimed and confirmed by the assembly, and the document signed and sealed with the Great Seals of the respective Grand Lodges.

The Duke of Kent then proposed the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master of United Grand Lodge, which was unanimously approved ; the latter was thereupon conducted to the Throne, afterwards appointing his Officers ; many important resolutions having been passed, the United Grand Lodge was closed with solemn prayer. A Grand Banquet was subsequently held, and "the auspicious day was concluded with the most festive harmony and brotherly love".

Let us now examine the Articles of Union which were ratified on this memorable day. These are the most important clauses:—

- I. "There shall be, from and after the day of the Festival of Saint John the Evangelist next ensuing, a full, perfect, and perpetual union of and between the two Fraternities of Free and Accepted Masons of England ; so as that in all time hereafter they shall form and constitute but one Brotherhood, and that the said community shall be represented in one Grand Lodge . . . thenceforward for ever."
- II. "It is declared and pronounced, that pure Ancient Masonry consists of three degrees, and no more ; *viz.* those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. But this article is not intended to prevent any Lodge or Chapter from holding a meeting in any of the degrees of the Orders of Chivalry, according to the constitutions of the said Orders."

- III. "There shall be the most perfect unity of obligation, of discipline, of working the Lodges, of making, passing, and raising, instructing and clothing Brothers ; so that but one pure unsullied system, according to the genuine land-marks, laws, and traditions of the Craft, shall be maintained, upheld and practised, throughout the Masonic World, from the day and date of the said union until time shall be no more."
- V. This Article provided that each Fraternity was to appoint "nine worthy and expert Master Masons, or Past Masters", to hold a Lodge of Reconciliation for the "purpose of obligating, instructing and perfecting the Masters, Past Masters, Wardens, and Members . . ."
- VIII. "The Representatives of the several Lodges shall sit under their respective banners according to seniority. The two first Lodges under each Grand Lodge to draw a lot in the first place for priority . . . and all the other Lodges shall fall in alternately . . ."
- XIV. "There may also be a Masonic Festival, annually, on the Anniversary of the Feast of St. John the Baptist, or of St. George, or such other day as the Grand Master shall appoint . . ."
- XV. This Article provided for the members of the Lodge of Reconciliation to visit the Lodges "within the Bills of Mortality", in order to "assist the Masters and Wardens to promulgate and enjoin the pure and unsullied system, that perfect reconciliation, unity of obligation, law, working, language, and dress, may be happily restored to the English Craft."

There were other Articles, to the number of 21, regulating the procedure to be followed, but the above may be taken as paramount in their subsequent effect. No. II, for instance, had the effect of recognising only the Royal Arch in addition to the three Craft Degrees, a course of action which has continued ever since ; whereas Scotland recognises

"Entered Apprentice, Fellow-of-Craft (including the Mark), and Master Mason, and no other."—Law 54, 1954

and Ireland does not officially recognise either Mark or Arch. An attempt to get Grand Lodge to recognise the Mark in England was negatived in 1856, because of this Clause in the Articles of Union, with the consequence that a separate Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons was formed.

RESULTS OF THE UNION

Although, by Article II, the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch was included in pure ancient Masonry, yet the United Grand Lodge did not assume control over that Order. In 1817 the two Grand Chapters amalgamated, and the new "Supreme Grand Chapter" has, ever since, been in the closest unity with United Grand Lodge. Correspondence and minutes show, however, that the Order was neglected for some years, and May, 1822, was the last day fixed for the exchange of old Charters for new Warrants from the new Supreme Grand Chapter. Thereafter, too, changes in conditions of entrance were made, Master Masons of twelve months' standing being deemed eligible for exaltation from 8th May, 1822, in place of the previous rule of Past Masters only ; this rule was again altered on 1st November, 1893, to one of four weeks as a M.M. Then, too, it was only in 1834 that the Royal Arch ceremonies were settled, Grand Chapter Communication of 4th November, 1835, stating that the Ceremonies adopted and promulgated by Especial Grand Chapter on 21st and 25th November, 1834, "are the ceremonies of our Order which it is the duty of every Chapter to adopt and obey".

Article III was dealt with in two ways—first, as regards clothing, etc., by the issue of a *Book of Constitutions*, edited by Wm. Williams in 1815, the first part of which was never issued. Therein, the regulations laid down strict instruction for the clothing of members, for, whereas in the past members had adopted various types of elaborate apron, now the size, colour, etc., were distinctly specified. One of the interesting features of the aprons is that tassels were not specified in 1815, except for the Grand Stewards ; they appeared on the M.M.'s apron some time between 1827 and 1841, when they are shown in the *B. of C.*

Article VIII, regarding seniority of Lodges, is similarly very interesting. The ballot favoured the "Antients", who took No. 1, the then No. 1 of the "Moderns" becoming No. 2, and so on. The result was that the Grand Master's Lodge, dating only from 1759, became No. 1, whereas the new No. 2 was the Lodge of Antiquity, a "Time Immemorial" Lodge taking part in the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717. Because of this ballot, therefore, it is unsafe to say that of two Lodges the one with the lower number is the older. Lodge No. 44, for instance, is dated 1803, whereas Lodge No. 45 began in 1733. To-day's List of Lodges shows No. 339 as the last pre-Union Lodge. United Grand Lodge List at the beginning of 1814 included 388 "Moderns" and 260 "Antients", but, of these, 309 Warrants have been surrendered in the intervening years.

The most important Articles, so far as their effect was concerned, were Nos. III and XV ; these set up a Lodge of Reconciliation for the purpose of reconciling the two systems of Ritual, though there was, in practice, very little difference between them at the time of the Union. This Lodge of Reconciliation started with nine members from each of the Grand Lodges, plus the two Grand Secretaries. As time went on, others were added to fill vacancies, etc., the total list of members being 39 ; of these, five only were members of the "Moderns" Lodge of Promulgation. The object of the Lodge, *i.e.*, "the unifying of the Masonic ritual", was not achieved for many years—indeed, some would say that it has never been completed—but still!! What was done provided a satisfactory basis.

It will be realised that the work of the members of this Lodge was not accomplished without dissension, serious resistance from individual Brethren, and organised opposition from some private Lodges. The chief point of objection was the Ob.'s, the "Antients" maintaining that the new form was not sufficiently severe, but this and other matters were finally agreed, and a rehearsal of the three ceremonies held. They were approved at a Special Meeting of Grand Lodge on 20th May, 1816, two-and-a-half years after the Union. Not one word was permitted to be written, the ceremonies being promulgated by members of the Lodge of Reconciliation to private Lodges in London and the Provinces. All our Ritual springs from this Lodge of Reconciliation, and no one has a right to be dogmatic in stating that this or that "working" is the correct one, for all have suffered through oral transmission.

The meetings of this Lodge were at one time held up so that United Grand Lodge could meet representatives of Scotland and Ireland, and, in 1814, an International Compact was entered into, which exists to this day, "That the three Grand Lodges were perfectly in unison in all the great and essential points of the Mystery and Craft".

In spite of attempts to make alterations, Grand Lodge has consistently held to the Articles of Union, and has steadfastly refused to recognise other than the three degrees, including the Royal Arch, or to vary the dictum of the Duke of Sussex, 1st Grand Master of United Grand Lodge, that:

" . . . so long as the Master of any Lodge observed exactly the Land Marks of the Craft, he was at liberty to give the Lectures in the language best suited to the character of the Lodge over which he presided"

This should be taken with the Master's Ob. not to make innovations, and Rule 155, which lays down that the "majority of a Lodge have an undoubted right to regulate the proceedings".

To-day, our United Grand Lodge has grown from its original 648 Lodges to 6,626, with 738 erased (*1955 Masonic Year Book*), and its members have increased in proportion. May this short paper lead the Brethren to realise what a great heritage they enjoy, and lead them also to appreciate the efforts made in 1813 by those who had the benefit of the Society at heart. May they always appreciate its "distinguishing characteristics", which are represented in our great Masonic Institutions. May all Brethren ever feel that sentiment expressed in the toast to those present at the Union of 1813 by the Duke of Sussex:—

"Peace, good will, and brotherly love, all over the world."

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

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

VOLUME LXVIII

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

MONDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1954



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. Pope, P.Pr.G.Reg. (Kent), W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.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.G.D., P.M., D.C.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., *as* J.D.; H. Carr, L.G.R., I.G.; and H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. S. Phillips, A. H. Berman, F. Holt, C. Lawson Reece, T. W. Marsh, A. Sharp, A. E. Smith, K. Astrup, A. Lever, C. Stroud, A. I. Sharp, A. Parker Smith, R. C. W. Hunter, A. J. Beecher Stow, H. Hooker, R. W. Rudling, G. Norman Knight, E. W. Wells, W. Patrick, A. E. Bartlett, P. J. Watts, G. D. Elvidge, R. A. Pratley, F. L. Bradshaw, B. Foskett, C. R. Manasseh, A. P. Cawadiaz, S. E. Ward, G. H. Rooke, H. Miller, A. E. Sydney Ripper, T. A. Sanson, A. E. Sellen, F. Dunn, W. S. Jones, H. W. Piper, and F. S. Barber.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. W. Seller, Lodge 1432; G. E. Embleton, Lodge 3880; J. S. Walmsley, Lodge 5653; George Ellis, Lodge 162; Leon Newbold, Lodge 3286; H. Meek, Lodge 6452; Illegible, Lodge 4783; Illegible, Lodge 5023; E. C. Johnston, Lodge 110; N. Bradbury, Lodge No. 508; C. F. Frost, Lodge 31; Illegible, Lodge 4367; D. R. Stewart, Lodge 3349; J. F. Colville, Lodge 659; G. Davis, Lodge 1293; W. B. Terrell, Lodge 357; G. Jory, Lodge 357.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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.*, P.G.D. (I.C.); W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., 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); B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., Steward; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.D.

On ballot taken, after the Proposal Papers had been read, Bro. ARTHUR SHARP, *M.A.*, *P.G.D.*, was duly elected a Joining Member of the Lodge. Bro. Sharp was conducted into the Lodge and welcomed by the W.M.

Three Lodges and thirty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

It was announced that a most munificent donation of £200 had been made to the Lodge funds by Bro. F. E. Gould, *P.A.G.D.C.*, our Local Secretary for Devon and Cornwall. On the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., a very cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Gould for his most generous gift.

Bro. Norman Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*, 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. G. Y. Johnson	S.W.
Bro. B. W. Oliver	J.W.
Bro. Ivor Grantham	Treasurer
Bro. J. R. Dashwood	Secretary
Bro. Lewis Edwards	D.C.
Bro. G. S. Draffen	S.D.
Bro. H. Carr	J.D.
Bro. N. B. Spencer	I.G.
Bro. Bernard E. Jones	Steward

The Master proposed, and it was seconded by the S.W. and carried:—"That Bro. Sydney Pope, Past Provincial Grand Registrar of Kent, 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. NORMAN ROGERS, P.A.G.D.C.



FROM the outset may I express my deep gratitude to the members of this Lodge for the signal honour they have bestowed on me by selecting me for the office of Master of such an illustrious Lodge; believe me, I am deeply moved and, indeed, almost overwhelmed. It is undoubtedly the crowning honour of my Masonic career, and one which fills me with a great deal of trepidation, especially when I look at the long list of "giants" of Masonic research who have preceded me in this Chair.

I sincerely hope that my year of office may be conducive to a greater increase in usefulness as well as membership, and so direct our steps towards that aim epitomized by a most distinguished Mason, the late Lord Ampthill. In an address to the members of the Manchester Association in 1931, he said that our object should be:—

"No so much to get more men into Masonry as to get more Masonry into men."

I earnestly pray that our labours during the future may be crowned with some measure of success in that direction.

THE PRINCIPAL OFFICER

One of the greatest problems of research into Masonic history is the various titles—often confusing—given to the principal officers of Lodges, as exemplified by the entry in the Diary of Elias Ashmole, who noted:—

1646, Oct: 16. 4.30 P.M. I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Col: Henry Mainwaring of Karnicham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge, Mr: Rich Penket Warden, Mr: James Collier, Mr: Rich. Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, Rich: Ellam & Hugh Brewer.

Seven Brethern were present on that historic occasion, along with the two Initiates, the seven making the Lodge "perfect", even according to present-day lectures. The statements of some writers that the Master of the Lodge was not present on that occasion, presume that the Principal Officer was always called "Master" or the more recent designation; all these have induced me to investigate the problem, if only for my own satisfaction. That England and Scotland do not agree on a common nomenclature is quite well-known, so that it will not be surprising to find constant changes, especially in the latter country, which has the older Operative records.

Let us begin by considering

THE OLD CHARGES

or those old MS. Constitutions which are links between the "Operative" Masonry of the fourteenth century and the Speculative Freemasonry of the eighteenth.

The earliest of these old MSS. is the *Regius (Halliwell)* MS. No. 23,198 in the British Museum, the date generally ascribed to it being 1390 A.D. Here we find our first reference to "Master" in one of the verses:—

Furthermore yet that ordained he
Maystur called so should he be;
So that he were most worshipped,
Then should he be so-called.

(ll. 43-46)

The fifteen articles and fifteen points of this MS. frequently mention the Master, who is to be steadfast, trusty and true, to attend the Assembly, and take no "prentice unless for seven years". It is quite obvious that this MS. lays down a code of laws for medieval operative Masons, and points out that any decision of the Assembly of Masters, Fellows and great Lords

shall be maintained in the Craft. The earlier lines state that the best qualified in the craft of geometry or masonry should teach the simpler of wit, and be the "Most Worshipped Master".

The *Cooke* MS., of *circa* 1410 (ll. 580-601), indicates that Charles II (the Bald) ordained an annual assembly, and established the ranks of master and fellow. The eighth point mentions:—

if it befalls him for to be warden under his master that he be true man between his master and his fellows and that he be busy in the absence of his master to the honour of his master and profit of the lord that he serveth.

This suggests that the building operation might be so large as to necessitate the appointment of a deputy or Under-Master, as at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80; whereas, when there was a master-mason in charge of all building operations and not continuously present, then the deputy was a Warden, as in the case of Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-83.

Both the *Regius* MS. (ll. 32-42) and *Cooke* MS. (ll. 669-683) supply a simple explanation of the origin of "master-mason", in that those who proved most proficient became masters, but had the duty of teaching the more ignorant members of the craft laid upon them; yet both these MSS. provide that, at the Annual Assembly, there were to be present Lords, Knights, Esquires and Aldermen to assist in upholding the law of the Craft, with the Sheriff of the County in the case of an Assembly held in a country district, and the Mayor for that held in a town. The two MSS. also provide that if a mason should be a warden, he should be a true mediator between his master and his fellows.

The New Articles of 1663, which are to be found in four of the six members of the Roberts family of Old Charges, contain the following clauses:—

1. That no Person, of what Degree soever, be accepted a Free-Mason, unless he shall have a Lodge of five Free-Masons at the least, whereof one to be a Master or Warden of that Limit or Division where such Lodge shall be kept, and another to be a Workman of the Trade of Free-Masonry.
5. That for the future the said Society, Company and Fraternity of Free-Masons, shall be regulated and governed by one Master, and as many Wardens as the said Company shall think fit to chuse at every Yearly General Assembly.

The first of these Articles is quite clear, for it implied that either the Master or Warden should be present; the second seems to imply that there shall be a Master of the Society, with a Warden in charge of each Division.

The Tew, Embleton, Sloan, Scarborough and Hope families of the Old Charges all state:—

That they should call one another Fellow . . .
That they should ordain the wisest of them to be Master of the Lord's work.
That they should call the governor of the work Master.
And he had three thousand of them (builders of the temple) which were ordained to be Masters and governors of this work.

(N.B.—The *Cooke*, Grand Lodge No. 1, Langdale, Melrose, &c., state the number to be four thousand.)

Masters, again, in these old MSS. are obviously the Overseers of the work, and Fellows are workmen employed by them, as is shown by the Grand Lodge, Sloane and Roberts family.

In some of the old Fabric Rolls, the Mason in charge of the building operation was usually termed the Master of the Work (or Master Mason); such were John of Gloucester, Master Mason at the erection of Westminster Hall, 1254-62, and Walter of Hereford, Master Mason at Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-80. Naturally, therefore, when Lodges of Operative Masons came to be formed, numerous examples from the Old Charges show that these Lodges were composed of masters and fellows of the craft, a typical example being that of the *Bain* MS., which uses "Master" in the Operative sense, namely, one who controls the workmen or operatives, while it also states, "You shall call masons fellowes or brethren". The *York* No. 4, *Henery Heade*, *Crane* No. 2 and *Drinkwater* MSS., of late seventeenth century, all speak of the Lodge as being composed of Masters and Fellows, "master" here meaning employer; the *Thorpe* MS., of 1629, however, implies that "master" was a term for the contractor to the Lord of the Manor. Generally, then, it may be agreed that, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the principal officer of an English Operative Lodge was called the "Master", though we must not presume that he was always called by that name—and certainly not in Scotland, which has the oldest records of Operative/Speculative Lodges.

SCOTTISH PRACTICE

Murray Lyon tells us (page 2) that, when James I returned to Scotland after an eighteen years' captivity in England, his Parliament, which sat at Perth in March, 1424, instituted the office of "Deakon or Maister-man" for the protection of the community against the frauds of the craftsmen; the Deacons were to be appointed by the craftsmen themselves. A little later (1426) the powers of these Deacons were restricted to the testing of the craftsmen's professional competency, the fixing of the wages of masons and wrights being vested in the town council of each burgh. In 1427, these bodies were authorized to delegate their powers to Wardens, one being chosen from each trade.

SEALS OF CAUSE. The freemen masons and wrights of Edinburgh were in 1475 incorporated by a Seal of Cause under the hand of the Magistrates and Town Council, an act which was ratified on five occasions down to 1703 (Lyon, p. 247). The first Charter of Incorporation was granted to the masons and wrights of Edinburgh, who were united in the one incorporation, each of the two trades electing their own Deacon, who was elected by the Burgesses and Freemen of the Burgh out of a "leet" or list of names furnished by the Town Council. When elected, the Deacon became the representative of his craft in all matters connected with the government of the town.

In 1648, and again in 1665, eight other crafts which were all associated in the same Incorporation claimed that they were entitled to appear on the "leets" for the election of Deacons, as well as the masons and wrights, and requested that their rights be recognised in future. In 1673, the dispute broke out again, and finally, in 1676, the Lords of the Session decided that the eight crafts, in addition to the masons and wrights, were all members of the Incorporation, and possessed equal privileges, *i.e.*, the "Bowyers, Slaters, Coopers, Painters, Glaziers, Sievewrights, Plumbers & Upholsterers". The last three were newcomers. (*The Mason and the Burgh*, by H. Carr, p. 68.)

Among the earliest documents regulating the mason-craft in Scotland may be cited:—

THE SCHAW STATUTES, 1598 & 1599

The first of these, under the hand of William Schaw, Master Mason to the Crown of Scotland and General Warden of the Masons, regulated the Scottish operative craft, while the second invested the Lodge of Kilwinning with powers over the West of Scotland.

In the 1598 Statute, the Brethren are ordered to be true to the Wardens, Deacons and Masters, and it is obvious that the Masters are Master Masons. There is to be an annual election of a Warden, by votes of the Masters, and he is to have charge over the Lodge, subject to the consent of the Warden-General. It is also apparent from this Statute that the Deacon was head of the masons in their incorporate capacity, and also ex-officio head of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, but that the Warden and Clerk were the only officers the Lodge was entitled to appoint. Sometimes, both officers were united in the same person, but on at least one occasion the Deacon of the Incorporation was not a member of the Lodge, and the Warden was elected to take charge. Generally, however, up to the early part of the eighteenth century, the Warden of Mary's Chapel was custodian of its funds, and dispenser of its charities. (Murray Lyon, p. 41.)

In the second set of Schaw's Statutes, the Lodge of Edinburgh is named as the first and principal Lodge in Scotland, Kilwinning the second, and Stirling the third. This Statute appears to provide for a Provincial organisation, where the Wardens are clearly responsible for the Lodges and the members thereof, the Deacons being in charge under the Wardens. It is also clear that these Statutes are mainly provisions for regulating the trade of masons in Scotland.

In the seventeenth century, Kilwinning had a "Deacon of the masons of the whole bounds" (*i.e.*, the West of Scotland), whereas a Warden was chosen, followed by a Deacon and Fellow-crafts, for the Lodge. In 1723 the title of the principal officer was altered from "Grand Deacon" to "Grand Master". In the Lodge of Dunblane St. John there were, in 1696, a Master Mason and, in his absence, a Warden, whereas the Lodge of Aberdeen had a Master and Warden in 1670, the Master generally being elected from the Gentlemen or Domestic Masons, and the Senior Warden from the Domestic or Operative element until 1840; two Wardens were appointed until 1700, when there was only one, the old custom of having two Wardens being resumed in 1737. Peebles Kilwinning was, in 1716, governed by a Deacon and Warden, as was Haddington St. John Kilwinning in 1713. Melrose I bis, in 1680, had a "M^r Masone" and a "wardine".

The changing nomenclature of the principal officers of Scottish Lodges is well exemplified by the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1. According to Murray Lyon (p. 215) and the Lodge's Historical Notes, the order in which the chief office-bearer's appointments were introduced is:—

Warden (who was President and Treasurer) and Clerk, 1598.
 Deacon, as ex-officio President, with the Warden as Treasurer, 1599.
 Preces in 1708.
 President in 1710.
 Grand Master of the Masons of the Society, 1732.
 Worshipful Master shortly afterwards, and
 Right Worshipful Master from 1739 to the present day.

One extract from the minutes, describing the reception of Dr. Desaguliers, is evidence that the order was Deacon, Warden, Masters and members of the Society:—

“Att Maries Chapell the 24 of August 1721 years — James Wattson, present deacon of the Masons of Edinbr., Preses . . .” (Murray Lyon, p. 160.)

All these differing Scottish practices appear to have been brought into line through the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, since when the G.M. has been termed the “Grand Master Mason”, the subordinate Lodges adopting “Right Worshipful Master” for the principal officer. Following English practice, the Lodges now appoint two Wardens and two Deacons, so that the last-named have become “messengers” instead of “Heads of the Incorporations”, as in the old operative days.

ENGLISH PRACTICE

The English Gilds, from as early as the fourteenth century, were empowered by their Charters to appoint two or more Wardens, these generally being elected annually. We find them mentioned in the York Fabric Rolls of 1422, and in the accounts for the Great Hall of Hampton Court in 1531; in these, he was under the “Master Mason”, but it must not be assumed that he was always second in charge, for some associations had him (the Warden) as the principal officer. It will have been noticed that the Operative Lodges in Scotland, up to the eighteenth century, had but one Warden, and he was either the Head of the Lodge or the second in line; and that there was some similarity between Deacon and Warden, the latter, when he was second officer, generally being given charge of the Lodge cash, *i.e.*, the Boxmaster.

The English Gilds, however, had two Wardens, Upper and Lower, or Senior and Junior, so that the two Wardens in our present Lodges appear to have been the natural result of English rather than of Scottish practice. The Deacon of the Scottish Lodges, in many of which he was the principal officer, has now found the meaning of his title, which is derived from the Greek, and means “servant”; thus we find him to-day the personal messenger of the Master or his Senior Warden. Throughout their history from Norman days, the “Tinnars” of Devon and Cornwall were presided over by a Warden and Vice-Warden (*A.Q.C.*, lvi, 247-252). Similarly, the Barnstaple Gilds usually had as officers two Wardens who were Operatives, negotiating business, etc. “Masters” are not mentioned. At Exeter, where the Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, etc., etc., were incorporated about the beginning of the seventeenth century, each Gild had a Master, although it appears that the Wardens transacted the business.

Probably the most vital link in England between Operative and Speculative Freemasonry is “The Company of freemasons of the City of London” of the fourteenth century, or its present-day successor, “The Worshipful Company of Masons”. From the earliest days this Company followed the old Gild custom of appointing a Master and two Wardens, for, in 1481, the Regulations provide for the election of Wardens every two years; outgoing Wardens are to present their accounts to their successors within one month, heavy penalties being enacted for disobedience. In 1619 the officers of the Company were the Master, an Upper Warden and a Renter Warden. (Condor: *Artists' Lodge Transactions*.)

There are very few English records of Operative Lodges, such as those in Scotland, the Alnwick Lodge having the only Operative minutes going back to pre-Grand Lodge days. In 1708 the Lodge was composed of a “Ma^r, Wardens and ffellows”. There was a “President” in the old Operative Lodge at York in 1712.

GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND

The formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717 demanded that Regulations for the conduct of private or “particular” Lodges, as they were called, should be enforced for the good of the craft; so we find these Regulations being published in the first printed *Book of Constitutions*, namely, that of Dr. James Anderson, in 1723, and amplified in 1738.

Number IV of the 1723 *Constitutions* states:—

. . . No Brother can be a Warden until he has pass'd the part of a Fellow-Craft ; nor a Master until he has acted as a Warden, nor Grand-Warden until he has been Master of a Lodge, nor Grand Master unless he has been a Fellow-Craft before his Election . . .

And Number VI indicates the order of precedence by stating:—

. . . to pay due Reverence to your Master, Wardens, and Fellows, and put them to worship.

All through Anderson's *Constitutions* is the strain running that the Master was the principal officer, with two Wardens to assist him; this is different from Scottish practice in many Lodges of the same era, for at Mary's Chapel, when Dr. Desaguliers attended on 24th August, 1721, the order was Deacon of the Masons of Edinburgh (preces), Warden, Masters and members.

In the 1723 *Constitutions*, the Duke of Wharton, Grand Master, describes the Society as the "Right Worshipful and most ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons", and he, in turn, is addressed as "Right Worshipful Grand Master".

Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730 for the Grand Lodge of Ireland indicate that the officers of a Lodge were the Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary, and another Brother appointed to look after the door of the Lodge (p. 67). In only one instance is "Deacon" mentioned (p. 51) and it is evident *he* follows Warden, and is thus subordinate to him, especially as it is specifically mentioned that only Masters and Wardens of "particular" Lodges are members of Grand Lodge (p. 64).

The 1738 *Constitutions* state that, in March, 1731, the only Officers of Grand Lodge were the Grand Master and his Wardens (p. 153), and yet a Secretary was appointed in June, 1723, a Treasurer in June, 1727, and a Sword Bearer in March, 1731, but it was not until 2nd June, 1741, that the last three were declared members of Grand Lodge.

THE PREFIX

The term "Worshipful" was reserved in mediæval times as a title of honour, even among friends and relatives. It was, therefore, a very early custom for the Master of a Lodge to be styled "The Worshipful", or even the "Right Worshipful Master", and it is no wonder, therefore, that, in the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* the Society was called the "Right Worshipful Fraternity of Accepted Free Masons". "Right Worshipful Bro." was the common form of address, as is evidenced in the 1732 "Deputation" of St. John the Baptist Lodge, Exeter. Reports on Quarterly Communications of the "Moderns" Grand Lodge were always addressed by the Grand Secretary to the Masters of their Lodges, and the "Antients" Grand Lodge also gave that title to the principal officer. On the other hand, the "*Entick*" *Book of Constitutions* of 1756 mentions that the Grand Master was addressed as "Right Worshipful Grand Master" (p. 307), but in another place he is addressed as "Most Noble and Right Worshipful Sir". That was the position up to the formation of the United Grand Lodge in 1813, following which the *Book of Constitutions*, edited by William Williams in 1815, designated the Master of a Lodge as "Worshipful Master" (p. 91), whereas the Grand Master is designated "Most Worshipful" (p. 125), as is the case to-day. The latter designation throws us back to the *Regius* MS. of 1390 A.D.

SUMMARY

As the general reader may be confused by all these references, it may be advisable to point out the differences between Building practice, Gild practice and Lodge practice; this can only be done in a general way, for exceptions have already been quoted, to some extent geographical.

Early building practice up to the fifteenth and sixteenth century was to have a Master Mason or Master of Works, with one or more Wardens on the spot in charge of the work. The Gilds and the Trade Companies usually had a Master, with two Wardens assigned to specific administration duties.

English mediæval Lodge practice cannot easily be summarised owing to lack of evidence as to the existence of Masonic Lodges in our modern sense of the word. Conder, in his *Hole Crafte* (p. 39) quoting from the *Tanner* MSS. in the Bodleian Library, speaks of a Lodge of Masons at Canterbury in 1429, where there was a Master and Warden, and the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. seem to confirm that this was customary; but all references to Lodges at this early date should be treated with caution. When Ashmole was made a Freemason in 1646, the principal officer then present was styled "Warden", but after the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, the Lodges were ruled by a Master, with two Wardens.

Neither can one generalise regarding Scottish practice, for, in the Lodge of Edinburgh, where records date back to 1599, the Deacon of the Incorporation was automatically the presiding officer of the Lodge, and up to 1721, the only officer (apart from the Eldest Entered Apprentice) *elected by the Lodge* was the Warden, who discharged the duties of Treasurer. English practice appears to have been adopted after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736.

LIST OF MASTERS OF THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE

1886	Sir Charles Warren	1920/1	H. Bradley
1886/7	Sir Charles Warren	1921/2	A. L. Vibert
1887/8	R. F. Gould	1922/3	R. H. Baxter
1888/9	W. Simpson	1923/4	Sir Alfred Robbins
1889/90	S. C. Pratt	1924/5	J. Heron Lepper
1890/1	W. M. Bywater	1925/6	John Stokes
1891/2	W. H. Rylands	1926/7	W. W. Covey-Crump
1892/3	T. Hayter Lewis	1927/8	George Norman
1893/4	W. Wynn Westcott	1928/9	H. Poole
1894/5	C. J. Ball	1929/30	H. T. Cart de Lafontaine
1895/6	Edward Macbean	1930/1	G. W. Daynes
1896/7	G. A. C. Kupferschmidt	1931/2	W. J. Williams
1897/8	S. T. Klein	1932/3	D. Flather
1898/9	C. Purdon Clarke	1933/4	W. K. Firminger
1899/00	T. B. Whytehead	1934/5	W. J. Songhurst
1900/1	E. Conder	1935/6	Douglas Knoop
1901/2	G. Greiner	1936/7	G. Elkington
1902/3	E. J. Castle	1937/8	F. W. Golby
1903/4	Sir Albert H. Markham	1938/9	S. J. Fenton
1904/5	Canon J. W. Horsley	1939/40	C. C. Adams
1905/6	G. L. Shackles	1940/1	B. Ivanoff
1906/7	Hamon Le Strange	1941/2	Lewis Edwards
1907/8	F. H. Goldney	1942/3	W. Ivor Grantham
1908/9	J. T. Thorp	1943/4	Fred L. Pick
1909/10	F. J. W. Crowe	1944/5	F. M. Rickard
1910/1	Henry Sadler	1945/6	G. Y. Johnson
1911/2	J. P. Simpson	1946/7	F. R. Radice
1912/3	E. H. Dring	1947/8	Wallace E. Heaton
1913/4	E. Armitage	1948/9	H. H. Hallett
1914/5	W. B. Hextall	1949/50	H. C. Bruce Wilson
1915/6	E. W. M. Wonnacott	1950/1	H. C. Booth
1916/7	F. W. Levander	1951/2	C. D. Rotch
1917/8	A. C. Powell	1952/3	John R. Rylands
1918/9	G. P. G. Hills	1953/4	Sydney Pope
1919/20	J. E. Shum Tuckett		

I have no intention of eulogising all of them, nor even those who have been renowned for their erudition, for, indeed, all on the list have been noted scholars, and have in no slight measure contributed to make this Lodge what it is, namely, the "Premier Research Lodge of the World". "Of the World" is strictly true, for, out of more than 3,500 members of the Correspondence Circle, at least one-third belong to other Constitutions. It would also be invidious to mention those who are active members to-day, and, therefore, I shall rest content with mentioning only those who have been particularly outstanding:—

SIR CHARLES WARREN, first Master. Served for 30 years in the Royal Engineers before taking up the Mastership; was the author of *Underground Jerusalem, The Temple or the Tomb*, and of many papers to various learned societies.

ROBERT FREKE GOULD, second Master. Was also a soldier, learning much of his Masonry in Gibraltar, India and China; qualified as a barrister, and served on the Special Committee appointed to consider the Grand Orient of France. He was outstanding as a Masonic scholar, and is best known for his *History of Freemasonry, The Four Old Lodges, The Atholl Lodges*, and numerous contributions to the Masonic Press and our own *Transactions*.

W. H. RYLANDS. Had written much of his best work before becoming a Founder, his papers being given to several learned societies. He is best known for his *Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century, Warrington*, and *Freemasonry in Cheshire*. To our *Transactions* he contributed Vol. ix, *Q.C.A.*

- A. LIONEL VIBERT. Was another profound scholar, contributing many papers and lectures in this and other Lodges. His papers include *The Compagnonnage* in 1920 and *The Story of the Craft* in 1921, and his Prestonian Lecture is still considered outstanding. He was the indefatigable editor of *Miscellanea Latomorum* for many years, and many members of this Lodge will remember with appreciation his vitality and zeal.
- J. HERON LEPPER. The Father of the Lodge until he died last year, many of us have cause to be grateful for having known this learned Brother, whose services were always at the disposal of the seeker after knowledge. It is not every Brother who is commemorated in his own lifetime by a Lodge being named after him, such as the J. Heron Lepper Lodge of Temperance No. 346 (I.C.). He was also a Founder of the Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin, and, in conjunction with Philip Crossle, wrote *The Bi-Centenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, Vol. I. To our own *Transactions* he contributed *The Differences Between English and Irish Ritual* in 1915, and that classic paper, *The Traditioners*, among many others.
- REV. H. POOLE. Here, again, is one of our contemporaries who passed away such a short time ago, and whose loss we can ill afford. What monumental works he put forth for the benefit of future generations, such as *Notes on Trade Companies at Kendal*, *Masonic Ritual and Secrets Before 1717*, and what a mastery he had of the Old Charges, on which he wrote much.
- W. J. SONGHURST. The indefatigable Secretary of the Lodge for 22 years, he was an invaluable contributor to *A.Q.C.* and to the Lodge discussions. He is best known for his transcription of the *Grand Lodge Minutes, 1723-9*, in Vol. x of *Q.C.A.*, and it is greatly regretted that he did not live to complete other volumes.
- DOUGLAS KNOOP. As a Professor in Sheffield University, Bro. Knoop had special facilities, and he placed them at the disposal of students by publishing such works as *An Introduction to Freemasonry*, *A Short History to 1730*, *A Handlist of Masonic Documents*, *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word*, *The Genesis of Freemasonry* and *Early Masonic Pamphlets*, as well as many papers to the *Transactions*.
- Even with this short list it would be invidious of me if I did not mention some Brethren who were full members of the Lodge and yet, for some reason or other, did not reach the Chair. Such were:—
- WM. JAS. HUGHAN, who is still noted for his work as a pioneer of the authentic school, whose name is still a household word, and who received honorary membership from Grand Lodges all over the world. He was a regular contributor to the Masonic Press, and is best known for his *Origin of the English Rite*, *Old Charges of British Freemasons*, *Constitutions of the Freemasons* and *Anderson Constitutions of 1738*, a classic which appears in Vol vii, *Q.C.A.*
- GEO. W. SPETH, who was really the chief Founder, moving spirit and first Secretary of the Lodge, in which he did so much to foster the efforts of others to improve the literature of the Craft. His chief contribution, apart from papers and discussions printed in the *Transactions*, was a series of *Masonic Reprints*, which appear in Vols. i to vi of *Q.C.A.*
- JOHN LANE was another member who never attained the Chair, and whose memory is perpetuated by his voluminous *Masonic Records* of 1886, and also his *Handbook to the List of Lodges*, both of which are essential to the true Masonic student.
- DR. CHETWODE CRAWLEY, that Irish scholar who was always a valued contributor. His *Caementaria Hibernica* opened a new field of speculation and interest, showing as it did that Irish Masonry was of far greater antiquity than had previously been known.

All these Brethren have been members of this Lodge, and their distinction lives after them. I would not dare to inflict on you my impressions of those who are still active members. All of them are striving to emulate their predecessors and to increase still further our knowledge of the Craft in bygone days. Can you wonder that I stand in awe at my own good fortune, and view with misgiving my own ability to follow these distinguished Brethren even in the Lodge, let alone the Chair?

At the subsequent dinner, "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" was proposed by the I.P.M., Bro. Sydney Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), in the following terms:—

Bro. Norman Rogers was educated at Manchester University, where in 1911 he took the degree of Bachelor of Commerce, and in 1919 that of Master of Commerce.

For seventeen years he was engaged in Educational Administration, and he was for thirty years Headmaster of the Municipal Commercial School, Bolton Technical College. In 1947 he retired, and he is the author of text books on *Arithmetic and Accounts*.

Bro. Rogers was initiated in the Lodge of Antiquity No. 146, Bolton, in 1914, and he became Master in 1929. The following year he was a Founder and First Master of the Lodge of Rectitude No. 5197, Bolton. In 1936 he joined the Anchor and Hope Lodge No. 37, in which he served as Secretary. In 1943 he also joined the Manchester Lodge for Masonic Research, of which he became Master three years later. In the Province of East Lancashire he was appointed P.P.G.D. in 1938, and P.P.G.W. in 1950. In 1952 he was promoted to Grand Rank as P.A.G.D.C.

In the Royal Arch he was exalted in Concord Chapter No. 37 in 1925, of which he became First Principal in 1937, and Treasurer in the following year, which appointment he still holds. He was appointed Prov. Grand Treas. for East Lancs. in 1943, and in 1952 was promoted to Past Grand Standard Bearer.

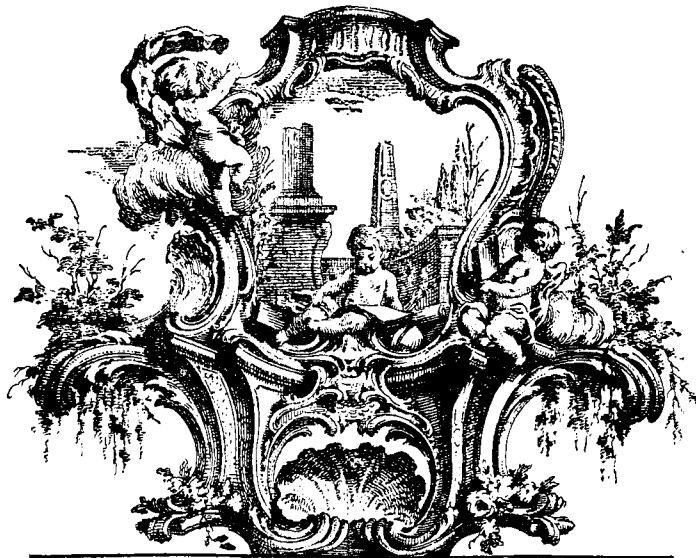
He was advanced in Bolton Mark Lodge No. 762 in 1936, became Master in 1944, and he was a Founder and Secretary of Supera Moras Mark Lodge No. 1042.

Bro. Rogers is a Life Governor of the R.M.I.G. and the R.M.B.I., and a Vice-Patron of the R.M.I.B.; he is also a Patron of the East Lancs. Masonic Benevolent Society.

In our own Lodge, Bro. Rogers joined the Correspondence Circle in 1941, and he became a full member in 1947. To our *Transactions* he has contributed the *History of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 146, Bolton, Two Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Bury*, and *The Lodge of Elias Ashmole*.

To the *Transactions* of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research he has contributed *Two Hundred Years of Freemasonry in Bolton* and *Facts About the Ritual*; also sundry papers to other societies.

Those who have attended our meetings will have noted the very able manner in which he has joined in discussions, and his wit and keen sense of humour have lightened our after-proceedings.



FRIDAY, 7th JANUARY, 1955



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), I.P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., S.W.; B. W. Oliver, 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.G.D., P.M., D.C.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.D.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.D.; and J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. E. C. Peckover, F. J. Wren, A. H. Berman, R. A. Pratley, R. Edwards, F. L. Bradshaw, J. G. Wainwright, P. J. Dawson, R. St. J. Brice, C. Wales, W. H. Stanyon, A. P. Cawadiaz, J. H. R. Freeborn, M. R. Wagner, A. I. Sharp, R. C. W. Hunter, S. Elvin, and T. A. Sanson.

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.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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.*, P.G.D. (I.C.); 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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., I.G.; G. Brett, *M.A.*, P.M. 1494; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., Steward; and Arthur Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D.

Six Lodges, one Study Group, and forty-seven 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, 7th January, 1955.

Present:—Bro. Norman Rogers, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. Ivor Grantham, Lewis Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, S. Pope, G. S. Draffen, and the Secretary, with Bro. G. S. Kerr, Auditor, and Bro. G. S. Wodeman by invitation.

The Secretary produced his Books, with 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 ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1954

BRETHREN,

In March the Craft had to mourn the loss of our senior Assistant Grand Master, Brigadier-General W. H. V. Darell, *C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.*

Two Brethren, H. Carr and Bernard E. Jones, were elected to Full Membership of the Lodge in November, 1953, bringing the number of members up to 27.

The total number of members of the Correspondence Circle as at 31st October, 1953, had to be revised to 3,348, to which were added during the year under review 319 new members and nine lapsed members reinstated; against which we have lost 48 by death, 87 by resignation and 40 lapsed, leaving a net increase of 153, and a total on 31st October, 1954, of 3,501, still 76 short of our peak number.

The congratulations of the Lodge were offered to Bro. Lewis Edwards on his promotion to the rank of Past Grand Deacon at the Grand Festival; and to Bro. R. E. Parkinson on his appointment to the same rank in the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

A.Q.C., Volume LXVI, containing our Transactions up to 31st October, 1953, was issued early in June, and publication is now fully up to date. In August the Lodge published Bro. Carr's *The Mason and the Burgh*, containing important new discoveries in the early history of the Craft. A further discovery, announced by Bro. G. S. Draffen, is the *Kevan MS.*, generally similar in nature to the *Edinburgh Register House* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.*; this MS. will be published, with a note by Bro. Draffen, in *A.Q.C.*, Volume LXVII.

We record with very sincere gratitude the receipt from Bro. F. E. Gould, *P.A.G.D.C.*, our Local Secretary for Devon and Cornwall, of a munificent donation of £200 to the funds of the Lodge. We have also been advised that the Lodge will ultimately benefit by a reversionary bequest of £100 from the estate of our late Bro. E. H. Cartwright.

The accounts for the year show a very satisfactory state of affairs, in that, for the first time for many years, we have a credit balance. We must, however, again draw attention to an increase in the amount of subscriptions outstanding, amounting to £467, of which £388 is for 1954 subscriptions.

It is due to the fine work of our Local Secretaries that our membership stands so high; and once again it is Bro. Alexander Horne, of California, who heads the list of new members introduced with 41; Bro. Pope has brought in a further 20 from Kent, and Bro. J. E. Taylor, of Canada, comes third with 15; but many others have done nobly, and our best thanks are due to all our Secretaries for their continued interest and hard work on our behalf. We much regret that Bro. C. H. Jenkins, for 41 years our Secretary in New Zealand, has felt it necessary to resign, as also Dr. G. Imhof, lately our Secretary in Switzerland; we are most grateful for all they have done for us. We very cordially welcome a large number of Brethren who so generously have newly undertaken to act for us in many different parts of the world.

For the Committee,

NORMAN ROGERS,

In the Chair.

LIABILITIES

Less: Withdrawn—			
By Sale of Defence Bonds ...	200	0	0
By Cash from Post Office Bank ...	8	0	0
Ditto—Tax ...	15	15	0
	<u>223</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>
			902 12 6

ASSETS

<i>Trustee Account—</i>			
<i>Investments</i>			
£800 — 3½%	Defence		
Bonds at cost	...	800	0 0
Post Office Savings			
Bank Account	...	102	12 6
			<hr/>
			902 12 6

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

For the Year Ending 31st October, 1954

EXPENDITURE			INCOME		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Salaries, Rent and Rates	1445	10 2	<i>Correspondence Circle —</i>		
Lighting and Heating	72	18 9	Being Subscriptions collected (less Reserves):		
Stationery	197	9 5	1954	1905	17 6
Postages	245	12 1	1953	260	6 11
Office Cleaning, etc.	34	15 11	1952	81	6 7
Insurance—Fire and Burglary	16	1 7	1951	13	1 5
Ditto—National	62	3 8		2260	12 5
Telephone	17	9 11	<i>Back Transactions</i>	236	12 6
Carriage and Sundries	67	13 10	<i>Lodge Publications—</i>		
Local Expenses	12	14 11	Bound Volumes	43	12 1
Library	56	2 7	Pamphlets and Songs	3	7 6
Loss on Publication, <i>Mason and Burgh</i>	14	2 11			46 19 7
	2242	15 9	Medals		31 6 6
Bank Charges	1	2 6	Various Publications		92 6 0
Corporation Duty	1	12 10	Joining Fees		318 3 0
	2245	11 1	<i>Interest—</i>		
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year to date carried forward	1084	14 11	Deposit Interest	35	15 5
	£3,330	6 0	Defence Bond Interest	5	9
					36 1 2
Accumulated Deficit as at 1st November, 1953	670	0 2	Publication Fund		308 4 10
Balance carried to 1954 Balance Sheet	414	14 9			£3,330 6 0
	£1,084	14 11			
			Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year to date brought forward	1084	14 11
				£1,084	14 11

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Furniture or main Stock of Publications.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us. We have verified the Investments held under Trustee Account with the documents of Title, and have received the Certificate of the Westminster Bank, Ltd., New Oxford Street, certifying the balances held by them on behalf of the Lodge.

GEDGE, ILOTT AND McLEOD.

Incorporated Accountants,

35, Great James Street,

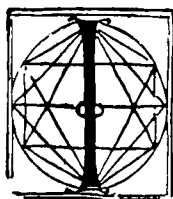
London, W.C.1.

2nd December, 1954.

An interesting paper entitled, *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, 1759-92*, by Bro. A. J. B. MILBORNE, was read by Bro. H. Carr, J.D., as follows:—

THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF QUEBEC, 1759-1792 PART I

BY BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE



IN his *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*,¹ Bro. J. Hamilton Graham writes "that he is painfully aware that many more months would be required satisfactorily to complete his laborious, and in many instances, pioneer endeavours, fully and with entire accuracy to set forth even the important salient points in the very interesting history of Freemasonry in this Province during the 33 years, 1759-1792."

Since the publication of Graham's work in 1892, there has been no further major attempt to write the history of the Craft in the Province of Quebec with the exception of Bro. J. Ross Robertson's monumental work, *The History of Freemasonry in Canada*,² published in 1899. Robertson's chief concern was the story of the Craft in the Province of Upper Canada, and Masonic activities in Lower Canada received but incidental, though adequate, treatment at his hands.

In 1938 Bro. Reginald V. Harris published *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, in which he gives a brief sketch of Freemasonry in Quebec, 1759-1800.

In 1920, a Letter-book kept by James Thompson³ came into possession of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, in which were recorded the proceedings of the earlier meetings of the Craft in Quebec, and which contained copies of correspondence between Thompson in his capacity as Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England and others. There has also come to light the Minute Book of the Lodge in the 78th Regiment (Fraser's Highlanders),⁴ later known as St. Andrew's Lodge, in which are to be found many references to the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge inserted by or under the direction of James Thompson, as well as the Minute Books of the District Grand Lodge of Montreal and St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal.⁵ None of these sources of information was available to Graham or Robertson, and from them, as well as other minor sources, it is now possible to place upon record a more complete account of this very active Provincial Grand Lodge.

The titles of the numerous grand, provincial grand, and district grand Lodges which have, from time to time, governed the Craft in Canada, and the various parts into which the country has been geographically divided have led many not familiar with them into error. *The Masonic Year Book* describes the Provincial Grand Masters as having been appointed "of Canada", "for all Canada" and "for Quebec", so that it would be quite correct to describe the body with which this paper deals as "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada", "The Provincial Grand Lodge for all Canada" or "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec". This last title is much to be preferred. It was the title which the Quebec Brethren themselves used during the greater part of the period during which the Provincial Grand Lodge was in existence; John Collins described himself as "Provincial Grand Master . . . of Quebec" in the Warrants he issued; John Gawler purchased a Seal in London which was engraved "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec",⁶ and he asked the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England to give credit to "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec" for the subscriptions which had appeared in the lists as having been received from one of the constituent Lodges, and, finally, it prevents confusion with later grand bodies.

¹ Reviewed by R. F. Gould, *A.Q.C.*, Vol. vi, p. 66.

² Reviewed by R. F. Gould, *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xii, p. 172.

³ *The Lodge in the 78th Regiment (Fraser's Highlanders)*, *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxxv, p. 19.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxxv, p. 19.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxxii, 250, *The District Grand Lodge of Montreal and St. Peter's Lodge*.

⁶ Letter, James Thompson to Edward Antill, 15th November, 1768. *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxxii, p. 256.

The stirring military events in which the Expeditionary Force under General James Wolfe participated, culminating in the capture of the City of Quebec on 13th September, 1759, have already been related in these *Transactions*.¹

Captain John Knox, of the 43rd Regiment, wrote in his *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, Vol ii, p. 313, under the month of December, 1759, that "The Anniversary of St. John was duly observed by the several lodges of Free Masons in the garrison". This celebration was generally believed to have been the first Masonic meeting held in Quebec after its capture until James Thompson's Letter-book containing a record of a meeting held on 28th November, 1759, came to light. This important entry has already been brought to the notice of the Lodge,² but for the sake of convenience it is re-printed here. It is as follows:—

QUEBEC on the 28th day of November, 1759, and of Masonry, 5759, which was as soon as Convenient after the Surrender of this place to His Brittanic Majestys Arms.

The masters and wardens of the following Lodges, Viz: No. 192 in the 47th Regiment No. 218, in the 48th Regiment No. 245, in the 15th Regiment Dispensation 136 in the 43rd Regiment, Dispensation 195 in the Artillery, all of the Registry of Ireland, and No. 1 of Louisbourg warrant; Mett in form at 6 o'clock in the Evening when it was Consulted and agreed upon, as there were so many Lodges in this Garrison, that one of the Brethren present of the Greatest Skill and Merritt should take upon him the Name of GRAND MASTER from the Authority of the above Lodges untill such time as a favourable opportunity should offer for obtaining a proper Sanction from the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable the Grand Master of England and in Consequence thereof our True and faithful Brother Mr. John Price Guinnett Lieutenant in his Majesty's 47th Regiment was unanimously and to the Great satisfaction of the whole Fraternity assembled Proclaimed GRAND MASTER for the Ensuing year, when being properly installed in the Chair he Chose our worthy Brother Thomas Augustus Span, Esq., Captain in the 28th Regiment his Deputy who was thereupon proclaimed as such, and Brothers Huntingford and Prenties were Chosen Senior and Junior Grand Wardens and Brother Paxton Grand Secretary.³

The Lodges participating in this joint meeting were:—

- (1) Lodge No. 192 I.C., warranted 1st March, 1748-9, held in the 47th (Lascelles') Regiment. The 47th came to America in 1750, and served at Louisburg in 1758.
- (2) Lodge No. 218 I.C., warranted 27th December, 1750, held in the 48th (Webb's) Regiment. The Regiment was in Virginia in 1755, and in Albany the following year. It served at Louisburg and wintered in Philadelphia.
- (3) Lodge No. 245 I.C., warranted 10th April, 1754, in the 15th (Amherst's) Regiment. The Regiment was at Louisburg.
- (4) Lodge No. 1 Louisburg, held in the 28th (Bragg's) Regiment in virtue of a Warrant dated 13th November, 1758, granted by Richard Gridley, Grand Warden of St. John's Grand Lodge at Boston ("Moderns") under a Commission granted to him by his brother Jeremy, the Provincial Grand Master.⁴ The Regiment was at Annapolis in 1757-8 and at Louisburg, 1758.
- (5) A Lodge held in the 43rd (Kennedy's) Regiment in virtue of a Dispensation granted to it by Lodge No. 136 I.C., warranted 24th June, 1743, held in the 17th (Forbes') Regiment. There seems to have been a close association between the 17th and the 43rd Regiments—they were probably brigaded together—and a Certificate granted to Pardon Saunders, an artificer in the Ordnance at Annapolis, N.S., in 1758, by Lodge No. 136 I.C., is signed by Joseph Westover, Miles Prentice and William Welcome, all of whom were serving in the 43rd Regiment.⁵ The Regiment was at Annapolis in 1757-8, Quebec in 1759-1760, and at Bunker's Hill in 1775.
- (6) A Lodge held in the Royal Artillery in virtue of a Dispensation granted to it by Lodge No. 195 I.C., warranted 24th June, 1749, and held in the 42nd Regiment (The Black Watch).

¹ *The Lodge in the 78th Regiment. A.Q.C.*, lxx, p. 19.

² Note on "The Traditioners", *A.Q.C.*, lvii, p. 267.

³ A pictorial reconstruction of this meeting in the form of a mural, painted by Bro. Charles Kelsey, is in the Memorial Hall of the Montreal Masonic Memorial Temple.

⁴ A copy of the Warrant is given by Harris, *Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 49. See also *Constitutions and History of Masonry in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 1792, p. 122.

⁵ Harris, *Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 45.

In addition to the Regiments mentioned in the minute, viz., the 15th, 28th, 43rd, 47th and 48th, the following Regiments were serving in Wolfe's Army at Quebec, viz., the 35th, 58th, 60th (2nd and 3rd Battalions), 78th and the Louisburg Grenadiers composed of detachments of the 1st, 17th, 22nd, 40th and 56th Regiments. There were no Lodges at the time in the 35th, 58th, 60th and 78th Regiments. All the Regiments, with the exception of the 56th, supplying detachments to the Louisburg Grenadiers had Lodges, but it is assumed that they remained with the main bodies of the Regiments.

John Price Guinnett appears as a Lieutenant in the Army List of 1763, with seniority from 2nd April, 1759. He was wounded at Quebec.¹ He is shown as a member of Lodge No. 192 I.C., held in the 47th Regiment in a list compiled of Bro. E. E. West,² but he does not appear as such in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.³ He later became a member of the Officers' Lodge in that Regiment, No. 10, P.G.L., Quebec.

I have often wondered why this unknown lieutenant should have been selected for the office of Provincial Grand Master. The more important military and Masonic figures may have felt that they could not undertake the responsibility of office while the campaign was still in progress. Colonel Fraser who held the office of Provincial Grand Master in the following year, was, I believe, not available as he had been severely wounded in the thigh.⁴ As Masonry does not grant preferment because of rank or affluence, it must be assumed that John Price Guinnett was, in fact, possessed "of the greatest skill and Meritt" among those present, and it seems probable that he possessed the additional recommendation of not being actively engaged in military duties because of a slight wound.

Thomas Augustus Span was a son of Richard Span of a well-known Co. Langford family. He was posted as a Ensign in February, 1740-1, and Captain 28th August, 1753. He was wounded twice at Quebec.⁵ In 1762 he served at Havana with the rank of Major in the 95th Regiment. He was a member of Lodge No. 35 I.C., held in the 28th Regiment.⁶ He died circa 1768.

Edward Huntingford was the Colonel of the 28th Regiment, and was the Master of the Lodge Louisburg No. 1, held in that Regiment.⁷

Miles Prentice was, I believe, an Irishman. He was serving with the 43rd Regiment, and was one of the Wardens of the Lodge held in the 17th Regiment, No. 136 I.C., in 1758. He was a non-commissioned officer, but was appointed Provost-Marshal by General Wolfe with the rank of lieutenant. Following the end of active military operations, Prentice achieved the ambition of every British soldier, by taking his discharge and becoming a tavern-keeper. He occupied the Sun Tavern on St. John Street, Quebec, until 1771, when he acquired the property now occupied by the City Post Office, upon which stood the house erected in 1688 and said to be the first built of stone in the city. Many romantic stories have been woven around this old house—Le Chien d'Or—and the gilded carving of a dog gnawing a bone which was over its portal is now incorporated in the existing building. Prentice converted Le Chien d'Or into an hotel and boarding-house, which became known as "Freemasons' Hall". He married a sister of James Thompson⁸ and it was she who identified the body of General Richard Montgomery, who was killed at Cape Diamond on December 31st, 1775, when the Americans attempted to capture Quebec. Unfortunately, historians have referred to her as Prentice's widow,⁹ but her husband was very much alive. He resumed his old position as Provost-Marshal of the Garrison during the siege of 1775. He was the Master of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 3, P.G.L., Quebec, in 1776. It was his niece, Mary Simpson, the daughter of his old comrade-in-arms, Saunders Simpson, a cousin of James Thompson, of the 78th Regiment, with whom Horatio Nelson, then the Captain of H.M. Frigate Albemarle, 28 guns, formed a romantic attachment in 1782. Nelson was about to throw away his naval career, marry the girl and settle in Quebec, when he was persuaded by a friend named Davison to give up the idea.¹⁰ If Nelson's resolve had been stronger than that of his friend, the pages of British history might well have had to be re-written. In 1787, Freemasons' Hall was purchased by the "Society of Freemasons", and on the 3rd November it was solemnly dedicated to Masonry, the ceremony being attended by Lord and Lady Dorchester, General Hope, and "a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen who testified with much satisfaction to the regularity and decorum with which it was conducted". Bro. the Rev.

¹ Return 8th October, 1759. Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. iii, p. 332.

² *Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 25.

³ *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. iii, p. 259; Vol. v, p. 174.

⁵ Return 8th October, 1759. Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. iii, p. 332.

⁶ *Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 34.

⁷ *Constitutions and History of Masonry in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 1792, p. 122.

⁸ *Les Bulletins des Recherches Historiques de Quebec*, Vol. i, p. 157.

⁹ Sir Gilbert Parker, *Old Quebec*.

¹⁰ Robert Southey, *Life of Lord Nelson*. Lemoine, *Picturesque Quebec*, p. 234.

Alexander Spark pronounced an oration on the occasion.¹ In 1890 the property was transferred to Andrew Cameron.² Prentice died in 1790 or 1791.³

Bro. Paxton was a Sergeant serving in the 47th Regiment, and was a member of Lodge No. 192, I.C., held in that Regiment. He returned to Ireland with the Regiment in 1763, and was elected Master of his Lodge on June 24th, 1766.⁴

Beyond these few names, we have no record of the Brethren who attended the meeting, but there were many Masons of prominence in Wolfe's Army, and it would seem inevitable that they took part in the proceedings. Among these were Colonel Richard Gridley, Grand Senior Warden of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Boston; Captain Robert Ross, a member of the Lodge in the 48th Regiment, who became Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1785, and who served as Grand Warden of that grand body from 1787 to 1789;⁵ Colonel John Young, Commanding the 60th Regiment (Royal Americans), who then held the office of Depute Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, to which he had been elected in 1736,⁶ and who in 1757 received a Patent from the Grand Lodge of Scotland appointing him Provincial Grand Master over all the Scottish Lodges in America. Captain John Knox was doubtless also present, as well as the Rev. Robert MacPherson, the popular Padre of the 78th Regiment, who was, it is believed, made a Mason in Scotland.⁷

While these officers naturally attract attention because of their prominence, yet the fact remains that the regimental Lodges derived their support from the rank and file. Unfortunately, as Bro. Lepper pointed out, the story of these sergeants, corporals and privates is almost as completely blank as are the pages of the registers which should record their names.⁸ It is true that from time to time military Lodges made a Return to their Grand Lodge, but they were necessarily made at very irregular intervals.

John Gawler, who was serving as a sergeant in the Artillery, and who, on his return to England in 1767, acted as an unofficial representative of the Quebec Brethren in London, wrote an account of this initial meeting in a letter addressed to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated 9th February, 1769, which provides a little more information. It reads:—

“In the winter of the year 1759, when Conquest had added that Capital to His Majesty's Dominions, the Masters and Wardens of all the Warranted Lodges held in the Regiments garrisoned there (to the number of 8 or 9) assembled together and Unanimously Agreed to Choose an Acting Grand Master to preside over them the better to Advance Masonry, Regulate their Proceedings and Unite them in a Common Bond of Brotherly Love. Agreeable thereto they made choice of Brother Guinnett, Lieutenant in the 47th Regiment, and drew out, Signed and Sealed a Warrant empowering him and his successors Elected to Congregate them together as a Grand Lodge for the Intent above mentioned they having the Constitutions as their Chiefest Guide. This Regulation, together with the Charitable Collections made and given to the poor Widows and Orphans of the Army and the distressed Canadians, brought the Craft into such universal esteem, that numbers applied to the different Lodges, and was made Masons in as much as to make them so numerous to oblige the Grand Master to grant Warrants from under his present Authority until opportunity might offer for them to apply for a Greater.”⁹

The Warrants or Dispensations which appear to have been issued were those to establish Select Lodge, which was probably originally numbered 7 on the Local Roll until the following year when it is listed without a local number; Merchants' Lodge No. 9, under a Dispensation issued 27th December, 1759; Lodge No. 2 in the 58th (Anstruthers') Regiment; Lodge No. 3 in the Second Battalion of the 60th Regiment (Royal Americans); Lodge No. 4 in the 28th (Bragg's) Regiment, and Lodge No. 5 in the Third Battalion of the 60th Regiment. As all these Lodges can be accounted for in subsequent enumerations another Lodge bearing the No. 8 must also have been instituted, but it has not been identified.

The reports of the initial proceedings in Quebec raise many questions and open a wide field for speculation.

There is, for example, the matter of constitutional procedure. At the time the office of Provincial Grand Master did not exist under the Irish Constitution, while under the English

¹ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques de Quebec*, Vol. i, p. 192.

² Gale, *Historic Tales of Old Quebec*.

³ Milborne, Miles Prentice, Soldier and Mason, *The Builder*, Vol. xv, p. 274.

⁴ *Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 26.

⁵ Lepper and Crossle, *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, p. 219.

⁶ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Edin. Edn., Vol. iii, p. 51.

⁷ *A.Q.V.*, Vol. lxxv, p. 19.

⁸ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 151. There are no returns in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland concerning Lodges Nos. 136 and 245 and no entries concerning Lodge No. 195 before 1773, or of Lodge No. 218 before 1763.

⁹ James Thompson's Letter-book; Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 51.



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(M.W.Bro. Donald L. Witter)

("Moderns") Constitution appointment to the office was a recognised prerogative of the Grand Master. From the English point of view the election of Lieutenant Guinnett was irregular and, in fact, it was never recognised by the Grand Lodge of England. The terms of the Minute indicate that the irregularity of the proceedings was fully recognised by the participants. The use of the expression "Acting Grand Master" in Gawler's account clearly shows that the election was but a temporary expedient pending the procurement of a "proper Sanction".

Freemasonry has always been a conservative institution, and one cannot fail to be impressed by the desire often displayed by our early Brethren to abide by the Constitution. Even when they exceeded their powers, or trespassed upon the prerogatives of their rulers, it was never done without premeditation. The welfare of the Craft was always the primary consideration, and when that was involved disciplinary action was rarely taken. In this particular case, it is difficult to see what disciplinary action could have been taken, even if it had been contemplated, for only the Lodge in the 28th Regiment was under the control of the Grand Lodge of England. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was little interested, for it was the common practice of regimental Lodges holding Irish Warrants to place themselves under the aegis of an existing Provincial Grand Lodge when on service away from home. So long as there was no interference with their ritual and practices this was completely satisfactory, otherwise there was likely to be trouble.¹

It may be noted that the Minute does not state from which of the two Grand Masters the sanction was to be obtained. The application was, in fact, made to the Grand Master of the "Moderns", and this raises the next question: Why should five Irish Lodges, who were much more closely allied to the "Ancients" than the "Moderns", agree to make application to the "Moderns" for the proper sanction? This is even more strange when it is known that some of these Lodges had actually been represented at a meeting in Halifax a few months earlier, when the Brethren there had transferred their allegiance from the St. John's Grand Lodge of Boston ("Moderns") to the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England.

The answer to this question, it is submitted, is that there must have been a dominant personality behind the scenes who was able to bring influence to bear upon the decision taken. It is believed that this individual was none other than Thomas Dunckerley. Bro. Henry Sadler was the first to suspect that Dunckerley had played an important part in the proceedings at Quebec (although I believe he had less information upon which to form an opinion than is available to-day) and wrote:—"To my mind, his handywork is plainly visible in the ready and systematic organisation of the scattered forces into a compact and united body".² In James Thompson's Letter-book there is a draft of a Memorial addressed to the Grand Master of England, in which the following sentence occurs:—"We should not have been this long neglectful of Transmitting our proceedings, but that we had reason to hope as many worthy brothers particularly Brother Dunkerly of His Majesty's Ship the Vanguard . . . promised to recommend our Case to your Consideration". This letter, firmly establishes the fact of Dunckerley's influence.

This episode in Dunckerley's life is indicative of the integrity of his character, and the very strong attachment exhibited throughout his life to the Craft. H.M.S. Vanguard reached England early in January, 1760, and during the short time that Dunckerley was in England his time must have been fully occupied in the supervision of the refitting of his ship, which was under orders to return to Quebec with the least possible delay. Shortly after his arrival in England his mother died, and he learned the circumstances of his birth.³ Despite the claims imposed by his naval duties and his pressing personal affairs, he nevertheless found time to discharge the obligation he owed to the Quebec Brethren and present their case to the Grand Lodge. Bro. J. Heron Lepper has observed that Dunckerley at this period was a poor man, and that unless he had known that Masons of good will were waiting to receive the document which would give them a "proper sanction" he would not have gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining it.⁴

It would appear doubtful in view of the uncertainty of the military situation and the constant movement of the Regiments serving in America, if any specific Brother was recommended for appointment as Provincial Grand Master, but the problem was solved in the most practical manner by the granting to Dunckerley of a Special Patent. The precise terms of this Patent are not known. Gawler, in a letter to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated 2nd August, 1769, writes that it was "to inspect into the State of the Craft wheresoever he might go". Sadler writes that it gave Dunckerley "authority to regulate Masonic affairs in the newly-acquired Canadian provinces, or in any part of the globe that he might visit where no Provincial Grand Master had been appointed."⁵ Whatever its precise

¹ Lepper, *A.Q.C.*, lvii, p. 266.

² Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 51.

³ *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lvii, p. 266.

⁵ Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 65; *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lvi, p. 165.

terms, it was in virtue of this Patent that Dunckerley, on his return to Quebec (still serving on H.M.S. Vanguard), installed Colonel Simon Fraser at a meeting held in Quebec on 24th June, 1760, and the regularity of this installation was accepted by the Grand Lodge of England.¹

The record of this meeting in James Thompson's Letter-book is brief. It reads as follows:—

"The 24th June A: D: 1760. A: L: 5760 at a Grand Lodge held in due form, Brother Simon Fraser Esqr, Colonel of His Majesty's 78th Regiment was Elected and proclaimed Grand Master for the ensuing year, and after assuming the Chair made Choice of Brother Thomas Augustus Span, Esqr., as his Deputy. The other proper Officers were Chosen, a Collection made for Charitable uses, and the Lodge Closed in form."

In the light of Dunckerley's later Masonic career, his strong attachment to the "Moderns" and his contempt for the pretensions of the "Ancients" the installation of Colonel Fraser must have given him great satisfaction, for it firmly established the "Moderns" in Quebec. The "Ancients" had been "jockeyed" (a word used by Dunckerley in similar circumstances a few years later) out of a favourite position.²

Colonel Fraser issued a Warrant dated 20th October, 1760, to establish a Lodge in the 78th Regiment, which bore the local number "6",³ and it is probable that he also issued the Warrants to establish Lodge No. 7 in the Civil Branch of Ordnance and Lodge No. 8 in the 35th (Otway's) Regiment, neither of which was registered in England.

Colonel Fraser was wounded in one of the preliminary encounters with the enemy previous to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and did not participate in that engagement. He left Quebec in the summer of 1760 and died in Scotland in 1782.⁴ His departure compelled the Brethren to adopt the same procedure they had followed at the initial meeting which James Thompson records as follows:—

"25th November A: D: 1760. A: L: 5760 at a Grand Lodge held in due form, Brother Thomas Augustus Span Esqr., was proclaimed Grand Master for the Ensuing year when after the usual Ceremony of Installment, he Chose Brother Thomas Turner Ensign in the 47th Regiment as his Deputy. The other proper Officers were Chosen, took their Seats accordingly, the usual affairs of the Fraternity were discussed, a Collection for Charitable uses made and the Lodge closed in due form."

The election of Bro. Span as Provincial Grand Master was not recognised by the Grand Lodge of England.

The new Deputy, Thomas Turner, was posted as Ensign in the 47th Regiment, 27th May, 1760, and is shown in the Army List of November, 1763, as Adjutant under the date 28th September, 1762.⁵ He was a member of Lodge No. 67 E.R. ("Ancients") warranted 27th December, 1757, and numbered "3" on the Register of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia,⁶ and appears in a Return to the Grand Lodge of Ireland made by Lodge No. 192 I.C., in 1761.⁷ The Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland indicates that he was made Master of Lodge No. 192 on 27th December, 1762. A Jewel with Craft and R.A. designs bearing the inscription, "Thos Turner, No. 192", was exhibited to the Lodge in 1923.⁸ He was the Master of Select Lodge, P.G.L., Quebec, in 1761, as appears from the Leslie Certificate,⁹ and also a member of the Officers' Lodge in the 47th Regiment No. 10 P.G.L., Quebec, of which Lodge he was Master in 1763, as appears from the Webb Certificate.¹⁰

The next meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge recorded by James Thompson is the following:—

"27th December A: D: 1761, A: L: 5761 at a Grand Lodge held in due form for the Celebration of the Festival of St. John the Divine, Brother Milborne West, Lieutenant in His Majesty's 47th Regiment was Chosen Grand Master for the ensuing year, Brother Angus McDonell Ensign in the 2d Battn R. Americans was proclaimed his Deputy, Brothers Joseph Walker & Samuel Collier Senior and Junior

¹ *Masonic Year Book*, 1948, p. 398.

² In an unpublished letter in the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England, which I examined in 1948.

³ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxx, p. 23.

⁴ Fergusson, *Major Fraser's Manuscript*, Vol. ii, p. 213.

⁵ *Trans.*, *Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 25.

⁶ Harris, *Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 61.

⁷ *Trans.*, *Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 26. The dates given here in the column "When admitted" are, I think, the dates of the Returns.

⁸ *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi, 269; xxxvii, 102.

⁹ Robertson, *Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 166.

¹⁰ *Trans.*, *Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 21.

G: Wardens, Brother Paxton Still Continued Grand Secy, when after Due admonition had been Given from the Chair to the Masters & Wardens present for the particular Directions of their several Lodges, a Collection was made and the Lodge Closed in form."

Captain Milborne West was originally an Ensign in the 50th American Provincials (Shirley's), which was disbanded in 1757. In 1758 he was on half-pay and at the same time Deputy Commissary of Musters in North America. He was posted to the 47th Regiment on 31st January, 1759, with the rank of Lieutenant.¹ Robertson² says he was a member of Lodge No. 192, I.C., but his name is not recorded in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.³ I have not been able to identify him as a member of Select Lodge, but he was later a member of the Officers' Lodge in the 47th Regiment, No. 10, P.G.L., Quebec. He returned to Ireland with his Regiment in 1763, and in 1764 was re-made "gratis" and joined the Bear Lodge, now the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, U.G.L. of England.⁴

Angus McDonell was presumably a member of the Lodge in the Second Battalion of the 60th Regiment, No. 3, P.G.L., Quebec.

Joseph Walker and Samuel Collier were members of Merchants' Lodge No. 9, P.G.L., Quebec.

All the Lodges, with the exception of Lodge No. 192, I.C., held in the 47th Regiment, and possibly the Lodge under Dispensation from Lodge No. 195, I.C., in the Royal Artillery, which had participated in the initial meeting, had, by this time, left Quebec with their Regiments. Dispensations appear to have been issued by Milborne West to establish a Lodge for "The Inhabitants of the Town", No. 7, P.G.L., Quebec (which replaced the Lodge in the Civic Branch of Ordnance that had become vacant), an Officers' Lodge in the 47th Regiment, No. 10, and a Lodge in the Royal Artillery, No. 11.

I think Dispensations were issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge because it was thought that without a Patent from England it possessed no authority to issue Warrants. Furthermore, the issuing of Dispensations by individual Lodges appears to have been an established practice among military Lodges at the time. The Provincial Grand Lodge might well have held the view that if a Lodge could grant a Dispensation to establish a Lodge, it—as a group of Lodges—was equally or even more competent to do so. The Lodge in the 78th Regiment, however, was established by Warrant, issued by Colonel Fraser, whose Grand Mastership was regular in every respect, and, although he does not appear to have received any documentary authorisation, he no doubt received full information as to the extent of his powers from Dunckerley. Furthermore, the legality of the Warrant was never questioned by the Grand Lodge of England, and it was registered in due course under the No. 221.

The following is the record of the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on October 30th, 1762, recorded by James Thompson in his Letter-book:—

30 Octr. A: D: 1762 A: L: 5762 at a Grand Lodge held in due form, Present Mr. West Grand Master, Brother Walker Senior Grand Warden, Brother Collier Junior Grand Warden together with the Masters and Wardens of the following Lodges Vizt.,

Merchant's Lodge No. 1, Quebec, Regy of England.

Select Lodge.

Lodge No. 192 Ireland.

Officers' Lodge, 47th Regt. No. 10 Canada.

Lodge No. 3 Canada.

Ditto 6 Ditto.

Ditto 11 Ditto.

When Brother Walker produced a Warrant from the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable the Grand Master of Masons in England, Impowering him with other Brethren therein mentioned to form, Convine, and hold a Lodge by the name of Merchants' Lodge Quebec No. 1.

After mature Delibration it was proposed by the Right Worshipfull Milborne West, that it was necessary application Should be made to the Right Worshipfull and Right Honourable Grand Master of England for a Warrant to Convene and hold a Grand Lodge under his sanction, when they Came unanimously into his opinion and a Committee was accordingly appointed to Draw up a Memorial Consisting of Brothers Joseph Walker, William Paxton, Thomas Turner, James Orr and Jacob Rowe. Afterwards the Brethren proceeded to business when the Right Worshipfull Grand Master, Milborne West, was rechosen Grand Master for the ensuing year,

¹ Army List, 1763.

² Robertson, *Freemasonry in Canada*. Vol. i, p. 159.

³ *Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 26.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, lvi, 148; lxxv, 29.

Brother Walker, Deputy Grand Master, Brother Collier, Senior Grand Warden and Brother James Orr, Junior Grand Warden, other necessary business of the Craft finished, and the Lodge was closed in due form.

The Committee acted promptly, and a draft of the Memorial copied in James Thompson's Letter-book bears the date 8th November, 1762. It was, however, to be taken to England by John Collins, and, as he did not sail until the following summer, it was re-dated either 23rd June, 1763 (as given by James Thompson in a letter to the Grand Master of England in 1767), or 27th June, 1763 (as given by Spencer in a letter acknowledging its receipt dated 21st March, 1765).

It read as follows:—

To the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Grand Master and Right Worshipful the Grand Wardens of Free and Accepted Masons of England, etc., etc., etc.

The Memorial of the Masters and Wardens of the Several Lodges at present residing in Canada, formed into a Grand Lodge Humbly Sheweth.

That your Memorialists having nothing more at heart, than the good and well being of the Royal Art, have thought it proper, (agreeable to these our sentiments) to transmitt unto you the inclosed Exact and faithful abstract of our proceedings under the above appellation.

We beg leave to acquaint you that we should not have been this long neglectfull of Transmitting our proceedings, but that we had reason to hope, as many worthy Brothers, particularly Brother Dunkerly of His Majesty's Ship the Van Guard, and our late Right Worshipfull Gwinnett who so long ago as the year 1760 left this place for England, promised to recommend our Case for your Consideration, but not having the satisfaction of hearing from you by either of them, we take this method of acquainting you that altho we have been thus Convened, and done all that in us lay for the benefitt of our particular Lodges, & the Good and Well being of Masonry in General, we should think our proceedings more on the Square and agreeable to the Rules of the ancient Craft if we acted under your Immediate Sanction and Sublime Instruction.

And shou'd your Superior Wisdom disapprove of our prior proceedings we flatter ourselves that, that Charity which is inherent in every Mason's breast (and so peculiarly shines in yours) will attribute it not to want of Respect for your Hon'ble Body, but to our particular Zeal for the Good of the Craft which must have greatly suffer'd in this distant part of the world but for the methods we took upon us to transact.

For these reasons we have Confided in our worthy Brother Collins to present this our Memoriall and to accompany it with Twenty Pounds as a small token of our respect for you and our Distress'd Brethren, hoping you will excuse our not Enlarging it at present, having had frequent opportunities of Extending our Charitable Collections not only to distress'd Brethren & poor Widdows of Brethren who have fallen in the field of Battle, but even to relieve the distresses and miserys of some hundreds of poor miserable Canadians during the Course of a long and Severe Winter, so that our present Fund will not admitt of it, but we trust we shall have future opportunities of continuing our Respects. Requesting you will take our Situation under your Mature Consideration and answer our petition as your Superior Wisdom shall seem meet.

And should it be the case that we shou'd merritt your approbation, and be found worthy your particular Sanction, we beg leave to Recommend our true and faithful Brother Milborne West (Lieut. in His Majesty's 47th Regiment) at present acting as our Grand Master, to your notice to be by you appointed Provincial Grand Master for the Conquered Country of Canada under your Sanction and Protection, shou'd you think him and us worthy that Honour, with such power as to you may seem requisite, such as Granting Warrants & Nominating a Successor should he unluckily be removed from us. And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc., etc.

(By Order of the Committee) Walker, Turner, Orr, Rowe, Paxton. Comm'ttee.
William Paxton. G. Sec'y.
Quebec, 8th November 1762.

The following statement was added to the Memorial:—

We think it our duty to inform you that since our first Convention we have on the proper application and after due examination into the worth and skill of Certain Brethren at this place, Montreal, and others belonging to different Regiments, Given the following Dispensation, vizt:—

Merchants' Lodge No. 9 Quebec (This Lodge is that which is mentioned to have a Warrant from England under the name of Merchants' Lodge, Quebec, No. 1.)

MILITARY LODGES

* Select Lodge	
No. 2 Quebec	58th Regiment
* No. 3 ditto.	2d Battn. Royal Americans
No. 4 ditto.	28th Regiment
No. 5 ditto.	3d Battn. Royal Americans
* No. 6 ditto.	78th Regim't
No. 7 ditto.	Civil Branch of Ordnance (Vacant)
No. 8 ditto.	35th Regiment
* No. 10 ditto.	Officers, 47th Regiment
* No. 11 ditto.	Royal Artillery
* No. 13 ditto.	4th Battn. Royal Americans
* No. 14 ditto.	44th Regiment
* No. 15 ditto.	80th ditto.

No other Lodge in Canada but No. 192 from Ireland held in the 47th Regiment. N.B. Those marked thus * are at present in Canada and amount on the whole to about 150 Brethren.

The number "12" omitted from this list was a Dispensation to establish a Lodge at Montreal but the only clue to its existence is the presence of Bro. Alexander Campbell, of "Lodge No. 12, Montreal", at St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, on 6th November, 1766. Bro. Campbell had visited St. Andrew's Lodge in 1761, when he was described as being a member of Lodge No. 195 I.C., in the Royal Artillery. He was, therefore, a military man. Lodge No. 12 may have been an Officers' Lodge in the 4th Battalion of the 60th Regiment, which was in Montreal in 1760, but which was disbanded before 1766, the year of Bro. Campbell's visit to St. Andrew's Lodge. It may also have been a Lodge in the 1st Battalion of the 60th Regiment. There was an Officers' Lodge in that Battalion, but a Lodge for the rank and file has not been identified though each of the other Battalions had such a Lodge.

The Memorial received favourable consideration and a Patent was issued appointing Lieutenant Milborne West, Provincial Grand Master of All Canada, by Lord Ferrers, Grand Master on the 5th May, 1764. This Patent was apparently forwarded to West who, in the meantime, had returned to England and was residing at Bath, with instructions to take the Patent with him when he returned to Canada, or to forward it to Quebec. West did not, however, return to Canada, nor did he ever communicate with the Quebec Brethren. Some members of Merchants' Lodge who went to England in 1765 undertook to obtain the Patent from him, but they were drowned on their homeward journey when the ship's pinnace capsized in the St. Lawrence River near Cape Torment, and it was never known if they had the Patent in their possession or not. Writing to West on 10th June, 1767, Jacob Rowe said, "We are informed you succeeded in getting what was wanted for your friends here, but what has become of it since, you certainly must be the best judge. However, some who have that Charity which ought to be inherent in every breast persuade themselves you have fully discharged your duty in forwarding it".¹

It would appear that although Captain Milborne West had returned to England between November, 1762, when the Memorial was drafted and the date of its despatch, the Quebec Brethren must have been under the impression that he would return to Quebec, otherwise they would not have asked that the Patent should be issued in his name.

According to Robertson, Lieutenant Thomas Turner was elected to the office of Provincial Grand Master on 24th June, 1763.² There are no existing minutes of this meeting, and the only reference to his election that I have been able to find is in Gawler's letter to the Grand Lodge of England, dated Woolwich, 9th February, 1769, as quoted by Sadler,³ though no date is given for the election. In the copy of this letter in James Thompson's Letter-book, Turner's name is omitted.

Lieutenant Turner returned to the Old Country in 1763 with the 47th Regiment, and in 1764 Bro. Joseph Walker, a member of Merchants' Lodge was elected in his stead. In this instance also I rely upon Robertson for the year of election⁴ as there are no minutes,

¹ Copy of letter in James Thompson's Letter-book.

² Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 159.

³ Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 51.

⁴ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 159.

Gawler does not give it, and the only evidence that Walker held the office is in the letter written by Jacob Rowe to West previously referred to, in which he says, "Brother Walker has been dead now fourteen months past since which Brother Collins presides."

Bros. Turner and Walker were never recognised as Provincial Grand Masters by the Grand Lodge of England.

In a letter to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated 14th October, 1766, written by James Thompson, then the Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge, the death by drowning of the Quebec Brethren is reported. He continues:—

This extraordinary disappointment has obliged the several Lodges (finding it for the good of the Craft) to continue on the Provincial Grand Lodge in the same form we had the honour of our first advising you, over which our Worthy & Right Worshipful Brother John Collins, Esqr. presides, our loving Brother Jacob Rowe and John Gawler, Grand Wardens, Brother Hawkins & Lauchn. Smith, Grand Deacons, and Brother James Thompson, Grand Secretary, and the following Lodges are at present Congregating with the said Provincial Grand Lodge, vizt.

Merchants' Lodge No. 1 Quebec.

The Grand Master's Own Select Lodge.

Harmony Lodge (Officers) in the 1st Battn. R. Americans.

No. 370 of the Registry of Ireland in the 52nd Regiment.

No. 6 Canada. Late 78th Regt. now St. Andrew's Lodge.

No. 7 Ditto. Inhabitants of the Town.

No. 11 Ditto. in the Royal Artillery.

This we expect will be delivered to you by our worthy and Loving brother John Patterson, at present a member of the Merchants' Lodge No. 1, with a Donation for General Charity of £5. 3. 6. Sterling, which we would Gladly have augmented, but the many objects that have presented (themselves) the summer past has prevented. The whole number in the Different Congregating Lodges Consisting only of about ninety. Our said Brother Patterson will take the first Convenient opportunity of acquainting you the many Difficulties we at present Labour under for want of a proper Dispensation & how anxious all the true and worthy are of receiving that already Granted, or a new one in the name of our Worthy Brethren above mentioned if it should appear of that being lost as (we have no occasion to acquaint you) we Can then act not only with a Superior, but a more Regular Authority.

John Collins was a member of Merchants' Lodge. He came to Quebec with Wolfe's Army, or very shortly thereafter, for he was established as a merchant there in 1760. He was appointed a Surveyor on 8th September, 1764, became Deputy Surveyor-General under Major Samuel Holland, and later Surveyor-General. He died 15th April, 1795.¹

In 1767, Edward Antill wrote to the Provincial Grand Lodge from Montreal urging the appointment of a Deputy Grand Master for that district. Antill was appointed by a Warrant dated 20th December, 1767, and the history of the District Grand Lodge of Montreal has already been recounted in these transactions.²

Bro. Joseph Walker, the Deputy Grand Master, died in April, 1766, and was buried with Masonic honours.³

No reply having been received from London to the letter written by Thompson on the 14th October, 1766, a Committee consisting of Jacob Rowe, Edward Antill, J. Rochat and Jonas Clark Minot wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England on 10th June, 1767, enclosing a letter addressed to the Grand Master repeating the request for a Warrant in favour of John Collins "with such full power as you, in your Wisdom, may think expedient". These letters were entrusted to the care of Bro. John Gawler, who marched with his battery to New York in that year, from whence he took ship to England where he was for a time with the Artillery Depôt at Woolwich. The Committee recommended Bro. Gawler to the notice of the Grand Master "as we have ever found him expert and worthy of all due regard to the Fraternity, and who, we are sensible, will explain to you what may be further necessary on this head, as he has a long time been Junior Grand Warden, and acquitted himself in that office with great satisfaction to all his brethren".

The confidence reposed in Gawler by his Brethren was not misplaced, and he was indefatigable in his efforts to obtain the desired Warrant.⁴ John Gawler was a Sergeant, and a member of the Lodge in the Artillery No. 11 P.G.L., Quebec. He and James Thompson were warm friends, and their correspondence over a period of forty-five years is invaluable

¹ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques de Quebec*, Vol. xxxi.

² *A.Q.C.*, lxii, p. 250.

³ Minutes, St. Andrew's Lodge, 20th April, 1766.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, lvii, 265; lxx, 29.

in reconstructing the history of the craft in those early days. Gawler invented a life-saving cork jacket and sold his interest in it to an officer in the Artillery who undertook to purchase Gawler's discharge from the Army. This Gawler obtained in 1770 and he set himself up as a small shop-keeper in London. On one of his visits to England Bro. John Patterson, a wealthy merchant, who has already been mentioned, and who thought Gawler a clever, intelligent man, looked him up and obtained a situation for him as a traveller for a Brewery. Later Gawler left this firm and was employed by another London brewer, named Calvert, at a salary of £200 per annum. James Thompson records in his Memoirs that "poor Gawler got his death by the too free use of Porter, which caused him to become so fat and full-habited that he was struck with apoplexy" in 1805.

A Patent of Appointment to the Hon. John Collins as Provincial Grand Master was issued by the Duke of Beaufort, dated 18th March, 1768, and Gawler immediately sent it to Quebec with the following letter:—

London, 18th March 1768.

Right Worshipful & Brethren,

I have the Great pleasure herewith to transmitt you the Long wish'd for Grand Warrant, which I with Much Difficulty obtain'd without paying the whole price. The Grand Secretary Demanded One pound one Shilling which I paid him, tho' I thought it very Exhorbitant. I was so fortunate as to meet the Depy Grand Master when I Called to receive it, who assured me it was a particular Indulgence to have it granted without the usual payment, That if our former Warrant was put into bad Hands, the fault rested with those who Intrusted him. He ordered me to write to you to remit the sum of £3. 3. 0. for every Lodge now constituted before they were put in the printed List of Lodges, but I got him to dispense with it by assuring him every Lodge had paid Upwards of that sum already, part of which was transmitted to them, and the other distributed towards the Relief of the Indigent. I did not tell him the Exact number of Lodges as had been formed at Quebec, as I knew many did not now Subsist, you will be pleased therefore to reduce them down to the actual number which assembles now and transmitt them to me and I will get them Entered in the Printed List of Lodges, by which every Indigent Brother that may belong to either of them, producing your Certificate to the Committee of Charity will be Intitled to Relief. I took the opportunity of the presence of the Deputy Grand to Enquire how far the authority of a Warrant granted under this Provincial one did extend with respect to place, when he inform'd me it was of equal Force with any Granted Immediately under their hands, at all places whatsoever, as long as they meet as Brethren, but that they ought to Center in that Provincial Grand Lodge or some other which Derives its authority from the same as you do, and that on those occasions it would be necessary for you to inform the Grand in case of a removal, what Provincial Lodge they center in, in order that it may be known to them if they Continue to assemble and behave as they ought, for whenever a Lodge is not accounted for, they are immediately struck off the printed List of Lodges.

You will find this warrant is of Force no longer than the present Worshipful's life, which I noticed to the Deputy Grand who informed me that none is ever given otherwise, but in case of his removal he may appoint a Deputy.

I am sorry to inform you that in London there is a great Division amongst the Craft, those under your Grand Master are the most universal, and tho' they Call themselves ancient masons works the Modern way, and those under Esqr. Mathews works the ancient way, and are called York Masons. The Duke of Beaufort has formerly ordered his Lodges not to Admit any of the ancient working masons into their Lodges, which has put a very great antipathy between them, however, there are many who Constantly visits both, and Lodges in the Country who Derives their Authority from the Duke of Beaufort and works after the Ancient manner, but with regard to Regularity and the speedy Relief of the Distress'd, the Duke's Lodges excells.

I waited on Brother Spencer the 12th inst., for a Receipt for the money, as the Great Joy I felt at Receiving the Warrant made me forget it, when he informed me that you must send 2 shillings & Sixpence for every Lodge to get them Engraved amongst the others.

It has cost me six shillings & sixpence in attending Brother Spencer and getting information at first (hand) relative to the obtaining the Warrant, as I found I had a new lesson to learn, before I could acquit myself with that Credit my business required, you therefore will be pleased to cause the whole to be paid to my wife. . . . we came to a Resolution last night to join a Body amongst our people here who sits under the sanction of Esqr. Mathews, in Consequence of which we have hereby transmitted you the Warrant we sat under.

If there is anything where I can serve you in England be pleased to command it, and be assured of the sincere well Wishes of

Right Worshipful & Brethren,
Your very affectionate & Most
Obedient Humble Servant,
Jno. Gawler.

It appears from the last part of this letter that Gawler and his comrades had taken with them to England the Dispensation No. 11 issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec to establish a Lodge in the Artillery, but as they had affiliated with a Lodge, held under an "Ancient" Warrant, the Dispensation, or Warrant, was returned to Quebec.¹

The following letter was written in acknowledgment:—

Quebec, 8th Augt. 1768.

Dr. Brother Gawler,

With great pleasure we received your letter of the 18th of March which was read in the Grand Lodge assembled in due form the 6th June, when it was unanimously voted that We, the Provincial Grand Officers, should in the name of the whole Craft resident here, most cordially and sincerely thank you for the Great pains and Trouble you have taken to procure for us the so much wish'd for, so long expected Grand Warrant; Conscious of the obligation you have Conferr'd on us, we do in their name and in our own, most heartily thank you for the same. We had wrote so often and made so many applications for it by Brothers who went from hence annually to London, and all in vain, that we are fully convinced no others means could have obtained it, but such as your Prudence and Zeal for the Craft have Dictated to you.

And now after the Care and pains you have taken we are sorry to tell you that the Grand Warrant by no means answers our Expectations

And here we beg leave to repeat our thanks to you for your Prudence and Zeal in observing this to the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master Salter, and we beg you will be pleased to represent in our name the inconveniences we are likely to meet with in this Case. It is near eight years ago since we made the first application for a Provincial Grand Warrant, in which time we have had no less than Six acting Grand Masters, who were Duly Elected and Regularly Succeeded each other. As you know why we had so many Elections in so short a time, we need give you no further Instructions on that head; we only mean to point out that some of the like inconveniences must unavoidably befall us in future time (and so the Craft be left without proper Government) unless we are authorised to elect a Provincial Grand Master upon the Death of our present Right Worshipful Brother John Collins; Esqr., whom God preserve.

As to the Constitution of the Grand Lodge here you know it was strictly regular and Conformable to the Antient Customs and usages of Free and accepted Masons in all ages: (i.e.) by the Consent and approbation of all the Regular Lodges resident here. That we have always coalesced and acted up to the Rules of our Order, none can better inform the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Grand Master of England than our worthy friend and brother John Gawler. However, in regard to all these matters we shall be very particular in our letter to the Worshipful Grand Secy. and which will go in some of the last ships, and at the same time we shall give you advice of our having wrote him, that if Convenient you may attend the first Grand Lodge & Clear up to that Right Worshipful Body whatever Doubts or Difficultys may arise respecting our Situation, and which Cannot be so easily represented in writing as from the Mouth of a Brother long resident among us and perfectly acquainted with all our transactions.

We have remitted the Expence you have been at for us by Mrs. Gawler, whom we heartily wish a Safe and pleasant passage, and that she may find you in perfect health as she and your two sons are at present.

We are, &c.

John Collins, P.G.M.
Jacob Rowe, S.G.W.
Edwd Antill, J.G.W.
Thos Aylwin, P.G.T.

Jas. Thompson.
P.G.Secy.

¹ I regret that I stated that this Lodge was refused recognition by the Grand Lodge of England in my paper, *The Lodge in the 78th Regiment*. It was the Lodge in the Royal Artillery No. 9. P.G.L., Quebec, that was refused recognition.—A.J.B.M.

We learn from the Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge that the Provincial Grand Lodge met on 6th June, 1768, when it was agreed that on the following St. John's Day, the Lodges would not walk in procession, "but go to Church with their Clothing in their Pockets, to cloath in Church, and after Sermon to return to their respective Lodge rooms and in the Afternoon to Visit each other as usual". It was also agreed that Grand Lodge would meet at 9 a.m., and the Masters of the Lodges were to bring their Warrants with them "in order that they may be Confirmed by Virtue of the Grand Authority from London, and their Numbers Reduced according to Rotation to the Numbers Actually in being in this Province". "Brother Cannon, Master of Lodge No. 378 Exhibited an Allegation Against Brother Pattison, a member of said Lodge, in Consequence of which he has been Exhibited (*sic*). The Grand Lodge confirmed the Sentences for the present, but Ordered it should stand over till next Quarterly Communication in Expectation of his Better Behaviour".

Bro. the Rev. George Henry, whose Lodge has not been identified, delivered the sermon on St. John's Day, 1768. He is recorded as preaching to the Brethren in the previous year, and also in many subsequent years up to 1785.

We learn from the same source that at a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held in August, 1768, "Br. Carleton, Master of The Select Lodge (for want of a proper number of members and his business not admitting of a proper Attendance) begs leave to resign the Warrant, Jewels, &c., which was Ordered to be supplied to the use of the Grand Lodge". And also "That a set of clothing be sent to Br. Gawler in the name of the different Lodges residing here, as a Token of their Esteem for his Care in procuring for them the long wish'd for Grand Warrant". The following Collections were made for Charitable uses, viz:—

No. 1.	Merchants' Lodge	£1.	3.	4
No. 2.	St. Andrew's	£1.	3.	4
No. 3.	St. Patrick's		15.	0
No. 4.	St. Peter's held at Montl.	1.	16.	0
	299 Ireland		16.	8
	378 Ireland	1.	0.	0
		<hr/>		
		6.	14.	4

Lodge No. 299 I.C., and Lodge No. 378 I.C., were both held in the 10th Regiment, and joined the Provincial Grand Lodge on 24th December, 1767.

At a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held at Bro. Prentice's on 5th September, 1768, it was resolved "that application be made to Br. Gawler for a Grand Seal". It was also resolved to hold meetings for instruction.¹

Bro. Gawler obtained the Seal, which he sent to Quebec on 24th April, 1769, "of the same Size, and Engraved after the same manner of that of the Grand Lodge of England, and Executed by the same Artist, who says he will submit the workmanship and price to the Judgement of the most ablest Connoisseur". It bore the inscription, "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec", and, exclusive of Commissions, cost £5 5s. 6d., which was borne by the Lodges.

Under the date 5th September, 1768, the Provincial Grand Master, John Collins, and the Grand Wardens addressed the following letter to the Grand Lodge of England:—

We the Master and Wardens of the Provincial Grand Lodge of this Province now sitting under your Warrant (transmitted to us by our worthy Brother John Gawler) Do in the name of the Craft here very heartily thank you for having Granted what we have so long sought for. At the same time we are sorry to observe that the Tenor of it not authorising us the annual Election of a Provincial Grand Master, or making a new Election on the Death of the Present, or on his removal from the Province will oblige us as often to apply for another Grand Warrant as either of these accidents may occur: But perhaps the Constitutions do not allow such a Toleration as we wished for, and, therefore, having the utmost confidence in your brotherly regard for us we shall rest perfectly satisfied. Hitherto we hope we have not been faulty, but as the present Grand Warrant will now enable us to be more regular, we shall carefully keep up our Communication with you, and endeavour in every respect to behave as becometh [Brethren].

Calls from Worthy objects amongst ourselves are so frequent that our Donations to the Grand Charity cannot be Great, yet as the Widow's mite was thankfully received, and as we give ours with willing hearts, We pray your Acceptance of Two Guineas, which be pleased to enter as Coming from the Lodges in Canada, by the hands of John Collins, Esqr., Provincial Grand Master . . .

We pray &c.

¹ A.Q.C., lxiii, 18, 306; lxxv, 25.

A Warrant was issued for a Lodge "to be held in the most convenient place, adjacent to H.M.S. Canceaux", on 27th December, 1768, to William Hogg, John Hill and John Stone, and numbered "5" on the local roll. It was registered by the Grand Lodge of England under the No. 224,¹ and a copy of the Warrant is given by Graham.² The Canceaux was a small armed vessel, carrying ten guns, and a crew of forty-five, commanded by Lieutenant Henry Mouat and was employed on survey work. In 1871 she was off the New England coast. The Lodge appears on the Register without a local number in that year, and does not appear thereafter. It must be excepted from Gould's generalization that all sea Lodges were probably due to the exertions of Dunckerley.³

In 1768, the Hon. Charles Dillon succeeded Colonel John Salter as Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England,⁴ and in the same year the Duke of Beaufort appointed Bro. Thomas French to the office of Grand Secretary in the place of the late Bro. Spencer.⁵ On 1st March, 1769, Gawler wrote to Bro. French urging the issue of another Patent with the wider powers sought by the Quebec Brethren, and on 24th April he wrote to Quebec as follows:—

Your letter I received as also that to the Grand Master, which I carefully presented to the Secretary The death of our late Grand Secretary Brother Spencer, and the change of the Deputy G. Master occasioned your letter not to be so intelligible to the new officers as they would have been to the former, whereby the full sum attending the taking out new Constitutions was again required for those Lodges that were not Entered in the Printed List, to rectify which, and to enforce the necessity of an Elective power for a Provincial Grand Master, I found it necessary to Recapitulate the whole of our former Proceedings in a letter to the Grand Secretary, a copy of which I have sent you.⁶

I was requested by the Grand Secretary to Attend the Grand Lodge on the 28th February,⁷ which I did,⁸ but the humour of the times had so far Introduced itself into that Respectable body, as to occasion such disputes that it was impossible to bring it to a hearing at that time, which occasioned my second letter.

One subject of dispute was relating to the inclosed Regulations for Incorporating the Society,⁹ which was Remonstrated against by some of the Brethren as hurtfull to Masonry, and that no Collections should have been made prior to the obtaining the Charter, and Called it by the odious name of Taxation, tho' this had been agreed to at a former Lodge. The Acting G. Masr. was so far overruled as to put the Question "whether the former Regulations should Continue in force, or be Intirely drop'd". The negative was put up at first which seemed to be for the Majority: Then after a speech from the Chair, The Affirmative when it appeared almost Unanimous; many who had just voted against it, now voted for it (so far Eloquence had the Ascendancy over the minds of men). However, this Incorporation may turn out, I do believe it to be the hope of the Gd and his Deputy that it will be for the advancement of the Craft, which they seem Greatly to have at Heart, and does everything in their power for its advancement, tho' this do not defend them from the Obliquity of Contentious persons.

No sooner had Bro. Gawler explained Quebec Masonic affairs to Grand Secretary French, than he had to go over the same ground with James Heseltine, who replaced French as Grand Secretary on 28th April, 1769.

On 16th January, 1769, the Provincial Grand Master, John Collins, reconstituted Select Lodge as "The Provincial Grand Master's Own Select Lodge" No. 6 P.G.L., Quebec (No. 225 E.R.), and issued a Dispensation to that Lodge to permit the initiation of four persons. Merchants' Lodge contended that the existing Lodges should first have been consulted, and demanded that a special meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge should be held to consider the matter. Collins complied with this demand, and at the meeting it was agreed that the matters in dispute should be submitted to London for decision. Heseltine replied on 12th July that the Deputy Grand Master was of opinion that his actions were quite regular. He continued:—

I have lately had the pleasure of seeing Bro. Gawler who acquainted me of the flourishing State of Masonry in Quebec, and at the same time desired me to inquire whether a power of Electing a Provincial Grand Master annually Could not

¹ Lane, *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 127.

² Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 62.

³ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. iii, p. 397.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, xlv, 118.

⁵ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. ii, p. 472.

⁶ Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 51.

⁷ Gawler appears to be in error. The meeting was held on 1st March, 1769. *A.Q.C.*, xlv, 119.

⁸ Although he had become an "Ancient".

⁹ *A.Q.C.*, xlv, 118.

be Granted to the Lodges in Canada: which, however, the Deputy Grand Master assures me cannot be Complied with, as being directly contrary to the ancient usage, and what he thinks could not answer any Good Purpose whatsoever. The appointment is the prerogative of the Grand Master, not for Life, but during pleasure. This prerogative, I believe, has never been so far dispensed with as to invest any Province with the privilege of appointing their own Grand Master by Election, nor do I see any Great inconvenience arising from the present mode of appointments, for in case of the Provincial Grand Master's death, or his quitting the Province, a new appointment may be had within the space of a few months, in which time it cannot be supposed that any Great inconvenience can arise to the Craft: and the Brethren may rest assured, that proper recommendations from the Lodges will be at all times attended to: in preference to private Friendship, or in case of neglect of duty or other Misbehaviour in the Provincial (which it is hoped will never happen), the Grand Master would undoubtedly supersede his Commission on proper Complaint. Upon the whole I have authority to assure you, that if such a power could consistently be granted, the Province of Canada would be one of the first the Grand Master would wish to oblige. It may be necessary to point out that the Character and situation of any gentleman proposed as Provincial, is a point to which the Grand Master wishes particular attention should be paid, that the Society generally flourishes or drops, in proportion as he is beloved or disliked.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, our Grand Master, having kindly undertaken to get the Society incorporated, various objections were started by a few discontented brethren, which occasioned some uneasiness in the Craft. I have therefore the honour of transmitting you herewith an account of the whole affair as it stands at present, and request you to Lay the same before each Lodge in the Province for their information . . .

Bro. Heseltine seems to have overlooked that it was the custom in Bengal to elect the Provincial Grand Master annually, from among those who had passed through the different offices of the Provincial Grand Lodge and who had served as Deputy Provincial Grand Master. "This annual election," writes Gould,¹ "as soon as notified to the Grand Lodge of England was confirmed by the Grand Master, without its being thought an infringement of his prerogative".

In a further letter, dated 6th December, 1769, Bro. Heseltine writes that in addition to the reasons mentioned in his letter of 12th July

relative to the impropriety of a General Power of Election in case of the absence of the Provincial Grand Master, acquaint you that by a Law confirmed in Grand Lodge about two years ago,² every Provincial Grand Master is, on his appointment, to pay Two Guineas to the Publick Fund of Charity, exclusive of the Expenses of his Patent. You would, therefore, by frequent elections subject yourselves to an expense which your present situation could not sustain.

A Warrant was issued to establish Lodge No. 7 in the 52nd Regiment on 17th June, 1769, which was registered in England under the No. 226. The grantees were Captain Thomas Phillips, Master; Captain Lieutenant Andrew Neilson, Senior Warden; and Ensign Thomas Williamson, Junior Warden. The antecedent affiliation of Captain Phillips has not been traced, but Neilson and Williamson were initiated in St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal, six months earlier. As it was provided in the Warrant, a copy of which is given by Graham,³ that the Officers were to be installed by St. Peter's Lodge, the Regiment was evidently stationed at Montreal at the time. When sending the Warrant to Captain Neilson, James Thompson, the Provincial Grand Secretary, wrote that he was directed to inform him "that it was the intention of the G. Master to appoint you Master of the Lodge, but considering Captain Phillips as a much older Mason, could not help conferring that Honour upon him particularly for the first opening of the Lodge". At the same time, James Thompson wrote to Edward Antill, the District Grand Master at Montreal, that "The Warrant for the Gentlemen of the 52nd Regiment goes by this Post. The Right W. Grand Master doubts not but what you will be very particular in your Charge at the Time of Enstaling the Officers of that new Lodge, and he expects you will attend them at their first time of meeting at least, and that you will help them in what advice or instruction they may stand in need of".

As Lodge No. 370, I.C., issued in 1761, was already held in the 52nd Regiment, the Warrant appears to have been issued to establish an Officers' Lodge. It was still in existence in 1771, when members of it are recorded as visiting St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec.

¹ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Poole Edn., Vol. iv, p. 52.

² 29th April, 1768. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, 13th Ed., p. 239.

³ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 64.

The Provincial Grand Lodge agreed at a meeting held probably in September, of 1769, that for the future "all Warrants granted to new Lodges shall be Five Guineas in lieu of Three Guineas, and that for the three shills. paid by new Admitted Brethren be for the future Five Shillings".

In the same year a Warrant to establish an Officers' Lodge in the 8th Regiment, No. 8, was issued. This Warrant was not registered in England.

At a Quarterly Communication of the Provincial Grand Lodge held at Simpson's Coffee House on 5th March, 1770, at which were present the Masters and Wardens of Lodges Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8, Quebec, No. 195 E.R., held in the 8th Regiment, and Nos. 299 and 378 I.C., held in the 10th Regiment, "it was voted unanimously that the sincere and hearty thanks of the Fraternity here, was due to our Right W.P. Grand Master for his Candid & Generous Conduct . . . in waiving his prerogative touching Constitutions and Dispensations until the Grand Lodge of England should be consulted thereupon, and which it now appears he need not have done, he not having in any point extended his authority beyond due bounds".¹

Bro. Gawler wrote to the Quebec Brethren on May 8th, 1770, expressing his disappointment that after all his efforts he had been unable to obtain authority for the Provincial Grand Lodge to elect its Provincial Grand Master. He also writes "that the Grand Secretary was writing to inform them that Lodges Nos. 2 and 3 are not yet put upon the printed list". "I beg liberty to inform those Lodges that the 5/- I paid for putting them on that List, must be paid again, as our Grand Secretary, Brother French, who I paid it to, is decamp'd sans ceremonie, and left the Secretaryship in a very unsettled condition. Please to observe that the money is not put to the use of the Craft, but is given to the Printer to make the alterations in the List."

On 12th May, 1770, Bro. Heseltine wrote Bro. Collins with reference to a remittance of Two Guineas for the Grand Fund of Charity which had gone astray, in the course of which he comments:—

The Charter of Incorporation I mentioned in a former letter is not yet obtained, though it is at present in a very promising situation. We have been much harassed by a discontented party, who, I believe, wished to overturn the whole Establishment. They are now nearly annihilated, and I hope we shall shortly be unanimous in our endeavours to add Lustre and Dignity to the Craft.

In June, 1770, a Warrant was issued to establish Lodge No. 9 in the 1st Battalion, Royal Artillery.

St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, received a Warrant dated 8th November, 1770 (No. 515 E.R.), and its Officers were installed by the District Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Edward Antill, and the Officers of St. Peter's Lodge.² St. Paul's Lodge obtained a Warrant from the "Ancients" on 1st May, 1797, No. 12 on the Roll of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, and received a Warrant of Confirmation from the United Grand Lodge of England on 29th March, 1824. Although the Lodge made representations to the United Grand Lodge of England from time to time, it was unable to produce satisfactory evidence of its existence prior to 1824, owing to the destruction of its records when the Masonic Hall in Montreal was destroyed by fire in 1833, until the Minutes of St. Peter's Lodge were brought to light. These minutes and other evidence enabled the Lodge to substantiate its claim in 1949, and its existence from 1770 was then recognised. St. Paul's Lodge is now numbered 374 E.R., and, despite many invitations to join Canadian Grand Lodges, it proudly retains its allegiance to the United Grand Lodge of England. It is the oldest existing Lodge in the Province of Quebec, the claim to that honour by the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, G.R.Q., constituted by Warrant No. 227, I.C., dated 1st July, 1847, resting merely on a "sentimental" attachment to "The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues" in the 46th Regiment constituted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland by Warrant bearing the same number and dated 4th March, 1752, and the claim of Albion Lodge No. 2, G.R.Q. (originally constituted by the Grand Lodge of New York "Ancients" under a Warrant dated 3rd July, 1781), being based upon its purchase for the sum of Five Guineas in 1787 of the vacant Warrant No. 9, E.R. ("Ancients"), originally issued 12th June, 1752.

In 1772 the Provincial Grand Master issued a Warrant to Pierre Baron, Philip Dejean and Medard Gamelin to establish a Lodge at Detroit, then Canadian territory. The sum of Three Guineas for the constitution fees of this Lodge and Two Guineas towards the Grand Fund of Charity, "which you will be pleased to Enter as Coming from the Lodges in the Province of Quebec", were taken to London by Bro. Lieutenant John Marr, as recorded in a letter dated 13th October, 1772, written to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England.

The remittance was duly received, for the Minutes of the Grand Lodge dated 5th February, 1773, record that

¹ Minutes, St. Andrew's Lodge.

² *A.Q.C.*, lxii, p. 260.

The Grand Secretary informed the Grand Lodge that the four following Lodges had been constituted since last G.L., and had paid the usual Fees, Vizt.

Lodge at Detroit in Canada

and the fee is undoubtedly included in the item of £12 12s. for "Four Constitutions" in the accounts of the same date.

I believe it to be perfectly clear, therefore, that the Lodge was duly registered under the No. 448. No. 448 first appears in the List of 1773, in which it is the last Lodge to be listed, and it is there described as "Lodge at Detroit in Canada". Lane notes this,¹ and the notations are perfectly applicable to the Dejean Lodge.

In a copy of the 1777 printed List which was used in the Grand Secretary's office as a draft for the preparation of the next issue, the word "Union" has been added in ink to the printed title, "No. 448 Lodge at Detroit in Canada". I think that this addition was made in error, as will appear when we come to consider Union Lodge No. 1, N.Y. Lane, however, does not associate Union Lodge with the No. 448. He identifies it as the Lodge constituted by George Harison, the Provincial Grand Master of New York, dated 27th April, 1764, issued to Lieut. John Christie, Sampson Fleming and Josias Harper, to which he gives the name Zion. This New York Warrant, reproduced by Robertson,² specified no name for the Lodge, but its adoption of the name "Union" is demonstrated by the Robison Certificate.³ American Masonic historians had earlier written that the 1764 Lodge was Zion Lodge, and Lane may have been influenced by their claims.

I do not think the Christie Lodge came on the English Register until 1775, when it was reported by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Jamaica, and registered as Union Lodge No. 12, Jamaica, under the No. 488.⁴

In a letter written by James Thompson to the Brethren of the 10th Regiment at Detroit, dated 6th April, 1773, he reports the issue of the Warrant to Dejean and adds:—

The Brethren therein mentioned as Officers were to be installed in their respective offices by any three (or more) master masons actually members of Lodge No. 299 or No. 378 Ireland held by you, and until they were so installed, although possessed of the Warrant they were not to act in any respect as a regular lodge, and a Certificate of the performance of which was to have been transmitted to Grand Lodge at this place, which is not yet arrived, tho' several letters have lately been received from Detroit.

Philip Dejean was born in 1734 at Toulouse, where his father was Procureur-general. He came to Canada in 1761 and settled in Detroit, probably in 1768, having fled from Montreal, it is believed, to escape bankruptcy. Although he possessed no authority which was recognized by the Government at Quebec, he exercised the functions of Notary and local Justice. In this capacity he committed acts which the townsmen of Detroit disapproved, and which brought him before the grand jury at Montreal in 1778. To return to Dejean's Masonic activities, there is a letter in James Thompson's Letter-book, written by him dated 24th December, 1772, in which he says:—

You will no doubt have understood that during my stay in Quebec, upon your recommendation, I obtained a Warrant to open a French Lodge, but on my arrival here the Merchants' Lodge (No. 1 of New York)⁵ did not approve of it, saying that they had complaints against me both to their own Grand Master, and that of the Province of Quebec.

They sent for the Sergeant-major of the 10th Regiment, who has a Dispensation from Lodge No. 299 and showed him all the accusations they had against me and the next day he acquainted me with their deliberations which were that I should not open the Lodge till these differences were settled. I demanded a Lodge of Emergency where all our old grievances were brought upon the Tapis (the greater part of which had been discussed before). I represented to them that though it was true on some occasions I had been wrong, yet they ought to observe that those particular difficulties had nothing to do with the Lodge. However, it seemed to me I had adjusted the whole matter and that all was pardoned, they only told me I could no longer be a member of their Lodge because, according to their By-laws, I had committed three offences: the first was my having quitted the Lodge abruptly desiring my name to be erased from their books, the second of having listened at the windows (a report which they had from a woman, the vilest tattler in the world)

¹ Lane, *Masonic Records*, p. 184.

² Robertson, *Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 184.

³ *A.Q.C.*, lxii, p. 272.

⁴ Lane, *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 196.

⁵ Dejean probably used the words "Merchants' Lodge" to distinguish "Union Lodge" from the military Lodges in Detroit.

the third having always been discontented and complaining that they had not elected me into any office. But that nevertheless they would receive me as a visitor as often as I should think proper. I asked them if they would do me the honour of a visit when my Lodge should be opened. They answered me no, saying I was not capable of being master of a Lodge, being too subject to passion, and some day I should send my Lodge to the right about.

I laughed at their absurdity. To satisfy them I offered to be judged by all the Master Masons in the 10th Regiment, and if they could find me unworthy of being Master of a Lodge, I would return my Warrant. This they would not agree to. I then proposed to keep my Warrant for a year, and if during that time they could impute anything to me contrary to the Constitutions, I consented never more to speak of a Lodge. This they also refused which proves to me that it is nothing but jealousy or pique that I did not on coming down acquaint them of my intentions to apply for a Warrant. The Master of Lodge No. 378 was willing to install me, but the sergeant-major would not, saying that the Grand Lodge ought to be informed of the whole transaction.

The gentleman whom I had chosen for senior warden is at present Master of their Lodge. He has denied in the Lodge that ever he employed me to apply for a Warrant, but the junior warden maintains the contrary, and said he would join me on his return from his winter quarters.

The sergeant-major who has been called to the enquiry into the offences declares that he has seen nothing that can tarnish the character of a Free Mason, therefore, I beg you will be pleased to order them to put me in possession of my office, seeing that the complaints they have against me are not worth the trouble of being brought to light.

In December, 1772, a Committee of the Provincial Grand Lodge, "having examined the pretensions of a number of Masons in His Majesty's 21st Regiment have for holding a Lodge in that Corps by the title of No. 32 of the Registry of Ireland, made their report to Grand Lodge in ample form on the 7th instant, and they are of opinion that until they produce a better authority than that offered to them they cannot be received among us notwithstanding their willingness to submit to our Laws. The Grand Lodge then ordered that the Lodges under her care should conduct themselves accordingly".¹

There was no military Lodge No. 32 I.C., but No. 33 I.C., had been held in the Regiment since 1734, though at the time the Warrant appears to have been lost. The Regiment took a Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and adopted the name, "Caledonian". James Thompson wrote to the Brethren of the 10th Regiment at Detroit on 6th April, 1773:—

The other Warrant was granted to a number of Masons in the 21st Regiment, or North British Fusiliers, who formed themselves into a Lodge without any authority ever since the Battle of Fontenoy² and were (as they say) received notwithstanding by all Regular Lodges wherever they were stationed by the name of No. 32 of the Registry of Ireland, but the Lodges here thought otherwise, which induced them to apply for a Warrant, and their Officers were installed at a Grand Lodge assembled for that purpose on the 19th December last: they are called the Caledonian Lodge No 12 Quebec.

I do not think the existence of this Lodge has hitherto been noticed, and it is possible that the Lodge worked under its Quebec Warrant until 1803, when the Regiment took out another Irish Warrant No. 936.³ The Quebec Lodge was not registered in England.

At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., to Bro. Milborne for the paper, and to Bro. Carr for his excellent delivery of it. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. B. W. Oliver, S. Pope, and R. E. Parkinson.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It affords me very great pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to the author of the factual and elaborately-detailed paper we have heard to-day.

Bro. Milborne's previous paper on *The Lodge in the 78th Regiment* (January, 1952) showed what a wealth of material James Thompson left behind in the shape of a Diary and

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxviii, 165.

² 30th April, 1745.

³ Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, 10th December, 1772; Gould, *Military Lodges*, p. 127.

Volumes of Memoirs ; would that other Brethren of the same and earlier eras had done likewise ; we should now have had much more information to enrich our knowledge of bygone days. But our contributor is to be congratulated on again making a remarkable use of this material, and producing a most interesting account of the formation and development of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec.

It should be noted that the *Masonic Year Book* states that North America at first included Canada, and that Henry Price was the first District Grand Master in 1733. Canada, apparently, became a separate district when Col. Frazer was appointed in 1760, and Quebec in 1767, when John Collins was appointed.

With this background, the letter from John Gawler to the Quebec Brethren, dated 18th March, 1768, when he transmitted the Patent of Appointment of the Hon. John Collins as Provincial Grand Master, is particularly interesting. One material point is the demand of the Grand Secretary for three guineas, which was a direct violation of the Regulations of 29th October, 1768, which provided for a fee of £1 1s. for registration of the name of a Provincial Grand Master and half-a-guinea for drawing out his Deputation on Parchment.

Then the paragraph about the "great Division amongst the Craft" is really historical, because of its mentioning the "Antients" as being called "York Masons". The information given in this letter of 1768 that the Duke of Beaufort had ordered his Lodges not to admit any of the ancient working masons is earlier evidence of the "very great antipathy between them" than supposed. The Hon. Thos. Matthew was Grand Master of the "Antients" from 1766-1770, and the Duke of Beaufort for the "Moderns", 1767-1771. Yet it was only on 18th April, 1777, that Grand Lodge passed the following resolution:—

That the persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves "Antient Masons", by virtue of an Authority from a pretended Grand Lodge in England, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged as Masons by a regular Lodge or Mason under the Constitution of England ; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their Conventions, to give a Sanction to their Proceedings, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Privileges of the Society ; neither shall any Person initiated at these irregular Meetings be admitted into any Lodge without being remade and paying the usual Making Fees.

Resolved,

That this Censure shall not extend to any Lodge or Mason made in Scotland or Ireland, under the Constitution of either of these Kingdoms ; or to any Lodge or Mason made abroad under the Patronage of any Foreign Grand Lodge in Alliance with the Grand Lodge of England, but that such Lodges and Masons shall be deemed regular and constitutional.

The news that in 1768 there were many who "Constantly visits both" bears out Bro. Heron Lepper's contention in his *Traditioners* (A.Q.C., lvii), and is also substantiated by old Lodge minutes in this country. Gawler's letter is also illuminating in that it shows that, in 1768, the "Antients" were calling themselves "York Masons". Is it any wonder, then, that our American Brethren call their ceremonies the "York Rite" ?

I am sure you all feel that Bro. Milborne has contributed a paper of great value to students of our eighteenth century history, and it is on your behalf that I now offer him the grateful thanks of the members of this Lodge ; and I couple with that our great indebtedness to Bro. Carr for his clear and precise summary of its contents.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

Freemasonry is spread over the four quarters of the globe, but many of us are inclined to be more interested in the history of our own particular parish, to the exclusion of the larger field. On this account the members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge particularly welcome Bro. Milborne's paper on the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec.

In 1899, J. Ross Robertson published the *History of Freemasonry in Canada*. Bro. Milborne points out that this work deals principally with the Province of Upper Canada, and he alludes to it as a monumental work. As the two volumes contain over 1,900 pages, I think we can agree with this description. Since the publication of Ross' work, a considerable amount of new sources of information have been discovered, mostly, I believe, by Bro. Milborne, and we congratulate him on the use he has made of this.

An interesting picture is drawn of the difficulties encountered by our early Brethren in Canada. Many of the Grand Masters left the district before the appointment was ratified by the Grand Lodge of England.

At the first Masonic meeting held in Quebec after its capture, one notices the predominance of the Irish Lodges. There was a distinctly democratic spirit shown, as a lieutenant was elected Grand Master, a captain appointed Deputy, a colonel Senior Warden, and a non-commissioned officer Junior Warden. The Secretary, by the way, was a sergeant.

The paper is most readable and an interesting story is unfolded; the influence of the shadowy figure of Dunckerley behind the scenes is apparent.

I have pleasure in seconding a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Milborne for his excellent paper, and am sorry that he was unable to be present.

May I take this opportunity of thanking Bro. Carr for the admirable way in which he has read it?

Bro. B. W. OLIVER said:—

This is a paper which may remain on our shelves for some time, but ultimately will be referred to time and again. My own historical research has been confined to the Province of Devon, yet several references in Bro. Milborne's paper enlarge or reinforce many details in a most informative manner.

Doubt is now generally thrown on the early use of ceremonial at Installations, although we, in the West Country, find many hints in our early minutes, and the full ceremonial of the Board of Installed Masters has considerable antiquity, as example at Exeter and other centres which are sufficiently removed from modern metropolitan influence. It is, therefore, of interest to find in this paper such phrases as "properly installed in the Chair" and "was proclaimed Grand Master . . . after the usual Ceremony of Installment".

It is interesting, too, to see the influence of Dunckerley suggested, for he had a great influence in the West of England, and Loyal Lodge No. 251 is still the proud possessor of his fine portrait painted by Beech.

We shall look forward with pleasure to the second part of this excellent paper, and I should like to add to those already made my appreciation of the admirable manner in which it was read by Bro. Carr.

Bro. S. POPE said:—

Once again Bro. Milborne brings before us the manner in which Freemasonry was spread throughout the Colonies by Military Masons. It is interesting to renew our acquaintance with Bro. James Thompson, whose love of the Craft and methodical work as Provincial Grand Secretary has resulted in so much of the history of his Provincial Grand Lodge being preserved. Freemasonry owes much to these early Military Masons, who did so much to bring law and order into our Institution in its early days. It was a Military Mason, Captain George Smith, Inspector of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, who organized the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent in 1777, and his minute book containing "Laws and Regulations", Bylaws, etc., are the only records we have of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries.

When reading this history, one realises the great part played by the "New Countries" in Freemasonry. In Lane's *Masonic Records* (second edition), the number of Lodges constituted under the Grand Lodges of England from 1752-1792 in the U.S.A., Canada, North and Central America, is 52, as compared with 142 in London.

It is most interesting to read the personal impressions of Bro. John Gawler concerning the "Great Division" he found among the Craft in 1768, and that at that time there were many "who constantly visits both". The Grand Lodge of the "Antients" had only been working for 18 years, but it is to be noted that their progress, so far as London is concerned, was more consistent than that of the "Moderns", and that as the date of the Union approached, the number of their Lodges increased, whereas that of the "Moderns" decreased.

I have enjoyed reading Bro. Milborne's Part One, and I look forward to the completion of his history of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec.

Bro. R. E. PARKINSON writes:—

Bro. Milborne has once again placed us all in his debt by a further scholarly contribution to the early history of the Craft in Canada, and I would fully associate myself with the many who will hasten to congratulate him on the fruits of his labours.

In view of the overwhelming preponderance of Irish Lodges in Wolfe's Army, I can only concur, regretfully, with Bro. Milborne's suggestion that Dunckerley had successfully "jockeyed" the Irish out of a favourable position.

Of course, it seems to have been the practice of the Military Lodges to place themselves under the protection of the Grand Lodge, in whose territory they found themselves. Thus, when the 51st Foot landed in Dublin in 1763, they immediately reported to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and were placed on our books with the same number, 94, as that of their "Antient" Warrant. Similarly, the 50th Foot, with an "Antient" Warrant No. 112, were placed on our books with the nearest vacant number, which happened to be 113. Both Lodges remained on the Irish Roll till cancelled in July, 1815. As Ireland had not, with few exceptions, begun to charter Lodges outside its own territory, the Military Lodges may have regarded the Colonies as peculiarly the territory of the Grand Lodge of England.

The life of a Military Lodge, particularly in the eighteenth century, was of necessity precarious. The shifts and transfers of Army life, the casualties of a single action, an outbreak of an epidemic on an unhealthy station, could—and very often did—wipe out the whole personnel of a Lodge in a few days. The wonder is that so many survived as long as they did.

No. 1, Louisburgh, is perhaps a case in point. According to Smith's list (Pocket Companion, Dublin, 1735), No. 36 (recte 35) was held in the Regiment of Major General Nicholas Price, the head of a well-known County Down family. He was succeeded by Philip Bragg, 10th October, 1734. The Regiment had been stationed in Ireland from 1719 till 1743. The Lodge does not appear on our earliest surviving Roll, written up about 1760, and the inference is that it had either disappeared, or lost its Warrant in some of the many mishaps due to the misfortunes of war.

The Lodge in the 21st Foot, Royal Scots Fusiliers, which was refused recognition by the Provincial Grand Lodge in 1772, is perhaps another instance. According to Smith, No. 34 (recte 33) was held in the Royal Regiment of North British Fusiliers, and, again, there is no entry on the first series of our Irish Register, but the number was not erased until 1801. The Regiment was granted No. 136 on 6th October, 1803, which they exchanged for a new Warrant No. 33, on 24th June, 1817. In the meantime, the old Warrant No. 33 had turned up, sadly defaced. Bro. Robert L. Murray, writing from Hobart Town, Tasmania, in 1837, where the Regiment was then stationed, says that he had examined the Transactions carefully and found that "they had, for upwards of Fifty Years, in various parts of the World: Ireland, England, Scotland, Sicily, Malta, West Indies, Gibraltar, America, &c., worked in all the Orders, and on more than one occasion granted Dispensation Warrants in Foreign Countries, in the Blue, the Red, and the Black Orders . . ." The Lodge was rendered stationary in Hobart Town, 8th August, 1837, and returned to Grand Lodge in 1864.

The absence of a Lodge in Otway's, 35th Foot, is striking; this unit, now masquerading as the 1st Battalion, the Royal Sussex, was raised in and around Belfast in 1701, by Arthur, Third Earl of Donegall. It served with distinction in Spain, where its commander lost his life at the Battle of Almanza. Returning to Ireland, it served in that country till 1756. Warrant No. 205, granted 7th February, 1750, to the 27th Foot (Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers), was transferred to the 35th Foot about 1785, but left at Moy, County Tyrone, then a Military station, 3rd August, 1790, when the Battalion was, doubtless, once more about to leave for overseas.

Bro. MILBORNE writes in reply:—

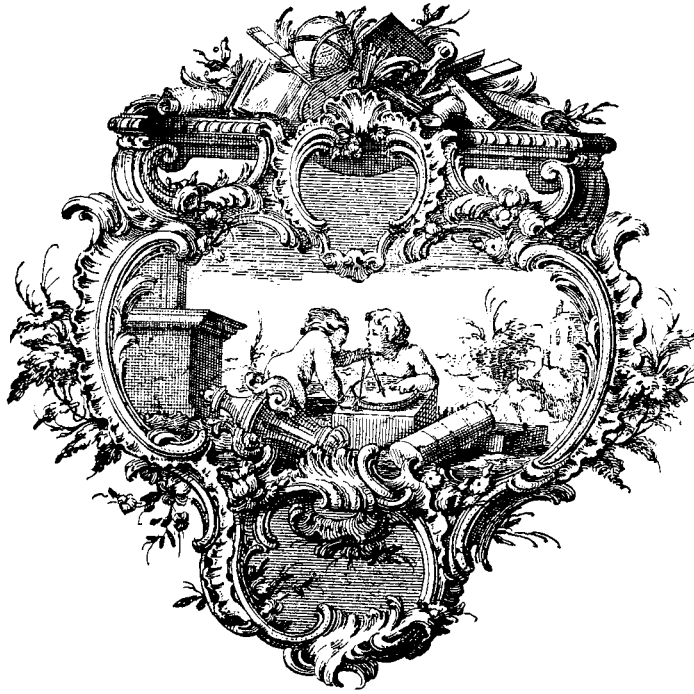
I gratefully acknowledge the vote of thanks so kindly proposed by Bro. Norman Rogers and seconded by Bro. G. Y. Johnson. I also wish to thank Bro. Carr for his kindness in reading my paper to the Lodge.

It is always gratifying to bring to light contemporary comments upon the Masonic scene, and I was sure that Bro. Gawler's letters would be of interest. Bro. Rogers' comments, and also those of Bro. Pope, indicate that the importance of these letters was greater than I realised.

Bro. Oliver calls attention to our lack of information concerning the Ceremony of Installation. From the sparse records that are available, it is apparent that the Quebec Brethren, though "Modern", practised it, though it is not easy to ascertain anything as to its form. The Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, record under the date December 27th, 1762, "Called the Labourers to work and proceeded to Install our New Officers in their different degrees of preferment", and in 1783 the record runs, "Br. Daniel Bliss Esqr. was installed in Solomon's Chair, according to Custom".

Bro. Parkinson has contributed valuable notes on some of the military Lodges mentioned in my paper. The transfer of Warrants from one Regiment to another is but another difficulty in following the activities of military Masons. The date of transfer of Warrant No. 205, I.C., is not definitely known, but it was after August 9th, 1783, the date of a Certificate issued by

the Lodge when it was still with the 27th Regiment, preserved in the U.G.L. Library. Bro. Philip Crossle, in some notes in Vol. iv of the *Transactions of the American Lodge of Research* (p. 124), writes that the 27th Foot held an Irish Warrant No. 23, not No. 24, as given by Gould (*Hist.*, Vol. iii, p. 401). Apparently, the Lodge did not flourish, the existence of the Warrant appears to have been forgotten, and, when interest in Masonry revived, the Regiment obtained Warrant No. 205. Bro. Crossle suggests that when the Regiment was at St. Lucia, the old Warrant was found in the regimental baggage, and the later Warrant No. 205 was then transferred to the 35th Regiment, which was then also serving in St. Lucia.



FRIDAY, 4th MARCH, 1955



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., S.W.; B. W. Oliver, 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.G.D., P.M., D.C.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., Steward; and J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. H. Muffett, E. Ward, *Sir* George Boag, D. M. Penrose, H. Nuttall, A. Parker Smith, N. O. Taylor, C. T. Beynon, R. A. Pratley, A. S. Trapnell, F. L. Bradshaw, H. D. Colaco Osorio, A. J. Beecher Stow, J. D. de S. McElwain, C. R. Manasseh, A. P. Cawadias, B. Foskett, K. Astrup, T. A. Sanson, J. C. Wainwright, J. N. Banks, H. M. Yeatman and F. Taylor.

Also the following Visitor:—Bro. R. W. Smith, Lodge 7203.

Letters of apology for absence 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.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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.*, P.G.D. (I.C.); 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.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), I.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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., I.G.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.D.; and A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D.

Two Lodges and sixty Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle, and it was announced that the previous peak number of 3,577 members of the Circle had now been exceeded by ten; the Master paid tribute to Bro. G. Y. Johnson, who had started the campaign for an increased membership, and to Bro. Wallace E. Heaton, who had done so much to further it; also to our many Local Secretaries, to whose labours the satisfactory results are mainly due.

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS

Lent by Grand Lodge:—

Photograph of Joseph Brandt, the Red Indian Freemason.

Photograph of the Certificate of Joseph Brandt.

Lent by Bro. E. Ward:—

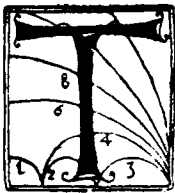
Minute Book of the R.A. Chapter in the 68th Regiment.

The second part of Bro. A. J. B. MILBORNE's paper, entitled *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, 1759-1792*, was read by Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS, as follows:—

THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF QUEBEC 1759-1792

PART II

BY BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE



THE First Battalion of the Royal Artillery returned to England in July, 1773, taking with it the Lodge No. 9, warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge in June, 1770. The Master, Corporal James Hume, was provided with a letter addressed to Bro. James Heseltine, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, recommending him and his comrades as "true and faithful Brethren". In the following year the Lodge reported to Quebec that it had been refused recognition because the registration fee had not been received. On 1st March, 1775, James Thompson, the Provincial Grand Secretary, wrote to the Grand Secretary that "on examining our proceedings we find that the usual fees had not been remitted, however, that not being their fault, we hope on receipt hereof, their body will be enregistered agreeable to the date of their Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge here, and the bearer of this will pay you the Three Guineas". The "bearer" referred to was Bro. Gawler. However, the Artillerymen had taken a Warrant from the "Ancients" before the remittance reached him, and on its receipt, he wrote to Quebec for instructions as to its disposal. He was instructed to pay it back to the Artillerymen, "we believe we can't do less and be found on the Square". The Ancient Warrant taken by the Battalion was No. 187, dated 28th April, 1774, and the Lodge was held at the Mitre Inn, Globe Lane, Chatham. Lane notes that there is no record of it after 1777.¹

The Siege of Quebec by the Americans in 1775, under Generals Benedict Arnold and Richard Montgomery,² temporarily halted the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

The Committee for answering letters wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England on 7th November, 1776:—

We cannot say much of the flourishing state of the Craft here, War was never a friend to it. We have some Lodges who again now punctually meet and work, and trust the Spirit will revive. We have desired our esteem'd brother Gawler to pay you One Guinea as acknowledgment, we esteem your Lodge our head.

The Committee also circularised the Lodges:—

We, a Committee appointed by the Grand Lodge to look into and endeavour to raise the low state of Masonry in this Province towards its wonted splendour, do most earnestly recommend to all and every one of you on your parts, to be assisting as far as it is in your power, not only in punctual opening of your Lodge, and working at the stated times, but that each one will, where he has an intimate acquaintance, warmly remind him in a brotherly manner of his Duty and interest to rejoin his Lodge. This will redound to the honour of the Craft in general but much more so to your own Lodge . . .

The Craft in Quebec sustained a severe loss in the death of Bro. John Aitken, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, who died in 1776. He was a pillar of strength to the Provincial Grand Master, John Collins, whose duties as Surveyor-General took him upon frequent journeys away from Quebec. Bro. Aitken was buried with Masonic and military honours, and his funeral is vividly described in a letter included in the collection of *Letters of Bruns-*

¹ Lane, *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 140.

² *A.Q.C.*, lxx., p. 26.

wick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution made by Professor A. L. Scholzen and printed in his *Letter Exchange*.¹

In the following October, the Quebec Lodges requested the Provincial Grand Master to call a meeting of Grand Lodge and urged him to appoint a deputy. Collins complied with this request, and in the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, 30th November, 1776, it is recorded that Thomas Aylwin, formerly a member of Merchants' Lodge who affiliated with St. Andrew's Lodge in 1774, had been appointed to the vacant office, and "more business of consequence was done for reviving the once Dying Spirit of the Craft".

Under the Quebec Act of 1774, the northern part of what is now the State of Michigan, including Detroit and Machilimackinac, became British territory.

On 6th September, 1777, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec wrote to the Brethren of Harmony Lodge, Detroit:—

By act of the British Legislature you are now in this Province, therefore with pleasure, we begin a correspondence that our Duty and Interest prompt us to.

You will please, as is your duty, to correspond with and look up to us as your Provincial Grand Lodge . . . We do not think it is absolutely necessary for you to have a new Warrant from us, but if it be your desire you will please to send down a copy of your old Warrant, and who your choice of Officers are, and we will send you a new one free of charge, but that of the Grand Secretary which is half a guinea . . .

We are in a flourishing state here, although our work was hindered by the Siege and Blockade of the Rebels, yet when that was raised, we renewed our Vigour and are in the full blossom of Love and Harmony.

The identification of Harmony Lodge presents some difficulty. An Officers' Lodge in the 1st Battalion of the 60th Regiment, bearing that name but without a local number, was reported to London in 1766, which suggests that it had not been warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec. The 1st Battalion of the 60th Regiment, or a detachment of it, was in Detroit in 1764, possibly earlier. The Battalion went to Jamaica in 1772² under the command of Colonel Augustine Prevost, and returned to Boston in 1775. In reporting this Lodge to London later in the year (1777) and also in 1785, the Provincial Grand Lodge notes that the Lodge was warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York. Robertson says that there is no trace of such a Lodge at this period in the records of the Grand Lodge of New York,³ but this is not conclusive as a number of warrants known to have been issued by George Harison and Sir John Johnson have not been identified.⁴

On 14th April, 1778, Bro. Heseltine wrote to the Brethren of Union Lodge No. 1 at Detroit, acknowledging receipt of ten guineas, and assuring them

that it will afford us a singular pleasure to preserve a regular correspondence with gentlemen and brethren whose zeal does so much honour to the Society . . . Your Lodge is now entered in our books, and stands numbered 510 in our books . . . As there is a Provincial Grand Lodge for Canada, regularly established, you will from your situation, of course, be properly within that jurisdiction, and we wish you to act in conjunction with them accordingly.

The identification of the Lodge to which this letter was addressed also presents difficulty. After puzzling over it for many years, I have reached the conclusion that it was the Lodge No. 1, warranted by George Harison, Provincial Grand Master of New York, which adopted the name "Union" after it had been opened, and which granted a certificate to Thomas Robinson, dated Detroit, 18th August, 1767.⁵ It is known that Lieutenant John Christie, one of the original grantees of this Warrant, went to the West Indies in 1772,⁶ and that the 1st Battalion of the 60th Regiment sailed from New York for the West Indies in November of that year.⁷ I think Christie must have taken the Warrant with him and that Union Lodge No. 12, of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Jamaica, which appears in the West Indies in 1775, is the same Lodge.

I believe it to be very probable that the Lodge in Detroit which Dejean referred to in 1772 as "the Merchants' Lodge (No. 1 of New York)", existed in virtue of a dispensation granted by Christie when he left Detroit to enable the Brethren initiated in the settlement to continue working. I also think that when the 60th Regiment came back to Canada after

¹ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 46; *Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1934-39, p. 150.

² *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iii, p. 136.

³ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 192.

⁴ Hughan and Stillson, *History of Freemasonry and Concordant Orders*, p. 255.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxii, p. 272; *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. v, p. 152.

⁶ W. O. Letter. December 14th, 1946.

⁷ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iii, p. 136.

the American Revolution, the Lodge came back with it, still calling itself "Union No. 1". I had also formed the opinion that when Heseltine informed the Lodge that it was registered under the No. 501, he overlooked the fact that it was already registered under the No. 488, and that on discovering his error, the entry was erased, and the Lodge at Messina registered in its stead. Bro. Ivor Grantham, the Librarian of the Grand Lodge of England, has gone to a great deal of trouble in examining the printed lists of Lodges, and he found that the entry was erased on the printed list which served the Grand Secretary as a draft for the next issue and the Lodge at Messina substituted in its stead. He also found that a notation "10 Gs" against the entry No. 501 had also been struck out, and that the word "Union" and the notation "10 Gs" have been added in ink to the entry "No. 448 Lodge at Detroit in Canada" in the same printed list. I have already shown that No. 448 was the number of the Dejean Lodge at Detroit, and I believe that the confusion concerning the Lodges at Detroit stems from the error on the part of someone in the Grand Secretary's Office in adding the word "Union" to the entry under the No. 448. The subscription of ten guineas should, I believe, have been noted against No. 488 "Union Lodge at Curaçoa No. 12".

Lane gives the date 1755 for the date of registration of Union Lodge No. 488, but I think this must be a misprint for 1775 as the Jamaican Lodges Nos. 8 to 12 (Nos. 483, 485, 486, 487 and 488) were reported to England as a group and registered at the same time—in 1775. I may add that the "Date of Warrant or Constitution" given by Lane may be the actual date of the Warrant, the date the registration fee was received by the Grand Lodge, or the date of the letter of the Provincial Grand Secretary reporting the constitution of the Lodge, provided he at the same time remitted the registration fee.

The "Upper" country was now rapidly developing, and in 1780 the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec granted a warrant to Brethren at Niagara to open a Lodge. This Lodge was named "St. John's Lodge of Friendship" and was numbered 11 on the local roll, but it was not registered in England. This Lodge appears to have been the same Lodge, or the predecessor of the Lodge of Friendship No. 2 on the roll of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada ("Ancients"), whose history is fully related by Robertson.¹

St. George's Lodge held in the 31st Regiment of Foot (the East Surrey Regiment), in virtue of a Scottish warrant dated 10th July, 1761, and numbered 108, appears on the local roll without a local number in 1780. Nothing is known of the Lodge's activities while it was in Quebec, except that it was in St. John's in 1787, when a certificate was issued to William Bell.² The Lodge received a Duplicate Charter, 2nd December, 1805, and was erased in 1816.³

The Provincial Grand Lodge warranted a Lodge in the Anhalt-Zerbst Regiment in 1780. This was registered in England under the No. 516, the local number being 12. The Regiment was one of those that came to Canada in 1776 under agreement with Charles, Duke of Brunswick, with Major-General Frederick Adolph von Reidesel in command. Nothing is known of the activities of the Lodge, or how long it remained in existence.

Unity Lodge at Sorel was warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge on January 27th, 1781, with the local number 13. It was not registered in England. The grantees of the warrant were John Jones, Junior, Master; James Grant, S.W.; and William Stapleton, J.W. It is not known how long this Lodge was in existence, but a member of it visited St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, in 1785. There is a record of the celebration of St. John's Day by the Lodge in 1783, when a sermon was delivered by the Rev. George Gilmore, the text of which was printed in London in 1788.⁴

The 8th Regiment came to Canada in 1768 to relieve the 15th Regiment, and was stationed at Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers and Chambly until 1773, when it was ordered to Upper Canada, a detachment of 180 men serving at Detroit in 1779. Although the Provincial Grand Lodge warranted an Officers' Lodge in the Regiment in 1769, there is no indication that the English Lodge, originally numbered 255, and constituted 15th February, 1755, held in the Regiment, came under its jurisdiction until 1781. On 26th June of that year, the Master, Sergeant John McLauchlan, wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England from Niagara that "from the uncertainty of corresponding with you in these times, we beg leave to inform you, that we have on that account renewed our correspondence with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec". The use of the word "renewed" in this letter is significant, but the only earlier association of the Lodge with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec is in 1770, when the Master and Wardens are recorded as being present at a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on the 5th March, and a record in the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, of 13th September, 1770, that at a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on the 10th of that month, Sergeant Morris, of the

¹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 502.

² *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxv, p. 236.

³ Draffen, *Scottish Masonic Records*, p. 13.

⁴ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iv, p. 343.

8th Regiment No. 195, was "Excluded". Robertson appears to have considered that the Officers' Lodge and the English Lodge were one and the same,¹ but this was not the case. Robertson also says that the Lodge had the local number 5 in an official list of 1787,² although the Lodge had then returned to England and was, in fact, at Salisbury in 1785, when the Lodge issued a Certificate to Robert Daniel.³ The Regiment returned to Canada in 1808, but the activities of its Lodge then lie outside the scope of this paper.

During its sojourn in Canada the Lodge appears to have initiated a number of civilians. Among these was the Rev. Léger Jean-Baptiste Noel Veyssiere, who had been appointed to inaugurate an Anglican Parish at Three Rivers in 1767. The reverend gentleman had forsaken the Roman Catholic Church, in which, under the name of Father Immanuel, he had been admitted a member of the Recollet Order in December, 1758. His apostacy was complete when he married Mrs. Elizabeth Brooks, of Quebec, the ceremony being conducted by the Rev. Montmollin, and witnessed by James Montgomery, the Chaplain of the 10th Regiment. The regimental Lodge of the 8th Regiment recommended the formation of a civilian Lodge at Three Rivers in December, 1771, and suggested that Bro. Veyssiere be named the Master. The recommendation was received at Quebec during the temporary absence of the Provincial Grand Master. The Deputy Provincial Grand Master, James Aitken in acknowledging it, wrote that the request would be placed before the Provincial Grand Master in due course, but that he (Aitken) would object to "so young a Mason being put in as Principal Officer in a New Body". Bro. Aitken continued:—

Indeed, so long as a military Lodge remains in the Town of Three Rivers, I see at present no good reason for granting a Constitution to the Inhabitants — their numbers being so very small, and I dare say the Military Lodge will always readily receive them either as members or visitors, but if, hereafter, it shall appear that there are a Sufficient Number of Inhabitants Lawfully admitted, I will be one of the first to Solicit the Provincial Grand Master to grant them a Constitution.

The Warrant was not issued

In 1779 the Provincial Grand Lodge established a Charity Fund, the plan being approved at an Extra Grand Lodge. Twenty-five pounds was to be paid in "by every civil Lodge in the Province to lay the foundation of that Stock". St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, unanimously approved the proposal, and the "Treasurer was ordered to pay that sum to the Grand Treasurer as soon as the Subscription Book is opened in Grand Lodge."⁴

On the 12th May, 1781, a Lodge known as St. James' Lodge was warranted in the King's Rangers at Cataragui (now Kingston, Ont.), numbered 14 on the local roll and registered under the No. 518 in England. The Lodge is said to have held its meetings in the old French fort, and among the early members were Major James Rogers, Master, Captain John Walden (or Walter) Meyers, Senior Warden, and Lieutenant William Buell, Junior Warden, Captain Ozariah Pritchard, Lieutenant Solomon Johns, James Taylor and William Marsh, all of the King's Rangers. No records of this Lodge have been found, but it appears to have lapsed in or prior to 1787. James Rogers was the father of Robert Rogers, the Governor of Machilimackinac in 1776. Captain Meyers was formerly a member of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec.

St. John's Lodge was established at Machilimackinac (now Mackinaw, at the northern tip of the Lower Peninsula of the State of Michigan, U.S.A.) by Provincial Warrant No. 15, issued in 1782. This Warrant was registered in England under the No. 465. Beyond the tradition that the Lodge met in the upper part of the blockhouse of the Fort at Machilimackinac, no information concerning this Lodge has come to light.

In August, 1782, Select Lodge No. 16 at Montreal was constituted at Montreal by the Provincial Grand Lodge and registered under the No. 519. St. Peter's Lodge and St. Paul's Lodge were both actively functioning in Montreal at the time, and St. Peter's Lodge supplied a copy of its By-Laws to the new Lodge.⁵ No records of the Lodge are known to exist, and the only member who has been identified is William Hughes, the Master in 1783.

In 1782 the Provincial Grand Lodge set up two Committees — one to examine the By-Laws of the various Lodges, and the other to "look into and Settle the best mode of Working, &c., in order that uniformity may take place". The recommendation of the first Committee as to balloting, and that of the second Committee as to the drinking of toasts, has already been referred to in these *Transactions*.⁶ In addition, this second Committee recommended:—

¹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 254.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 259.

⁴ Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, 8th April, 1779.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxii, p. 274.

⁶ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxx, p. 28.

1. That Lecturing and Working be considered in future as two branches quite distinct the one from the other.
2. That in opening a Lodge, the Master should address the S. Warden first, and not the Junior Deacon.
3. That the repetition of the Senior and Junior Wardens at the opening, and by the Junior Warden on closing the Lodge is entirely unnecessary.
4. That the Lodges be called in due time from work to Refreshment, but with this Caveat, vizt., that all business be finally settled before refreshment, and that no debate or altercation take place after refreshment, but that all motions made then be minuted, and referred to the next meeting.

The 34th Regiment received a Warrant to establish a Lodge in March, 1783, which was registered in England under the No. 466. The Lodge was named "Barry Lodge", after Colonel (later General) Barry St. Leger, and bore the local number 17. Gould incorrectly ascribed this Lodge to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada,¹ and Robertson has apparently followed him.² The Regiment was in Montreal as late as 1787, but nothing is known of the activities of the Lodge. Colonel Barry St. Leger was a Captain in the 48th Regiment in 1758, and was appointed Major to the First Brigade in July, 1760, in Murray's expedition to Montreal.³ It is not known where he was initiated, but he became a member of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, on 16th April, 1778.⁴ Bro. Dr. Robert Kerr, who had been a member of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec,⁵ and who in 1807 was appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada, was a member of Barry Lodge.

In 1783, owing to the illness of Bro. John Collins, and the departure from Quebec on military duties of the Deputy, Colonel McBean, the affairs of the Provincial Grand Lodge suffered from neglect. The care of the orphan child of a deceased Brother named Chisholm had fallen upon the members of St. Andrew's Lodge, and, although a grant from the Grand Lodge Charity Fund had been authorised, they were unable to obtain payment. The members of the Lodge and also those of St. Patrick's Lodge presented a joint Memorial to the Provincial Grand Master on 30th May, 1783, setting forth their grievances. Following a reference to the "general indolence" that had "taken place of that assiduous care so highly necessary to promote the laudable scheme"—the Charity Fund—the Memorialists continued:—

That we are at the same time satisfied that your Indisposition together with a multiplicity of Public business has been the cause of your not being at our head at our Quarterly Communications, from which we allude the first Cause of our Complaint, by its depriving us of that Assistance and Consequence which your Wisdom and Rank make so essentially necessary. But this is not all, our worthy and Right Worshipful Deputy Provincial Grand Master Colonel MacBean's Military service calling him from hence, prevents his giving that aid, which his heart would rejoice in. Thus we are left without the fostering care of a head to regulate our Conduct in every matter our noble Institution requires of us punctually to observe.

That while our worthy Brother Thomas Aylwin Esq., was under you at our head, he was indefatigable in the Duties of his high office, and paid the greatest attention to every Lodge in particular by which means he acquired a thorough knowledge of our ancient customs, which afforded us the pleasing thought, not only of seeing you exempted from the Laborious parts of the Great Trust, but ourselves made familiar to our Duty as Individuals.

That we now severely feel the want of such an Officer and much dread the consequences, therefore.

We, the Masters, Wardens and Members of the aforesaid Lodges pray that you will be pleased to take these Grievances under your serious consideration and order such arrangements as will promise speedy relief and you will do justice.

The Memorial was received by R.W. Brother Collins just as he was leaving the city on public business, and he replied, "Whoever fills my Chair at next Quarterly Communication I trust will order a Committee to examine minutely into the merits of the complaint and report as the Law directs".

The minutes of a meeting of St. Andrew's Lodge, dated 14th August, 1783, record that "a Grand Lodge of Emergency was held since our last meeting: that it was for the purpose of conferring honorary Masonick titles on Major General Redeasal, Brigadier-General Speight and Lieutenant Graefe in order to entitle them to take a Seat in the Germanick Grand Lodges".

¹ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Vol. iii, p. 402.

² Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 478.

³ Knox, *Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, Vol. ii, p. 464.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, lxx, p. 27.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxx, p. 26.

Any association of General Redeisel, or Brigadier-General Speight with Quebec Lodges has not been traced. Lieutenant Augustine Graefe was a member of Merchants' Lodge, Quebec, in 1782, but whether by initiation or affiliation is not known.¹ He visited Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge on 28th February, 1785, and the minutes of the meeting of that Lodge held on 26th December, 1785, contain the following:—

A letter was received and read from Br. Augustine Graife, Esq., dated 4th October, 1785, requesting that the Lodge would accept as a Token of his respectful Attachment to the Brethren of this Lodge a new collection of Masonic Hymns and Songs set to music, with a Cantata as performed in the Lodge at Brunswick on the so much lamented death of his late Serene Highness Prince Leopold of Brunswick, a Member of that Lodge, and Master of the Lodge at Frankfort, who was unfortunately Drowned in affecting the Preservation of two Peasants from a Motive of Humanity, who otherwise would have perished from a Sudden Inundation.

The Secretary was ordered to write a letter of thanks to Bro. Graefe, a copy of which is added to the minutes.²

Graham³ says the title conferred on these Brethren was that of Honorary Deputy Provincial Grand Master, but his source—the minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, does not mention its nature. He also suggests that they were probably members of the Lodge in the Anhalt-Zerbst Regiment. However, Bro. R. V. Harris informs me that Lieutenant Graefe was not serving in that Regiment. Graham also has difficulty with Graefe's rank, but in all the records I have examined it is given as Lieutenant. In 1784, Bro. Graefe visited St. Andrew's Lodge in his capacity of Acting Deputy Provincial Grand Master.

In 1784 another military Lodge was established by the Provincial Grand Lodge. This was Rainsford Lodge No. 18 in the 44th (East Essex) Regiment. The Warrant was dated 12th September, 1784, and was registered in England under the No. 467. The Lodge was named after Colonel (afterwards General) Charles Rainsford, a member of the Craft who has been frequently mentioned in these *Transactions*.⁴ The Charter members of the Lodge were William Hartley, John Robertson and Lieutenant Henry Rudyerd, of the Royal Engineers. Rudyerd was initiated in Edinburgh in St. George's Lodge No. 108, S.C., held in the 31st Regiment. He was a member and Master of Unity Lodge No. 13, at Sorel, in 1783. In the same year he joined Merchants' Lodge, Quebec, and in 1785 he was appointed Provincial Grand Junior Warden. There is also a certificate in existence dated 10th August, 1785, issued by a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons at Quebec, to him, and also signed by him as "J".⁵

Lane, in his *Masonic Records*, shows Rainsford Lodge, as well as Lodges Nos. 15 and 17 (English Numbers 465, 466 and 467), as having been constituted on 15th November, 1784, but this was the date of the letter written by the Provincial Grand Secretary to the Grand Lodge of England remitting the fees.

The 53rd Regiment, which held an Irish Warrant No. 236 issued in 1753, came to America in 1776. A member of this Lodge visited St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, in 1783, and the Lodge appears in a 1784 list of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec without a local number. There are no entries in the records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland concerning this Lodge after 1775. The Regiment returned to England in 1789.

In 1785 the funds of the Provincial Grand Lodge were exhausted and an appeal was made to the Lodges for certain sums for contingent expenses. St. Andrew's Lodge voted five guineas, but the Lodge "suggested to our W. Master to intimate to the Worshipful Grand Lodge that this Donation should not be considered as a Precedent to authorise them to make similar requests in future unless on a very extraordinary emergency".

The Provincial Grand Lodge of New York ("Ancients") issued a Warrant No. 7 on June 12th, 1783, to establish a Lodge in the Loyal American Regiment then at Ogdensburg. After the disbanding of the Regiment, many of the officers, then on half-pay, settled at Elizabethtown on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, now the site of the City of Brockville. The members being desirous of changing their allegiance from the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, petitioned for a Warrant. This was apparently issued in 1787, and the Lodge was given the Number 14 which had become vacant on St. James' Lodge becoming extinct. The Lodge, known as New Oswegatchie Lodge was registered in England under the No. 520. The early records of the Lodge have been lost, but Robertson gives extracts from a minute book covering the period from 1787 to 1791, and adequately tells the story of the Lodge and its interesting members.⁶ The

¹ A.Q.C. Vol. lxxv, p. 30.

² Oxford, *History of Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge*, p. 54-58.

³ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 51.

⁴ A.Q.C., Vol. viii, p. 83; Vol. xxiv, p. 89; Vol. xxv, p. 152; Vol. xxvi, p. 93; Vol. xxxi, p. 108.

⁵ Certificate in the Wallace Heaton Collection now in the possession of Colonel W. E. Moss.

⁶ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 279.

transfer of this Lodge from "Ancient" to "Modern" jurisdiction appears to have escaped the notice of our early historians.

In 1786 the Hon. John Collins relinquished the office of Provincial Grand Master and Colonel Christopher Carleton, a nephew of Lord Dorchester, with whom he has been confused,¹ was appointed in his place by a Patent issued by the Earl of Effingham, acting for the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns"). Colonel Carleton had formerly served in the 29th Regiment, and was appointed Surveyor-General on 1st May, 1775. Gould originally wrote that Colonel Carleton's appointment as Provincial Grand Master was provisional,² but in Poole's revision of his work this qualification has been dropped.³ Colonel Carleton was a member of Select Lodge, of which he was Master in 1768. He served as Warden of the Provincial Grand Master's Own Select Lodge and as Provincial Grand Junior Warden in 1767 and 1768. He died on 13th June, 1786.

The Lodge of Unity was warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York in 1764 to be held at Fort William Henry built by Sir William Johnson⁴ at the southern end of Lake George, near the present town of Caldwell, then British territory. The Lodge appears on the roll of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec in 1786 with the local number 8. The Lodge was reported to England on 24th October, 1787, as among those which had been recently constituted. There is nothing to indicate that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec issued a new Warrant, but as the Lodge was of "Modern" origin, it may not have been considered necessary. The Lodge was registered in England under the No. 517. Nothing is known of its activities.

On 23rd October, 1787, the Committee appointed to answer letters wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England that "upon the Petition of Lieut-Col. Butler, a Warrant was granted the 10th inst., constituting a Lodge at Niagara by the name of St. John's Lodge No. 19, of which our said brother Col. Butler is appointed Master: the fee of Five guineas for the same together with our Annual Contribution of One Guinea will be given you by our W. Bro. Adam Lymburner, Esq.". The Lodge was registered in England under the No. 521, but there appears to have been some delay in advising Quebec of its registration for the Committee wrote to England on the 13th June, 1788, expressing surprise that it had not been received, adding:—

unless the Provincial Grand Lodge can give the said Lodge at Niagara an assurance that their fees have been regularly paid, so that they may be registered by the Grand Lodge of England, we fear they will follow the example of some other Lodges in this Province by refusing to contribute a single shilling to the contingencies either of this Grand Lodge or that of England, and we will not undertake to answer for the consequences, for with all our attention and zeal & Desire to conform to the true Principles of our institution, we have not been a little reproached, not from any error on this side of the water, and we beg leave to say we have struggled hard to preserve the unanimity & harmony that has hitherto prevailed.

The Charter members were Colonel John Butler, Joseph Clement and Captain John O. Clement. Colonel Butler joined St. Patrick's Lodge No. 4, Provincial Grand Lodge of New York at Johnstown, N.Y., on May 23rd, 1766, but whether as a candidate or by affiliation is not known.⁵ At some period prior to 1795, St. John's Lodge of Friendship No. 11, of which all the charter members of St. John's Lodge were formerly members, amalgamated with No. 19. The Lodge was an active one, and in 1798, when it had gone over to the "Ancients", William Jarvis, the Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada, reported that it had a membership of over a hundred.

Some time after June, 1785, when official duties as Chief of the Commissariat Department took W. Bro. Daniel Bliss, of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, to Fredericton, New Brunswick, he obtained a Warrant to establish a Lodge there, of which he was the first Master. The date of the Warrant is not known, but it was registered in England under the date 2nd April, 1789, with the No. 541, and as the Lodge was next in succession to St. John's Lodge No. 19, it is assumed that its local number was 20.

The opening of this Lodge brings into focus the contending aspirations of the "Modern" and "Ancient" regimes in America, to which hitherto little attention had been paid, particularly by the Brethren adhering to the Modern Provincial Grand Lodges, who were "Traditioners"—the word aptly coined by Bro. J. Heron Lepper to define "Modern" Masons who maintained the traditional modes of recognition.⁶ With the departure from

¹ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 80.

² Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Edin. Edn., Vol. iii, p. 465.

³ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, Poole Revision, Vol. iv, p. 82.

⁴ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iii, p. 437.

⁵ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. ii, p. 108.

⁶ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lvi, p. 138: Vol. lvii, p. 264.

New York in 1775 of Sir John Johnson, the Provincial Grand Master of New York, who derived his authority from the "Moderns", the administration of the Provincial Grand Lodge fell upon the shoulders of his Deputy—Dr. Peter Middleton. Bro. Ossian Lang writes that this tactful leader could have held the Lodges together if Sir John had not taken with him the Deputation giving him authority to direct Masonic affairs in New York.¹ There is considerable doubt if that view of the situation is valid, for it was generally accepted that the functions of a Provincial Grand Master could not be delegated, and were only exercisable by his Deputy during his temporary absence, or, in the event of his death, pending the appointment of a successor by the Grand Master. Putting that question to one side, the facts are that there were eight Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York, while outside it were nine other Lodges of "Ancient", Scottish or Irish origin.² One of these "Ancient" Lodges, seeing an opportunity of uniting the "Ancient" and allied Lodges, under an Ancient Provincial Warrant, called a Convention, which was held on 23rd January, 1781. It was there agreed to apply for a Provincial Warrant from the "Ancients", and after some delay it was obtained. The Provincial Grand Warrant was dated 5th September, 1781. The first meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York under the "Ancient" sanction was held on 5th December, 1782, at which the Rev. William Walter presided as Provincial Grand Master. The new Provincial Grand Master constituted a Lodge in the 3rd Battalion of Delaney's New Jersey Volunteers by Warrant dated 29th January, 1783, and on the 5th February the Lodge was given authority to call itself St. George's Lodge No. 2. In September of the same year the Battalion was ordered to the St. John River, where it was to be disbanded, the officers and men to receive grants of land and subsistence for one year. All trace of the Lodge is lost until 1788, when the Master and officers wrote to the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia ("Ancients") from the County of Sunbury, New Brunswick, "That there being no Grand Lodge at present in this Province, we Conceive ourselves under your immediate Auspice". The Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia appears to have informed the Lodge that it would be impossible to recognise the Lodge's Warrant, because it had been issued as a Travelling Warrant to a Regiment now disbanded, and also because of "its laying so long dormant". In March, 1789, the Secretary of St. George's Lodge wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia giving well-reasoned answers to these objections, but bowed to its decision by sending a memorial for a new Warrant. R.W.Bro. William Campbell, Deputy Grand Master for New Brunswick (then within the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia), recommended that the request contained in the memorial should be granted, and wrote:—

The sooner their Warrant is sent, the better on account of the Modern Warrant Granted by Quebec to Fredericton, as those that sent for that Warrant are Endeavoured to draw some of the members of St. George's Lodge from that Lodge to Join them and become Members of the Modern Lodge, the disadvantages that will proceed to masonry from the said Modern Warrant I am afraid will be great unless prevented in time. I hope you will pardon me when with the Greatest Humility I would propose that the Grand Master should Call a G. Lodge of Emergency to Grant these Brethren a Warrant, but at the same time to Empower you to write and represent to them from the G. Lodge the Impropriety (or rather the Heniousness) of an ancient Mason, to Join or work under a Modern Warrant, assuring them that the Grand Lodge of Canada (even if ancient) could not grant a legal warrant. Indeed, none but Moderns would attempt so wild a scheme, but like the Enthusiast in religion they will sacrifice anything to Incullcate their Modern Masonry—a representation of this nature accompanying their Warrant would have a good Effect, as it would be read to all the Brethren when called together to Install their Officers under their new Warrant, nay I believe if sent soon it would prevent any person (especially the members of St. George's) from joining the Moderns and they would be Oblidged to send their Warrant back to Canada.³

The Provincial Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia issued a Warrant to the Brethren of St. George's Lodge No. 2, N.Y., in response to this petition, and it became known as St. George's Lodge No. 10, P.G.L.N.S.⁴

No records of the Fredericton Lodge have survived, but from other sources it is learned that Lieut.-Colonel Beverley Robinson, of the Loyal American Regiment was the Junior Warden of the Lodge in 1789. Robinson had served throughout the War, and following the close of hostilities he had taken up farming on the St. John River about two miles from

¹ Lang, *History of Freemasonry in New York*, p. 56.

² Tatsch, *Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies*, p. 69.

³ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. v, p. 58.

⁴ Harris, *Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 106.

Fredericton.¹ He had formerly been a member of Lodge No. 210, E.R. ("Ancients"), meeting in New York, and appears in the records of that Lodge as early as 1780.²

In 1788, Sir John Johnson was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Canada by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England. Sir John Johnson was the son of Sir William Johnson and Catherine Wisenberg, and was born at Johnstown, N.Y., on the south bank of the Mohawk River, about 25 miles west of Schenectady, in 1742. He was knighted in 1765 and succeeded to the Baronetcy on the death of his father in 1774. He married Polly Watts, daughter of the Hon. John Watts, President of the Council of Colonial Affairs in New York City. He took part in the French and Indian Wars and in the border warfare during the War of Independence, organising a Loyalist Regiment known as the "Queen's Royal Greens", which he led at the Battle of Oriskany and in the raids (1776-1780) on Cherry Valley and in the Mohawk Valley. He was one of the officers of the force defeated by General John Sullivan in the engagement at Newtown (Elmira), N.Y., on 29th August, 1779. He was made a Brigadier of Provincial Troops in 1782. Following the American Revolution his estates were confiscated, but he received £45,000 from the British Government as compensation for his losses. He moved to Canada, maintaining residences at Montreal, St. Andrew's East and Mount Johnson. He held from 1791 until his death the office of Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs for British North America at a salary of £100 per annum.

Sir John Johnson was initiated about the year 1767 in the Royal Lodge, meeting at the time at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James' Street, London, No. 313, E.R. ("Moderns"). It is not improbable that he affiliated with St. Patrick's Lodge No. 4, P.G.L.N.Y., at Jamestown, N.Y., founded by his father in 1766, as his cousin, Guy Johnson, and his brother-in-law, Daniel Clause, were members, although existing lists of the Lodge do not include his name.³ He was appointed Provincial Grand Master of New York by Lord Blayney in 1767, and there is a record in the minutes of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 4, P.G.L.N.Y., on 5th December, 1767, that he "being lately arrived from London, where he had been entered passed and raised in the Royal Lodge at St. James, and received his constitution as Provisional (*sic*) Grand Master of New York, applied to visit the Lodge, and being examined, was admitted agreeable to his degree". The minutes also record under the date 1st December, 1768, that Sir John Johnson's Warrant of Appointment was read "and that the Brethren thereupon congratulated the Right Worshipful Brother". However, Sir John does not appear to have entered upon his duties until some years later. As no records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York have been preserved, the precise date cannot be fixed, but the Master of St. Patrick's Lodge informed his Brethren on the 7th November, 1770, that "Sir John Johnson had lately been installed into the office of Provincial Grand Master by Grand Officers in New York, and that he intended them the honour of a visit".⁴ However, the Warrant for Solomon's Lodge No. 7, P.G.L.N.Y., was signed by his predecessor—George Harison—on 18th April, 1771, as Provincial Grand Master,⁵ and Lang says that Sir John Johnson was not formally installed until 1771.⁶

No records are to be had of Sir John Johnson's official acts in New York, except the chartering of a Lodge at Schenectady in 1774, and two military Lodges, one in 1775, and the other in the following year.

Sir John Johnson has not received dispassionate treatment at the hands of American Masonic historians. One of them writes: "Johnson was one of the adherents of the royal cause, and sought the protection of the British Army during the troubles of the Revolutionary War. He had for an ally, Brandt, the war chief, who is stated to have been a Mason."⁷ History respects Brandt for the remembrance of his Masonic vows during the bloody scenes of War, but of Johnson it says 'his eyes had become blind to the masonic sign and his ears deaf of the Mason's Word'.⁸ Another refers to him as a "headstrong Loyalist"⁹ and finds his conduct in taking his Deputation with him when he left New York "inexcusable".

As Sir John Johnson resided in Montreal, the Grand East was transferred from Quebec to Montreal, Thomas McCord, a member of St. Peter's Lodge, being appointed Provincial Grand Secretary. William Grant, of Quebec, was appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master.

Union Lodge, Cornwall, Upper Canada, was warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge

¹ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iv, p. 513.

² *ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 117.

³ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. ii, p. 107.

⁴ McClenachan, *History of Freemasonry in New York*, Vol. i, p. 133.

⁵ Lang, *History of Freemasonry in New York*, p. 45.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷ Joseph Brandt, or Joseph Thayeadaneggee, was made a Mason at the Lodge meeting at the Falcon, Princes Street, Leicester Field, as appears from a Certificate signed by James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, 26th April, 1776, a copy of which has been kindly supplied to me by our Bro. Gerard Brett. The original is in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto. The only Lodge meeting at the Falcon was No. 417 E.R. (M) named Hiram's Cliftonian Lodge in 1779.

⁸ Meyer, Hughan and Stillson, *History of Freemasonry and Concordant Orders*, p. 255.

⁹ Lang, *History of Freemasonry in New York*, p. 56.

of Quebec in 1790, reported to England and registered under the No. 521. Robertson¹ writes that the Lodge was warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, but he is clearly in error, for he supports his assertion by stating that in the English Register the Lodge and the one immediately following it were reported by "Mr. Thomas McCord, of Montreal, Prov. G. Secy for Canada, 5 Nov. 1792". The Warrant Numbers 521 and 522 are "Modern" numbers, and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada was "Ancient". From a certificate issued to William Emery in 1799, the Lodge appears to have had the local No. 9, but as there was a local re-numbering of the Lodges in 1792, I believe that it must have had the local No. 21 originally, being the Lodge next in succession to the Lodge of Fredericton. There are no records of the Lodge, except the certificate referred to above. It was probably succeeded by Lodge No. 3, established by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada in 1804.

A Lodge known as St. John's Lodge of Friendship was established at Montreal by Warrant dated March 18th, 1791, and registered in England under the No. 522. The Master, Rossiter Hoyle, visited St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal, on 7th March, 1792. No records of its activities have survived. It did not go over to the "Ancients" so that it must have disappeared when they gained the ascendancy in Lower Canada. It was numbered 11 on the local roll.

On 3rd September, 1791, Sir John Johnson issued a Warrant to establish Dorchester Lodge at Vergennes, Vermont, a copy of which is to be found in Tillotson's *Ancient Craft Masonry in Vermont*, p. 36. It was not registered in England and carried the No. 12 on the local roll. Lane,² Robertson,³ and Graham,⁴ all give the date of the Warrant as 5th May, 1791. The Warrant recites the date of Sir John Johnson's Patent—5th May, 1788, and evidently the two dates have been confused. One of the grantees of the Warrant was His Excellency Thomas Chittenden, the first Governor of Vermont (1778-1788 and 1790-1796). He was originally a member of Vermont Lodge warranted by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts on 10th November, 1781, which although chartered to meet in Springfield, Vermont, actually met in Charlestown, New Hampshire, until some time in 1788 or 1789. He was also a member of North Star Lodge of Manchester, Vermont, also chartered by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. W.Bro. Chittenden was succeeded by Enoch Woodbridge, formerly a member of North Star Lodge, and who was a Judge of the Vermont Supreme Court. Dorchester Lodge was represented by Enoch Woodbridge, Jabez G. Fitch and Roswell Hopkins when the Grand Lodge of Vermont was formed in October, 1794, and this old Quebec Lodge still heads the list of Lodges of that grand body as No. 1.

The Warrant to Dorchester Lodge was the last to be issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and the last "Modern" Warrant to be issued in Canada, but one more Lodge was established by the "Moderns" by the issue of a Warrant direct from London. This was to establish Rawdon Lodge. The Warrant was numbered 498, dated 15th June, 1792, and was numbered 13 on the local roll. The Rawdon Lodge was to be opened and held "in any convenient place between the three lakes in Upper Canada, Provided the Rt. Wors. Sir John Johnson, Bart., our P.G.M. for Canada shall not object to the holding of such Lodge". The Lodge was opened by the grantees at York, now Toronto. It was a prosperous Lodge, and continued to maintain its association with the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") until 1800, when the Brethren decided to take a Warrant with Royal Arch powers from R.W.Bro. Jarvis, the Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada. They received Warrant No. 16 and functioned as St. John's Royal Arch Lodge.

Lane notes that in 1800 this Lodge became No. 13 on the Register of Montreal and Three Rivers.⁵ This notation is difficult to understand, as the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers were not established until 1823, and there was no Register of "Montreal and Three Rivers". The Lodge was not No. 13 on the Register of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, which came into being in 1792, and there can be no doubt that it followed Dorchester Lodge No. 12 on the Roll of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec.

The presence of "Ancient" Masons in Quebec has been noted as early as 1783,⁶ but it was not until 1785 that the existence of an "Ancient" Lodge came to the attention of the Quebec Brethren.⁷ This Lodge was No. 213, E.R., warranted in 1781 by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York ("Ancients") in the Fourth Battalion of the Royal Artillery. On leaving New York in 1783 the Battalion was divided, two companies going to Nova Scotia, one to Newfoundland, one to Jamaica, and four to "Canada". Of the four companies in

¹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 278.

² Lane, *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 482.

³ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 175.

⁴ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 73.

⁵ Lane, *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 226.

⁶ A.Q.C., Vol. lxx, p. 29.

⁷ A.Q.C., Vol. lvii, p. 268.

"Canada", two companies appear in War Office records as being mustered in Quebec in 1785.¹ Robertson writes that Lodge No. 213 was with the detachment in Newfoundland, but this was not the case, and he was probably misled by the practice among military Lodges of granting Dispensations.² Bro. R. V. Harris has established that on 27th December, 1785, Major Wm. O. Huddleston's company at St. John's, Newfoundland, received such a Dispensation from Lodge No. 213 to hold a "junior Lodge", with Peter Geddes as Master.³ Peter Geddes was Master of Lodge No. 213 some time before 1785.⁴ The posting of the Battalion in detachments at various points undoubtedly split the membership of the Lodge, and probably accounts for the fact that the Lodge does not appear to have met in Quebec until 1785—two years after the Battalion left New York. The Battalion returned to England in 1787, and while there the Lodge purchased the vacant Warrant No. 9, originally issued June 12th, 1752. The Battalion was posted again to Quebec in 1790, and a meeting of Lodge No. 9 is recorded on November 4th, 1790. The Lodge was re-numbered 17 at the Union, and by Warrant dated 27th January, 1829, it became a civilian Lodge, adopting the name "Albion". On 3rd April, 1862, the United Grand Lodge of England issued a Warrant authorising the Lodge to wear a Centenary Jewel. As has been shown, the Lodge was not formed until 1781, and the Centenary Warrant recognises a pseudo-antiquity obtained by the purchase of the Warrant No. 9 of 1752. The Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Quebec two months after its formation, in 1869, and is now No. 2 on the Register of that grand body.

While the Fourth Battalion of the Royal Artillery was in England, another "Ancient" Lodge, No. 241, was established in the Artillery detachment stationed in Quebec by Warrant dated October 22nd, 1787. Robertson mistakenly ascribed this Lodge to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec ("Moderns"),⁵ and Graham is equally at fault in writing that this Lodge was the first "Ancient" Lodge to meet in the City of Quebec,⁶ for the earlier existence of Lodge No. 213 is demonstrated by the entry in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland dated 1st June, 1786, which records the reading of a letter from the Lodge which was written from Quebec.⁷ At the Union, Lodge No. 241 was re-numbered 302, and in 1832, 214. On 24th June, 1852, it received a Warrant of Confirmation as St. John's Lodge No. 214, the original Warrant having become defaced. The number of the Lodge was changed again in 1863 to 182. The Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Quebec on its formation, and is now No. 3 on the Register of that grand body.

Defection from the ranks of the "Moderns" is first noted in 1788, when Bro. James Barker, formerly a member of Unity Lodge No. 13 at Sorel, "craved to become a member" of Lodge No. 241, E.R. ("Ancients"), and "be healed from Modern to Ancient Masonry which was agreed to and performed, and he was admitted a member".⁸ Other "Modern" Masons also seceded, and in 1791 a group of Brethren from the Merchants' Lodge and St. Andrew's Lodge petitioned the Grand Lodge of England ("Ancients") for a Warrant. The petition was granted, and a new Merchants' Lodge was constituted under a Warrant dated December, 1790, and registered under the No. 265. In December, 1791, the Lodge purchased the vacant Warrant No. 40 from the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England.

Bro. Alexander Wilson, a Surgeon in the Royal Artillery, and a member of Merchants' Lodge No. 265, E.R. (A.), wrote to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England ("Ancients") on 30th October, 1791:—

We must have a Grand Master, and as we have no very great prospect at this moment of getting a man in high rank to fill that office, I hereby empower you to offer my services . . . to act as Deputy Grand Master for this Province . . . until we can find a person of more elevated station in life.⁹

The Grand Lodge accepted the proposal, and at a meeting held on 7th March, 1792, Bro. Wilson was appointed Substitute Grand Master for the Province of Lower Canada. The Grand Lodge had taken notice of the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, under which Canada was divided into two parts—Lower and Upper Canada—and at the same meeting Bro. William Jarvis, the Secretary to the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Lt.-Col. John Graves Simcoe, was "invested with a like appointment for the said Province of Upper Canada".

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent came to Canada with his regiment, the 7th Fusiliers, arriving at Quebec on August 11th, 1791. He was a "Modern" Mason and held

¹ Letter from Public Record Office, 15th Sept., 1950, 12362/12608, CDR.

² Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 156, 175.

³ Harris, *Beginnings of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 100; *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxx, p. 30.

⁴ *Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. ii, p. 117.

⁵ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 175.

⁶ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 85.

⁷ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 162.

⁸ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 86.

⁹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 345.

the office of Provincial Grand Master of Gibraltar, to which he had been appointed in 1790.

On 27th December, 1791, the Masters and Wardens of the three "Ancient" Lodges in Quebec addressed a joint letter to the Grand Lodge advising that His Royal Highness had "made himself known to our brother Alexander Wilson as an Ancient Mason". There is no record of a "healing", and it is, therefore, assumed that the Duke was a "Traditioner". His Royal Highness had consented to become Provincial Grand Master of Upper and Lower Canada, and the Lodges prayed that a Warrant of Appointment should be issued to him.

Bro. Robert Leslie, the Grand Secretary of the "Ancients", replied to Bro. Wilson on 21st April, 1792, advising him that

The Province of Upper and Lower Canada having been separated both in their political and Masonic Jurisdiction before we received your communication respecting the appointment of the Prince, and the former Province being then under the Masonic direction of our R.W.Bro. Jarvis, we were unable to confer the Masonic government of both provinces on His Royal Highness which otherwise we should have been happy to have done.¹

The Duke's appointment was therefore limited to the Province of Lower Canada.

It is important to note that as soon as the Duke of Kent had been installed as Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada, he expressed a wish that a Committee be formed "for the purpose of meeting the Officers of the different bodies acting under the Modern sanction, if possible, to form a Coalition of Parties". This wish was conveyed to the members of Lodge No. 241 at a meeting held on 17th December, 1792, and two members were appointed to serve on the Committee.

The Deputy Grand Master, William Grant, and other Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec attended the celebration of St. John's Day, 27th December, 1792, held under the sponsorship of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, and at an emergent meeting of Lodge No. 9, a letter, addressed to the Deputy Grand Master of the latter body, was submitted for the approval of the Lodge enquiring if

Bro. Grant and the rest of the Grand Officers of the Modern Grand Lodge had been regularly dealt with and healed to Ancient Masonry according to Ancient custom . . . Tho' we cannot entertain the smallest doubt (after introducing the different Antient Lodges into their Company, and what passed in their presence last St. John's Day) but that the above must undoubtedly have been the case, still we conceive a positive answer to the above question absolutely necessary, and wish to have it transmitted to us officially from the Grand Lodge that we may govern ourselves accordingly.²

On the eve of the departure of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent from Quebec for the West Indies in January, 1794, an address signed by William Grant, the Deputy Grand Master of the "Moderns", and by Thomas Ainslie, the Deputy Grand Master of the "Ancients", was presented to His Royal Highness expressing their regret at his departure, and containing the significant phrase, "We have a confidential hope that under the conciliatory influence of Your Royal Highness the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in His Majesty's Dominions will soon be united." In acknowledgment, His Royal Highness wrote, "You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted that the much wished for union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."

The appointment of the Committee in 1792 is now generally recognised as the first indication of the movement in the direction of the amalgamation of the two bodies of Freemasons, which reached its culmination with the Union in 1813, and is five years before any recorded action in England—the introduction at the meeting of the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" held in December, 1797, of the resolution by Bro. Moreton for the appointment of a Committee "to meet one that may be appointed by the Grand Lodge of Modern Masons, and with them to effect a Union".³ The project was doubtless the subject of unofficial discussion earlier stimulated by the publication in *The Freemasons' Magazine*, London, in 1794, of a report of the Quebec proceedings.⁴

There can be little doubt that the acceptance of the office of Provincial Grand Master by the Duke of Kent lent great prestige to the "Ancients", and in the City of Quebec the "Modern" Lodges soon disappeared. In Montreal, however, St. Paul's Lodge continued to work under its "Modern" Warrant until 1797, when the officers and Brethren petitioned the Grand Lodge of Lower Canada for a Warrant, which was issued on May 1st of that year, and they were "healed" from "Modern" to "Ancient" Freemasonry. Control of the

¹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, p. 348.

² Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 95.

³ Daynes, *The Birth and Growth of the Grand Lodge of England*, p. 93.

⁴ Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 100.

Lodges established in Upper Canada passed to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada under the Provincial Grand Master, William Jarvis.

The reign of the "Moderns" in Quebec was thus brought to an end.

Sir John Johnson died at his residence at the corner of Craig Street and Delorimier Avenue, Montreal, in 1830, at the age of 88, and was buried with military and Masonic honours. A special meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry was held, with the Provincial Grand Master, R.W.Bro. John Molson, presiding. The minutes record that

The Provincial Grand Lodge was passed from the Third to the First Degree, when the private Lodges having been called in the procession was formed and proceeded to the residence of the deceased in St. Mary's suburbs. The Grand Lodge was then resumed to the Third Degree and the usual solemnities performed, after which the Grand Lodge having been again passed to the First Degree, a procession was again formed and proceeded with the body to Christ Church, and thence to the Banks of the St. Lawrence where the body was embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the family vault at St. Mary's.¹

The service at Christ Church, of which Sir John was listed as a pewholder in 1789, was conducted by Bro. the Rev. Brooke Bridges Stevens, Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces. The point in the funeral ceremonies when the body was removed from the gun carriage to be taken across the St. Lawrence for burial at the summit of Mount Johnson has been depicted in a mural in the Memorial Hall of the Montreal Masonic Memorial Temple, painted by Bro. Adam Sheriff Scott.

I acknowledge with grateful thanks the help generously given to me over the years by Bro. Reginald V. Harris, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, the able assistance of Bro. Ivor Grantham, our Grand Librarian, and the kindly advice of Bro. R. J. Meekren in the preparation of this paper.

On the conclusion of the paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Milborne for his most interesting paper, and to Bro. Lewis Edwards for the excellent manner in which he had prepared and read the reading-version. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, the Master, S.W. and Bro. G. S. Draffen.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS, W.M., said:—

Here, again, we have a factual paper on the History of Freemasonry in the great Dominion of Canada, which throws much light on eighteenth century activities and adds greatly to our knowledge of affairs. True it is that there is little room for criticism, or even for additions to be made.

It is rather strange to find that, even in the Colonies at as early a date as 1782, a Provincial Grand Lodge should make certain intriguing recommendations bearing on the working in pre-Union days, about which we know so little. Particularly is this the case when we consider the Committee set up to "look into and Settle the best mode of Working &c., in order that uniformity may take place", and the further decisions, including the separation of Lectures and Working. This is over thirty years before the Lodge of Reconciliation dealt with them here.

There appear to me to be two lessons which evolve from this paper:—

1. That many Military Lodges were established abroad long before they were registered with the Grand Lodge of England.
2. That it is well to distinguish between the dates of Warrants and the dates of Constitutions of Lodges, for the one is sometimes taken for the other. The example quoted of the Constitution of Lodges 465, 466 and 467 as being different from Lane's *Masonic Records* can be matched by the example of this Quatuor Coronati Lodge, whose Warrant is dated November, 1884, but whose Consecration only took place in 1886.

Another interesting note, at any rate to me, is the mention of the Lodge of Unity being warranted in 1764 by the Provincial Grand Lodge of New York to meet at Fort William

¹ Minutes of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry in the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England.



Mural, reproduced by kind permission of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Quebec
(M.W.Bro. Donald L. Witter)

Henry. It was usual at that time for Provincial Grand Masters to issue Warrants to new Lodges under the "Moderns". But my interest stems from the correspondence I had with Bro. Milborne when he presented his previous paper on *The Lodge in the 78th Regiment* two years ago. It appeared that William Henry was a Fort at the southern end of Lake George, formerly British territory, but half-way between Montreal and New York, now in New York State. The *Masonic Year Book* states that District Grand Masters were appointed in 1826 and 1846 for "Montreal and William Henry", another was appointed in 1846 for the "City and District of Quebec and Two Rivers", and that still another was appointed in 1852 for the "City and District of Quebec and Three Rivers," while Bro. Milborne states that the two Provincial Grand Lodges of these names were established in 1823. To prevent confusion in the minds of our members, these differing titles might be cleared up by our contributor.

Our member has again made a remarkable use of the voluminous material at his disposal, and it is with the greatest pleasure that I now propose a warm vote of thanks, first, to Bro. Milborne for his arduous labours on behalf of this Lodge, of which he is a member, and, secondly, to Bro. Lewis Edwards for the excellent reading summary he has given us to-day.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON, S.W., said:—

We have all looked forward to hearing Part II of Bro. Milborne's paper. He must have spent considerable time and trouble in accumulating his facts, and he has succeeded in producing a most interesting story.

One rarely comes across any references to the ritual in the minutes or circulars of old Lodges, but I note that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec set up a Committee in 1782 to "look into and Settle the best mode of Working, &c., in order that uniformity may take place". Many enthusiastic Masons have attempted much the same thing, but with varying success.

The facts concerning the Duke of Kent's tour of duty in Canada are particularly interesting. His Royal Highness was stationed there for about two-and-a-half years, but in that short time the seeds were sown for the Union between the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" and the Grand Lodge of the "Antients". That the Duke of Kent should have been Provincial Grand Master of Gibraltar under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", and then have consented to become Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada under the Grand Lodge of the "Antients", shows a broadness of mind that must have played a great part in the Union between the "Moderns" and "Antients" in 1813.

It is with much pleasure that I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Milborne for his excellent paper, and to Bro. Edwards for reading it.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN writes:—

This paper, and I refer to both parts of it, does indeed provide a sure foundation upon which some day some Brother will raise "a superstructure, complete in all its parts," dealing with the history of the Craft in Eastern Canada.

There are one or two things which puzzle me. It would appear from the paper that the local Lodges Nos. 14, 15 and 16 ultimately received, when they were registered in England, the Nos. 518, 465 and 519. What is the explanation of the issue of the No. 465 to the local Lodge No. 15? It certainly seems, on the face of it, a curious arrangement.

I was interested to note that on 7th March, 1792, Bro. Wilson was appointed "Substitute Grand Master for the Province of Lower Canada". I had always imagined that this title was a peculiarly Scottish one, for the appropriate designation under the Grand Lodge of England is "Assistant Grand Master". The choice of title for Bro. Wilson seems to indicate a Scottish influence, which I can hardly reconcile with the fact that there was no Scottish Lodge in Canada at that date.

Bros. J. FAIRBAIRN SMITH and CHARLES FEY write in collaboration as follows:—

American Freemasons, both north and south of the Canadian border, are highly indebted to Bro. A. J. B. Milborne for his careful and exhaustive presentation of Freemasonry on the North American continent during a period when the white man's frontier had scarcely been

pushed beyond the basins of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence Rivers and the watershed of the Great Lakes.

The new Masonic research effort offered by Bro. Milborne is of particular interest to Michigan Masons because of the influence Quebec had upon the early Lodges in the territory now known as the State of Michigan. We have perused with much interest the proof of both Parts One and Two of Bro. Milborne's paper, and we both agree that the subject has been treated in his usual masterful style and will be much appreciated by a majority of *A.Q.C.* readers.

The prime reason for this comment is to discuss a few items in which we are in disagreement. In Part One, Bro. Milborne has stated that he did not think that the Christie Lodge came on the English Register until 1775, when it was reported by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Jamaica and registered as Union Lodge No. 12. Such documented evidence as we possess disproves completely both contentions, and we are convinced that the first Lodge erected at Detroit, April 27th, 1764, was done by virtue of a New York Provincial Grand Lodge Warrant.

This Warrant is now in the possession of Zion Lodge No. 1 of Detroit, and it was signed by the then Provincial Grand Master, George Harison, and also by his brother-in-law, Dr. Peter Middleton. We do not believe that this Lodge was ever entered on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, nor were most of the other Warrants which were issued by Harison.

Bro. Milborne is equally in error when he suggests that the Christie Lodge first saw the light of day by virtue of a Warrant issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Jamaica and registered as Union Lodge No. 12, Jamaica, under the number 488.

Union Lodge No. 12, Jamaican Registry, has long remained a vexing problem for Michigan Masonic historians. Recently, however, documentation has come to hand which proves beyond peradventure that the Lodge founded by Jamaica on the Dutch Island of Curaçao, January 14th, 1774, has positively no connection with the first Lodge at Detroit which also bore the name Union.

Correspondence with Dr. P. J. Van Loo, of the Netherlands, brought forth the true details which were the contributing factors to erecting on the Island of Curaçao a Lodge under English registry.

It appears that the only reason why the Brethren of Curaçao selected Jamaican registry for their Lodge was definitely due to the fact that no boat was sailing from the Island to Holland at that particular moment, and, rather than work without an official Warrant, the Brethren chose to request that Jamaica regularise their Lodge by issuing to it a Provincial Warrant.

This information is to be found in a Petition which was sent to the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands under date of June 1st, 1774. The Petition shows that the Masons of the Island were civilians and in no way connected with any military detail.

Dr. Van Loo writes that the prayer of the petitioners was granted December 12th, 1774. Thus the Lodge remained under Jamaican registry for scarcely eleven months. The prime mover in the drama of Union Lodge No. 12 was an innkeeper by the name of John Jones, together with a number of ardent Dutch Masons.

The Petition sent by Union Lodge to the Netherlands is in French and a photostatic copy is now in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Michigan, and its text has been furnished Bro. Milborne so that he could peruse it at his leisure.

Correspondence with the British War Office makes it quite apparent that no British Regiment was on the Island of Curaçao during the period under consideration, and the only Regiment in Detroit during the decade which began with 1770 was the "King's Own" or Eighth Regiment, and that came from Florida. Moreover, this information agrees with the known Detroit records.

We are in full agreement with the Milborne findings regarding the Dejean Lodge, and there can be absolutely no doubt that this was the Lodge which was given number 448 by the Grand Lodge of England in the list of 1773, and the only comment we need add regarding it is that there is no indication that the Lodge ever saw the light of day, since the Christie Lodge and the two Irish military Lodges then in Detroit refused to install its officers. Thus it can only be regarded as a Lodge which died a-borning.

In Part Two, Bro. Milborne places his finger on another vexing Michigan Masonic mystery, for the identity of Harmony Lodge at Detroit still has no basis in fact, other than its mention September 6th, 1777, by the records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, and in view of the fact that so many conflicting theories have been presented concerning this shadowy Lodge, we refrain from expressing any further opinion until the legend surrounding the Lodge has been given closer scrutiny.

Milborne's final reference to a Michigan Lodge is also to be found in Part Two, when he makes a brief mention of St. John's Lodge, established by Quebec Provincial Warrant

No. 15 in 1782. We have given this Lodge considerable attention, and we believe that we can add materially to the known facts.

In a letter discovered recently in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library and written by Bro. George Meldrum, who was then a resident of Michilimackinac, he writes to his friend, Bro. Thomas Williams, of Detroit, June 16th, 1782, as follows:—

And concerning the new lodge I had the pleasure on St. John's Day (December 27, 1781) to have what brothers I know at my house and then we talked the matter over some and since that there has been no more talk of it—for my own opinion was that they had embarked in what they did not understand and had got some people to sign for the division (regiment) that was not Masons; this was the situation of Mackana Lodge so that I need not say anything more upon the subject.

From various sources we have been able to gather additional information relative to the membership of St. John's Lodge, and we are now convinced that Captain Daniel Robertson, who was a member of St. Peter's Lodge No. 4, of Montreal, was the first Worshipful Master. Captain Robertson was Commandant of the Post from 1782 to 1787.

Robertson entered the British Army in 1754, and served in America during the French and Indian War. In 1775 he was Captain of the Eighty-Fourth Regiment, with which he came to Mackinac in 1782.

There is a romantic legend concerning the young British officer which states that he was in love with a young and beautiful Indian girl, daughter of a chief. She had, however, been betrothed to an ugly brave whom her father favoured.

Robertson built a summer house on Island Cliff, overlooking the shore, where for some time he and his bride lived undetected until finally discovered by the scorned Indian lover, who murdered the girl during her husband's absence. At that moment Robertson returned. A fearful struggle followed in which both Robertson and the Indian slipped over the edge of the cliff and were dashed to death on the rocks below.

Oddly enough, the Meldrum letter gives us a clue to the reasons for the demise of Union Lodge No. 1, for Meldrum, who was a member of Union Lodge, points out:—

But I am sorry to find that our little, usually amicable body to be so much altered, but I saw some appearances of that before I left the place for money is the root of all evil. I hope that Brother Anthon (George Christian Anthon, who was also a member of Union Lodge and later transferred to Holland Lodge No. 8 of New York City) is not one of those or then he is greatly changed.

Bro. MILBORNE writes in reply:—

The kind manner in which Bro. Norman Rogers moved and Bro. Johnson seconded the vote of thanks is greatly appreciated, and I would like to add my thanks to Bro. Edwards for presenting the paper to the Lodge.

I can well understand the difficulty that arises from the title of the District Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry, and the possible, but incorrect, identification of "William Henry" with Fort William Henry on Lake George. In 1665 a fort was established at the confluence of the Richilieu and St. Lawrence Rivers, and named Sorel after its first commandant. In 1787 the settlement which had grown up beside the fort was named William Henry, in honour of Prince William Henry (later William IV). This settlement marked the eastern limit of the jurisdiction of the District Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry. Some time in the nineteenth century the name "William Henry" was dropped, and the original name "Sorel" was restored. The western limit of the jurisdiction of the District Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers was the Town of Three Rivers on the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

The *Masonic Year Book* is published under the authority of the United Grand Lodge of England, and whoever is charged with the responsibility of its production is slow to make corrections in it, and rightly so. Representations have been made from this side of the Atlantic urging the correction of errors, but with little success.

The *Year Book* makes no mention of the appointment of William McGillivray in 1823, though the Minute Book of the District Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry (in the possession of the Library of the United Grand Lodge) contains the minutes of the first meeting, held 6th October, 1823, from which I extract the following:—

"The Warrant, dated 2nd April, 1823, signed by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, G.M., was read, appointing R.W.Bro. the Hon. William McGillivray, P.G.M. for the District of Montreal and William Henry."

The *Year Book* makes no mention of the appointment of William Jarvis as Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada on 7th March, 1792, though Robertson reproduces a letter from W. H. White, Grand Secretary, dated 10th May, 1822, addressed to Simon McGillivray, enclosing what would appear to be a copy of the Patent. By this same letter, Grand Secretary White transmits a Patent appointing Simon McGillivray Provincial Grand Master of the Province of Upper Canada, but the *Year Book* records the appointment under the following year (1823) under "North America".

The *Year Book* makes no mention of the appointment of Claude Dénéchau, Provincial Grand Master for the District of Quebec and Three Rivers. The Patent of appointment was signed by the Duke of Sussex, January 3rd, 1820, is in possession of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, and is reproduced by Graham (p. 184).

Why the *Year Book* should refer to another appointment for Quebec and Three Rivers in 1846 without identifying the appointee I do not know, but if the note refers to the appointment of W. Phillips as Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Quebec and Three Rivers, then the date is incorrect, for, according to Graham, Bro. Phillips received his Deputation on April 8th of the previous year.

The *Year Book* gives the year of William Badgley's appointment as Provincial Grand Master of Montreal and William Henry as 1846—the same year as the appointment of Peter McGill to the same office. Peter McGill did not resign his office until 1849, and Badgley succeeded him in the following year.

The explanation of the registration numbers which puzzle Bro. Draffen is that Lodge No. 15 was reported to London in 1784, while Lodges Nos. 14 and 16 were not reported until 1787. (See note under Lodge No. 515 in Lane's *Masonic Records*, 2nd Edn., p. 216.)

While it is true there was no Scottish Lodge in Quebec at the time of the appointment of Bro. Wilson as "Substitute Grand Master", Scotsmen who had been made Masons in their native land were members of local Lodges and took an active part in Masonic affairs. How many there were cannot be ascertained, but a number have been identified.

Since the paper was written, Bro. Charles Fey (G.L. of Michigan) has found that John Jones, the Master of L'Union Lodge, Island of Curaçoa, and others, presented a petition dated 1st June, 1774, to the Grand Lodge of the United Provinces for a Warrant. The petitioners recited that "wishing to form a lodge among ourselves on this Island (the Lodge L'Amitie does not exist any more since almost two years) and in consideration of the fact that there is at present no vessel going to Holland, addressed themselves to the Grand Lodge of Jamaica, daughter of the English one, to obtain a legal constitution in due form which has been granted them by W. Jasper Hall, Grand Master, W. Jabez Barton, Deputy, who . . . have solemnly constituted during Grand Lodge session on January 14, 1774, this present Lodge under the title of L'Union of Curaçoa". This information disposes of the suggestion that Union Lodge No. 12, P.G.L., Jamaica, was the Christie Lodge.

Ref. No.	Date of Warrant, Dispensation or Joining	E.R. No.	Lodge	1759 (a)	1760
1.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		47th Regiment, No. 192, I.C.	(1)	x
2.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		48th Regiment, No. 218, I.C.	(2)	...
3.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		15th Regiment, No. 245, I.C.	(3)	...
4.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		28th Regiment, No. 1, Louisburg	(4)	...
5.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		43rd Regiment (Dispensation granted by No. 136, I.C.)	(5)	...
6.	J. 1759, Nov. 28		Royal Artillery (Dispensation granted by No. 195, I.C.)	(6)	x
7.	W. 1759		Select Lodge, Quebec	(7)(q)	0
8.			Unidentified	(8)(q)	...
9.	W. 1759, Dec. 27	277	Merchants' Lodge, Quebec	(9)(q)	9
10.	D. 1760		58th Regiment	...	2
11.	D. 1760		60th Regiment, 2nd Battn.	...	3
12.	D. 1760		28th Regiment	...	4
13.	D. 1760		60th Regiment, 3rd Battn.	...	5
14.	W. 1760, Oct. 20	221	78th Regiment	...	6
			St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec	...	...
15.	D. 1760		Civil Branch of Ordnance, Quebec	...	7
16.	W. 1760		Inhabitants of the Town, Quebec	...	...
17.	W. 1760-1	222	St. Patrick's Lodge, Quebec	...	...
18.	D. 1760-1		35th Regiment	...	8
19.	D. 1760-2		47th Regiment (Officers')	...	...
20.	D. 1760-2		Royal Artillery, Quebec	...	...
21.			Lodge at Montreal	...	...
22.	D. 1760-2		60th Regiment, 4th Battn., Montreal	...	...
23.	D. 1760-2		44th Regiment	...	...
24.	D. 1760-2		80th Regiment	...	...
25.	1766		60th Regiment (Officers'), Harmony Lodge	...	...
26.	J. 1766		52nd Regiment, No. 370, I.C.	...	...
27.	W. 1767, Dec. 20		Deputy Grand Master's Warrant, District of Montreal (r)	...	...
28.	J. 1767, Dec. 24		10th Regiment, No. 299, I.C.	...	...
29.	J. 1767, Dec. 24		10th Regiment, No. 378, I.C.	...	...
30.	W. 1768	223	St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal	...	...
31.	W. 1768, Dec. 27	224	Lodge on H.M.S. Canceaux	...	...
32.	W. 1769, Jan. 15	225	Provincial Grand Master's Own Select Lodge	...	...
33.	W. 1769, June 17	226	52nd Regiment	...	...
34.	W. 1769		8th Regiment (Officers'), King's Lodge	...	...
35.	W. 1770, June		Royal Artillery, 1st Battn.	...	...
36.	W. 1770, Nov. 8	515	St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal	...	...
37.	W. 1772	448	Lodge at Detroit (Dejean)	...	...
38.	W. 1772		21st Regiment, Caledonian Lodge	...	...
39.	J. 1777		Harmony Lodge, Detroit, No. , P.G.L., N.Y.	...	...
40.	J. 1778		Union Lodge, Detroit, No. 1, P.G.L., N.Y.	...	...
41.	W. 1780		St. John's Lodge of Friendship, Niagara	...	...
42.	J. 1780		31st Regiment, St. George's Lodge, No. 108, S.C.	...	...
43.	W. 1780	516	Anhalt-Zerbst Regiment	...	...
44.	W. 1781, Jan. 27		Unity Lodge, Sorel	...	...
45.	J. 1781	156	8th Regiment	...	...
46.	W. 1781, May 12	518	King's Rangers, St. James' Lodge	...	...
47.	W. 1782	465	St. John's Lodge, Macilimackinac	...	...
48.	W. 1782	519	Select Lodge, Montreal	...	...
49.	W. 1783, March	466	34th Regiment, Barry Lodge	...	...
50.	W. 1784, Sept. 12	467	44th Regiment, Rainsford Lodge	...	...
51.	J.		53rd Regiment, No. 236, I.C.	...	...
52.	J. 1787	520	New Oswegatchie Lodge, No. 7, P.G.L., N.Y.	...	...
53.	J. 1787	517	Unity Lodge, Fort William Henry, No. , P.G.L., N.Y.	...	...
54.	W. 1787, Oct. 10.	521	St. John's Lodge, Niagara	...	...
55.	W. 1789	541	Lodge at Fredericton	...	...
56.	W. 1790	521	Union Lodge, Cornwall	...	...
57.	W. 1791, March 18	522	St. John's Lodge of Friendship, Montreal	...	...
58.	W. 1791, Sept. 3		Dorchester Lodge, Vergennes	...	...
59.	W. 1792, June 15	498	Rawdon Lodge, York	...	...

APPENDIX

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF QUEBEC, 1759-1792

[illegible]

PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF QUEBEC, 1759-1792

NOTES

- (a) Minutes of Meeting of 28th November recorded in James Thompson's Letter Book.
- (b) Reported to London, as recorded in James Thompson's Letter Book.
- (c) List of Lodges given in a letter dated 14th October, 1766, to the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, as recorded in James Thompson's Letter Book.
- (d) Lodges present at Quarterly Communication held March 5th, 1770, to which have been added other Lodges which appear to have been in existence at the time.
- (e) List of Lodges sent to England, 5th September, 1777.
- (f) List in *Les Bulletins des Recherches Historiques de Quebec*, Vol. iv, p. 190.
- (g) List of the Lodges, dated 7th September, 1784, signed by James Tanswell, Provincial Grand Secretary, recorded in the Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, 9th September, 1784.
- (h) Reported to London in 1785. (Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 192.)
- (i) This Lodge was still in Canada in this year, as Peter Mills, a member, made application to St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, for affiliation "as soon as the Lodge he now belongs to (in His Majesty's 15th Regiment) departs this Province". Minutes of St. Andrews's Lodge, 9th June, 1768.
- (j) The Monnins Certificate issued by Select Lodge in 1763 (*Trans., Irish Lodge of Research*, 1922, p. 37) bears the seal of Lodge No. 195. It has been assumed that the Lodge gave a copy of its seal with its Dispensation to the Brethren in the Royal Artillery, and that the Lodge was still in Quebec in that year. However, Alexander Duncan, who describes himself as "Master of No. 195 from Ireland, Royal Artillery", signed a Petition to Jeremy Gridley, dated Crown Point, 5th March, 1762. (*Trans., American Lodge of Research*, Vol. iii, p. 448.) The 42nd Regiment, which actually held Warrant No. 195, was at Ticonderoga in 1758, was present at the surrender of Montreal in 1760, and was in Albany in 1763. There is no trace of Lodge No. 195 coming under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec.
- (k) Dormant from 8th August, 1768. Letter from John Collins, P.G.M., to John Gawler, 10th February, 1769, recorded in James Thompson's Letter Book.
- (l) From the Leslie Certificate it would appear that the Lodge was numbered "1" in 1761. (Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 166.)
- (m) Reported as No. 1, and also as No. 9.
- (n) Reported as "Not being in Canada".
- (o) Reported as "Vacant".
- (p) Lodge No. 12 is not listed in 1762, but a Bro. Alexander Campbell, of "Lodge No. 12 Montreal", visited St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, on 6th November, 1766, and, assuming that the Lodge was in existence from 1762 to 1766, it has been added to the Official List.
- (q) Added to Official List.
- (r) Not a subordinate Lodge, though it was conducted as such in its early days. See *The District Grand Lodge of Montreal and St. Peter's Lodge (A.Q.C., lxii, p. 250)*.
- (s) The Office was vacant in 1776, as appears from a letter written to St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master in that year.
- (t) In a letter dated 13th October, 1772, to the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, the P.G.L. reported that these two Lodges had gone into cantonments in the Back Settlements, but still desired to continue under the P.G.L., as before.
- (u) Dormant.
- (v) Letter from Aitken, D.P.G.M., to Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated 2nd August, 1769. (Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 69.)
- (w) Letter from P.G.L. to Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England, dated 23rd September, 1771. (Sadler, *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 71.)
- (x) On List without a local number.
- (y) Added to Tanswell's List, as Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 254, says that this Lodge appears in a List of that year.
- (z) It appears from a letter written by John Gawler to the P.G.L. of Quebec that this Warrant had been taken to England when the Artillery unit to which it had been issued returned there, but the members went over to the "Ancients" and the Warrant was returned to Quebec in 1776.
- (*) Warrant issued, but there is no evidence to show that the Lodge was ever constituted.
- (†) James Thompson's Letter to the Lodge in the 10th Regiment at Detroit, dated 8th April, 1773.
- (‡) Reported to London. (Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 192.)
- (§) Certificate issued at St. John's, Quebec.
- (||) Letter from John McLauchlan, the Master, to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England. (Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 254.)
- (¶) Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, Vol. i, p. 254.

FRIDAY, 6th MAY, 1955



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), I.P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.G.D., P.M., S.W.; B. W. Oliver, 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.G.D., P.M., D.C.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., Steward; H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and A. Sharp, M.A., P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. Ward, G. Holloway, C. R. Manasseh, H. W. Harrison, K. Heuer, G. Norman Knight, J. G. Wainwright, P. J. Watts, C. W. M. Young, E. Frost, A. J. Beecher Stow, E. Wallwork, E. Graysen, R. A. Pratley, A. E. Butler, A. F. Hatten, J. D. de S. McElwain, R. C. W. Hunter, K. Astrup, H. E. Cohen, Rev. H. I. Robinson, H. S. Buffery, G. H. Rooke, R. Gold, F. L. Bradshaw, H. M. Yeatman, A. I. Sharp, H. Davies, S. W. Mills, A. W. Gibson, A. P. Cawadiaz, R. St. John Brice, C. C. Mortleman, L. Bedford, H. B. Q. Evans, D. A. Warne, B. Foskett and S. E. Ward.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. W. Brown, Lodge 5152; H. Lee, Lodge 5458; J. Cotter, Lodge 202; L. Mumford, Lodge 5586; H. Littlejohn, Lodge 1091; H. R. Evans, Lodge 3040.

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., P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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., P.G.D. (I.C.); 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); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist. Dep. G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., I.G.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.D.

One Lodge and thirty-eight Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The congratulations of the Lodge were tendered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle who had been honoured by appointment to Grand Rank at the recent Festival:—

Grand Pursuivant:

H. B. Q. Evans.

Promotions—

To Past Grand Warden:

Major-General H. Williams, C.B., C.B.E., P.G.D.

To Past Grand Deacons:

H. C. E. Miller, P.A.G.D.C.

F. A. Rossdale, P.A.G.D.C.

A. M. Woodman, P.A.G.D.C.

Lt.-Col. H. O. Hughes, O.B.E., P.A.G.D.C.

H. L. Simpson, P.A.G.D.C.

To Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies:

F. W. Torrens, P.G.St.B.

Past Rank—

Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works:

J. A. Whittall (Staffs).



Stone (c. 1240) from Gloucester Cathedral, possibly portrait of a Master Mason
Reproduced by permission of the Dean

Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies:

E. W. H. Arliss.
Arthur Crick (Kent).
G. A. Hanson (Cheshire).
W. B. Heywood-Waddington, M.B. (Sussex).
E. E. Horide (New Zealand).
A. T. Jeune (Jersey).
R. Mabley (South Wales, E.D.).
S. W. Martin
H. S. Mathes (Suffolk).
H. H. Ridge (Sussex).
W. G. Street.
H. J. Wasbrough (Middlesex).
E. W. Wells (Lancashire, W.D.).
T. A. Williams, M.Sc. (Yorks, N. & E.R.).

Past Grand Standard Bearers:

H. C. Bateman.
E. J. Casley (Devon).
W. B. Clatworthy (Somerset).
Donald McCunn (Notts).
H. J. Roberts.
R. R. Shipley (Durham).

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following EXHIBITS:—

From the Museum of Grand Lodge: Regalia of the Order of Free Gardiners. Regalia of the Order of Foresters.

By Bro. E. Ward: A carved stone of the thirteenth century, lately discovered in Gloucester Cathedral.

By the W.M.: A copy of the Articles of Union.

An interesting paper entitled, *The Crisp English Word Freemason*, was read by Bro. Lt.-Col. E. WARD, as follows:—

THE CRISP ENGLISH WORD FREEMASON

BY BRO. LT.-COL. E. WARD

INTRODUCTION



HIS odd-sounding title has been given merely to ensure that the observations which follow are understood to apply only to English masons, since the etymology of the prefix "free", which is the subject of this enquiry, is assumed to be English by common consent, and what it came to mean in other countries is outside the scope of this essay.

Apart from innumerable individually-published works mentioning this evergreen subject, there have been two previous major enquiries printed in our *Transactions* in which a great wealth of evidence was brought forward which I do not intend to repeat, except in a very few instances, where corrected wording throws a slightly different light or points to an alternative conclusion. The first enquiry was by G. W. Speth (*Free and Freemasonry*),¹ who arrived at the opinion that the prefix "free" meant "free from", i.e., independent of guilds or companies. The second was by W. J. Williams (*The Use of the Word Freemason before 1717*),² who came to the conclusion that Masonry, being synonymous with geometry, a free science, therefore a Freemason was a practitioner of that science. More recently Bro. Bernard Jones examined the problem in his Prestonian Lecture for 1952, a paragraph on page 13 of the printed edition reading, "Whatever the original reason hundreds of years earlier, for calling the operative mason a free-mason, the term meant, before the emergence of speculative masonry in the 1600's, nothing more than a mason free of a company".

I do not limit the period of examination to that prior to the year 1717, as to do so would eliminate vital evidence, and perhaps I should add that some of this evidence is deliberately drawn from West of England sources, mainly Bristol. In the middle ages Bristol was second in importance to London as a mercantile centre,³ and although in company with other towns it modelled its ordinances largely upon the practices of the capital, it was also the natural geographic centre of a great building industry as independent in style as its inhabitants were and still are in character. The inherent conservatism and tendency to perpetuate time-honoured customs which fell into desuetude elsewhere is, I think, of great value to students. For instance, as late as 1730 the Bristol City authorities supported the carpenters in their claim to exclude "foreigners",⁴ and it was not until 1792 that residents of the city were able to trade all their wares without let or hindrance.⁵ It is necessary to say all this because some students, in my opinion, have over-stated the importance of the influence of the London Masons Company on the evolution of Speculative Masonry in general and on the word Freemason in particular.

In what follows I have assumed that no controversy exists about the derivation of the noun "mason".

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my sincere thanks to the many whose patience would be exhausted but for their being no ordinary friends, and particularly to Bro. J. Shum Cox, M.A. (nephew of the late Bro. J. E. Shum-Tuckett, P.M. of Q.C.) for the loan of books and documents which otherwise would have been quite inaccessible to me.

¹ A.Q.C. x. p. 10, etc.

² A.Q.C., xlviii. p. 140, etc.

³ Alfred Harvey, *Bristol* (1906), p. 45.

⁴ J. Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 181.

⁵ S. Kramer, *English Craft Gilds*, p. 183 n.

GENESIS OF THE TERM FREEMASON

Taking the dawn of the Gothic era as being coeval with the beginning of documented Masonic history, and France as the western progenitor of its architecture. I quote Abbot Suger, writing of building operations at the Abbey of St. Denis in c. 1140, who tells us (Panofsky's translation)¹:—

Through a gift of God a new quarry, yielding very strong stone, was discovered such as in quality and quantity had never been found in these regions. There arrived a skilful crowd of masons, stonecutters, sculptors and other workmen (cementariorum, lathomorum, sculptorum et aliorum operariorum) . . . Solomon's riches could not have sufficed for his Temple any more than did ours for this work had not the same Author of the same work abundantly supplied His attendants.

It is important to note that even in one of the very earliest accounts, it was considered necessary to distinguish between various grades of masons, leaving carpenters, tilers, plumbers, painters and so on to be described merely as "other workmen". In many of the earliest English records it is difficult, if not impossible, to recognise the precise meaning of the terms used, lathomus and cementarius often being convertible. For example, of two men who were certainly freemasons, Richard of Gainsborough, buried in the cloister at Lincoln, c. 1350, is described on his tomb slab as "cementarius",² whilst John Ramsey, of Norwich, was called "lathomus" (c. 1305) in an account for work done in the Cathedral belfry.³

However, the following selection of references, considered chronologically, illustrates the gradual clarification of the terms:—

<i>Freemason(s)</i>	<i>Other Mason(s)</i>	
1212 "sculptores lapidum liberorum"		4
1307 "cementarius ent[ailleur]"	"cementarius cubit[or]"	5
1351 "mestre mason de franche pere"		6
*1356 "masouns hewers"	"masouns legers et setters"	7
1391 "magister lathomus liberarum petrarum"		8
1396 "lathomos vocatos ffre maceons"	"lat. vocatos legiers"	9
1438 "liberi cementarii"	"roughleggers"	10
1445 "ffremasons"	"hardehewers, rough leyers"	11
1494 "fre masyns"	"row masyns"	12
1526 "freemasons"	"setters", roughlayers (etc.)"	13

It will be noted that three of the earlier references all associate the cutter or hewer with freestone the material, and that the series as a whole roughly shows the evolution from Latin, with or without French support, to the simplified and crisp English word "freemason", standardised by the early sixteenth century.

Freestone is a strong, durable stone which can be freely cut, having its counterpart in engineering at the present time in "free cutting steel", i.e., steel containing trace quantities of materials which permit exceptional freedom of choice in the speed at which the metal can be cut.

The association of freestone with the highest class of artificer is further exemplified by the following:—

1311-15 "Wm. and Robert de Shere, Thomas de Weldon and John de Whitewelle, four masons cutters cutting freestone (entalli and francapetr)." ¹⁴

c. 1341 "John de Compton master mason of freestones (cem' lib. lapidum) in charge of the building of a new chapel . . . at Ludgershall." ¹⁵

¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, p. 91.

² J. M. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 110.

³ J. M. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects*, p. 213.

⁴ Knoop and Jones, *Genesis of F.M.*, p. 14.

⁵ W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 185.

⁶ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 72.

⁷ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 249 n.

⁸ H. E. Salter, *Med. Architecture of the Univ. of Oxford*, p. 22.

⁹ *A.Q.C.*, xliii, pp. 88-89.

¹⁰ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 30.

¹¹ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 84.

¹² L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 30.

¹³ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 30.

¹⁴ W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 186.

¹⁵ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 73.

* See my reply.

- 1391 . . . John Sampson, accused of taking excessive wages on the ground that "he is a master mason of freestones and highly capable and cunning in that art and in carving and that the pay of such masons cannot be rated with the pay of other masons . . ." ¹
- 1432 "This endenture mad betwix Thomas Wetherby Surveyour of the godys of the comon of the Citee of Norwich . . . and John Marwe, citeseyn of Norwich, Fremason on the othir party . . . and therupon be gynne the said kaye of freston assleryd of a conable brede and heythe accordyng to that werk of freston." ²
- 1440 "James Woderoue freemason" was paid £1.1.8 for jambs of freestone for the great gates of the preaching yard at Norwich. ³
- 1509 "Paid to Thomas Dymmok for . . . hewyng and sawyng of xxiiij fote of ashlar & vij fote for a grounesille of a dore of fre stone." (At St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.) ⁴
- 1534 John White, freemason, of Winchester, was paid £6 for carving in freestone six hood mould stops . . . at Hampton Court. ⁵
- 1613 An antiquarian, commenting in 1851 ⁶ on the building accounts of Wadham College, Oxford, observes: "The masons who worked the stone for building are called Free masons or Freestone Masons (which is probably the true meaning of the term) while the rest are merely called 'labourers'."
- N.B.*—The actual spelling has not been checked with the original accounts, but T. G. Jackson, in *Wadham College, Oxford*, 1893, p. 34, speaks of the master mason William Arnold's men as "freemasons".

Perhaps the most weighty evidence is that of the fifteenth-century antiquarian, William Worcester, sometime secretary to Sir John Fastolf, who, living in retirement in his native Bristol in 1480, gave the following data descriptive of famous local churches. This data was very kindly communicated to me by Mr. John Harvey from examination of photographs of the original notebook in the keeping of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge:—

- MS., p. 107 "*Latitudo vie de Radclyffhyll de cameris presbiterorum predictorum ad alteram partem domorum operariorum de ffrestone pro fundacione Ecclesie de Radclyff sunt .40 gressus.*"
- MS., p. 129 "*De operacione artificiosa porticus borialis Ecclesie Sancti Stephani de opere manuali Benet le ffremason.*"
- MS., p. 196 "*Dimencio siue proporcio artificiosissime de ffremasonwork operata in porta hostij occidentalis Ecclesie Radclyff.*"
- MS., p. 199 (Radclyff Church) "*Quantitas rotunditatis principalis capelle sancte marie cum ymaginibus Regum operatis subtiliter in opere de ffrestone.*"

N.B.—The letters in italics are added to complete the otherwise contracted text.

In these four observations we have reference to (a) the lodgings (or lodge) of the freestone masons, (b) a typical description of freemason's work linked to a recognisable master (Benedict Crosse), (c and d) further descriptive matter emphasising the special skill evidently accepted as typifying the freemason. A most important point is that in all four cases the words "ffrestone", "ffremason" and "ffremasonwork" are interwoven with the Latin in a way that seems to emphasise their indigenous English origin.

The evidence so far given, in my opinion, provides incontestible proof that throughout the Gothic age the appellation freemason signified a hewer of freestone, and broadly speaking this conclusion was accepted by Begemann, ⁷ Hamilton Thompson, ⁸ Coulton, ⁹ Lethaby, ¹⁰ Salzman ¹¹ and Knoop. ¹² Indeed the facts are so conclusive that no other alternative seems possible, although there appears a certain lack of logic in calling a mason hewer "free"

¹ J. M. Harvey, *Gothic World*, p. 45.

² L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 502 (and *A.Q.C.*, xxxv, p. 34).

³ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 300.

⁴ E. E. Williams, *The Chantries of Wm. Canynges*, p. 232.

⁵ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 294.

⁶ Orlando Jewitt, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. viii (1851), p. 390

⁷ *A.Q.C.*, x, pp. 156-7.

⁸ A. Hamilton Thompson, *Cathedral Churches of England*, p. 143.

⁹ G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 123.

¹⁰ W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 364.

¹¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 30.

¹² Knoop and Jones, *Genesis of F.M.*, p. 14.

because he worked freestone and yet denying the prefix to a mason layer who nevertheless used the same medium.

If, however, we consider the further implications of the early references to freemason-work, of which some examples have already been given, it is clear that the freemason was acknowledged to be more than a mere hewer of freestone. His was also the subtle art of preparing the finished ashlar, of cutting the elaborate "lace" work, the "gentil entail", of which Chaucer speaks, or Henry VI when requiring avoidance at King's College, Cambridge, of "great curious werkes of entaile and busy mouldinge".¹

Thus:—

The Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, in 1439, contracts with John Wood masoun for the repairs and restorations of the great bell tower "in all mannere of thinges that longe to free masounry".²

or "William Reynoldes freemason" employed at Hampton Court in 1536 "for entayling of two crounys in freston standyng over the Kinges armes".³

or John Molton (or Multon) freemason who had granted to him in 1536 by the prior and convent of Bath, "the office of master of all their works commonly called freemasonry, when it should be vacant".⁴

or Walter Hancox, freemason, buried in 1599 at Much Wenlock Salop who was "a very skillful man in the art of Masonry, in settinge of plottes for buildings and performinge of the same, ingravinge in alebaster and other stone or playster, and in divers other gifts that belonge to that art".⁵

From such references and the knowledge of the lives and works attributable to the great freemasons,⁶ e.g., Henry Yevele (d. 1400), William Wynford (1403), John Wastell (d. 1515), Robert Vertue (d. 1506), William Vertue (d. 1527) and many others, it is clear that the masters were above all designers. A master mason of standing was in one sense analogous to the modern professional engineer (as distinct from architect) in that part of his early life was necessarily spent obtaining a thorough grounding in manual work before graduating to the theoretical. From the evidence thus far developed, I deduce that in the heyday of operative masonic achievement, when an intensely English style of architecture reached perfection, and until the advent of the Renaissance, when the very un-English Augustan style began to be re-imported, the distinguished freemason was literally a *master* mason of freestones.

By the mid-sixteenth century, when John Shute was writing the earliest known English work on architecture⁷ for "architects and master builders", the speculative⁸ artist had emerged and the day of the freemason devisor, if not over, was well on the decline, to which I shall refer later.

But no matter how strong the arguments in favour of the view that the name "freemason" meant freestone mason, the conclusion cannot be decisive until the various forms of freedom have been examined and demolished if need be, and these will be dealt with next.

MASON GILDS AND COMPANIES

The whole of the standard literature concerning English craft guilds can be ransacked without finding more than passing references to the masonic fraternities, except in London, and even then the municipal status of the masons is shown to be by no means as high as many crafts which possessed incomparably less antiquity.

For example, in five lists⁹ of companies of the City of London, in which the third was specifically to settle the order of precedence, the position of the masons was as follows:—

List No. 1	1501-2	Of 47 crafts, masons are the	41st
" " 2	1509	" " " " " "	42nd
" " 3	1517	" 48 " " " "	31st
" " 4	1532	" 60 " " " "	40th
" " 5	1602-3	" 55 " " " "	30th

¹ Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist. of Cambridge*, v. 1, p. 368.

² W. Dallaway, *Architecture in England*, p. 413.

³ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 223.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186. See also Bro. James later.

⁵ *A.Q.C.*, xxxii, p. 74, from *Hist. M.S. Comm.*, 10th rep., App. Pt. 4, p. 423.

⁶ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Arch., Gothic World, Gothic England*.

⁷ John Shute, *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, 1563.

⁸ The word "speculative" is here used in its original sense of theoretical as contrasted with practical knowledge. Shute, who described himself as "paynter and archytecte", illustrates the point thus: "Surely suche is the amplitude and largnes (I may well say perfection) of this facultie, that without sum acquaintance with many other artes ye shall not enter into the depe secretes".

⁹ Jupp and Pocock, *Hist. Account Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, pp. 290-5.

In a register of 601 admissions to the Freedom of the City of London, 1524 to 1553, there were 78 Merchant Taylors, 53 Clothworkers, 14 Carpenters, 12 Tylers, 9 Joiners, 3 Plasterers, and only 1 Mason.¹

In a memorandum, c. 1450, ordaining the amount of wine to be provided by the Mayor and Sheriff of Bristol for the regular crafts "Drinkings",² 20 crafts are provided for and the quantity assessed by implication according to size or importance. Thus the Weavers have 10 gallons, the Tuckers 10 gallons, and so on down the scale to where Masons, Carpenters, Tylers, Hoopers and Wire drawers each have 3 gallons, only one other craft, the Bowyers and Fletchers, having less, *i.e.*, 2 gallons.

In a Polling List of London voters dated 1537,³ segregated according to "ye Crafts or Mysteries in Lond.", that relative to "The Company of free Masons" contains 37 names.

Of the masons named, I have been able to trace evidence of the work of only three—Wm. Johnson⁴ (London Bridge 1501-2, Queen's College 1519, Balliol 1527-8), John Orger⁵ (London Bridge 1508, Westminster Palace 1531) and George Symson⁶ (Whitehall Palace 1541). At a period from which so many detailed building records have survived it seems singular that the work of the 34 remaining freemasons should remain obscure.

But even more remarkable is the fact that other well-known London freemasons of this same period are not on the list. For instance, John Molton, who succeeded Henry Redman as King's Master Mason; John Smyth, who worked with Molton at Whitehall Palace; Thomas Faunte, Warden at Westminster Palace, 1531-2; John Ellis, "freemason of Westminster"; and Nicholas Ellis, King's Master Mason in 1547. For concise biographical details of these masters, see Harvey, *English Med. Architects*.

From what is known about craft guilds generally, the one certain fact which is self-evident is the intensity of integration with the life of the communities to which they belonged, and the antipathy shown towards those who tried to usurp their monopolies conferred by the municipal authorities. The craft guilds were formed to protect the interests of their members by seeing that no others should trade within their preserves, and gild history shows one long fight to maintain this.⁷

That particular type of self-encirclement, utterly dependent as it was upon the support of the municipal authorities, was impracticable for building craftsmen whose business interests lay outside. Thus, when Royal personages required masons and carpenters, they were impressed from wherever available without the slightest regard for town councils or gild ordinances. As defenders of the faith they occasionally excepted the Church,⁸ but that body regarded itself as even more aloof from corporate secular institutions.⁹ The Abbey of St. Augustine at Bristol, for example, at the end of the fifteenth century, preferred to be "Saint Augustine's beside Bristol", and was always insistent upon complete autonomy within its sphere of interests, which were by no means bounded by the monastic precincts.¹⁰ But there is not sufficient evidence to indicate that any such privileges or immunities were significant in the evolution of the word "freemason".

These considerations, in support of which some statistical details have been quoted, indicate that masons collectively did not play other than a minor part in the commercial life of the English towns, and therefore:—

1. "Freemason" could not mean a mason free of a guild, city or town, because many important freemasons were not freemen and did not need to be freemen. This kind of freedom will be referred to again later.
2. Conversely, "freemason" could not mean free from a guild, city or town, because the records of the London Masons' Company show that some freemasons were freemen.
3. Had it been the case that freemasons enjoyed some kind of occupational immunity, there would surely have been some documentary evidence to indicate why this special distinction was not accorded to carpenters, carvers, alabasterers, etc., who worked with them, some of whom, *e.g.*, Wm. Herland (fl. 1347), Wm. Hurley (d. 1354), Richard Bird (fl. 1439), Humphrey Coke (fl. 1496) and James Nedeham (d. 1544), achieved as great distinction as their contemporary mason colleagues.

¹ C. Welch, *Register of Freemen, City of London*.

² *Great Red Book of Bristol* (Bristol Rec. Soc., Vol. iv), p. 125.

³ Ed. Conder, jun., *The Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masonry*, p. 104.

⁴ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 150.

⁵ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 201.

⁶ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 244.

⁷ S. Kramer, *English Craft Guilds*; J. M. Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*; W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*.

⁸ Jupp and Pocock, *Carpenters' Company*, p. 185.

⁹ A. Hamilton Thompson, *Cathedral Churches of England*.

¹⁰ Beachcroft and Sabin ed., *Two Compotus Rolls of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*; Bristol Record Society, Vol. ix, p. 9.

FREEMASON APPRENTICES

One aspect of operative masonry about which we know next to nothing is how the masters learnt their trade. In 1562 the Statute of Artificers was passed, requiring that henceforth anyone wishing to practise a trade should be apprenticed to it for seven years at least "after the custom and order of the city of London".¹ This is long past the time when documentary evidence would have been the most valuable, but it is from about that period that through municipal records we have systematic data of apprentices made in towns, and a study of these records is illuminating.

In Bristol, the Apprentice Enrolment Books, containing many thousands of entries, have unbroken continuity from 1532, and two sample periods have been examined.

In the first period, 1532 to 1542, which, incidentally, embraces the date of the dissolution of the monasteries, out of a total of 1,450 boys and girls apprenticed, only 1 was to a freemason, 3 to masons, 4 to carpenters, 19 to tylers, 3 to joiners, and 8 to carvers. During this same period, of the men employed in the building trade who apprenticed their sons to other non-building crafts, there were 1 freemason, 7 masons, 24 carpenters, 12 tilers, 10 joiners, and 8 carvers.

The second period examined covers the years 1600 to 1630, when, out of a total of 6,600 boys and girls apprenticed, 18 were to freemasons, 28 to masons (of all kinds other than freemasons), 112 to carpenters, 33 to tilers, and 200 to joiners. During this time the reverse traffic of builders who apprenticed their sons to non-building crafts there were 7 freemasons, 32 masons (various), 68 carpenters, 22 tilers, and 16 joiners.

These figures confirm the relative weakness of the building fraternity as a municipal power, a weakness which must have prevailed for a considerable time, since in a series of fourteenth-century Bristol ordinances item 17 reads:—

Also that no carpenter (carpentere), mason (cementarius), tiler (tegulator), hodder (hoddare), plasterer (dawbiator) or any other such workmen or labourer take any pay for which he does not work on pain of paying to the Commonalty double the pay so received.²

I stress this weakness only to emphasise the total absence of probability that the freemason enjoyed any municipal privileges denied to his fellow craftsmen.

Perhaps the most interesting point which emerges from consideration of these apprenticeship books, at any rate so far as this enquiry is concerned, is that although in the 1600-1630 period 17 freemasons are thus called in 27 references, in not a single instance do these craftsmen appear under any other appellation. On the other hand, during the same period, 43 craftsmen are named in 60 references as masons, rough masons and rough layers, of which two at various times answer to all three trades, and one to both mason and rough layer.

Similarly, in the earlier period no freemason is ever called by another name.

Another significant point which emerges from these apprentice books is that some freemasons were not free. Thus, on January 30th, 1600-01, Philip Symons was apprenticed to Edward Brenton, freemason "who was not free of the city".

The precision apparent in the titling of these apprenticeship records seems to indicate an additional value accruing from direct descriptions presumably made by the craftsmen themselves. By comparison, descriptions used by clerks in building accounts are often misleading. Thus, in connection with the building of a cloister for the Tuckers' Company of Bristol, c. 1482: "Item, res. of John Hylle kerver vis. for stuff yt was lafte".³ This John Hylle was almost certainly the same as the John Hill called "freemason" elsewhere.⁴

FREE BY BIRTH

The stipulation in the MSS. *Regius* (c. 1390) and *Cooke* (c. 1410) that an apprentice must be free by birth, surviving as it does to this day in some rituals, has been quoted as the explanation of what the "free" came to mean.

But I have not found the slightest evidence of this being the case. On the contrary, there is a good deal of evidence to show that it was far from being exclusive to masonry. Indeed, Thomas states that the London Companies "almost invariably adopted the rule that none of their mysteries should take an apprentice who was not of free birth and condition".⁵

Thus the ordinances of the London Carpenters' Company, 1486-7,⁶ lay down:—

And also that every persone of the said crafte the which hereafter shall take any apprentice shall present and shall bring the same apprentice to the Master and

¹ O. J. Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*.

² F. B. Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, Vol. ii, p. 227.

³ Fox and Taylor, *Guild of Bristol Weavers*, p. 76.

⁴ *Somerset Record Society*, Vol. xlvii (1931).

⁵ A. H. Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Mem. Rolls, 1364-1381*, p. xl.

⁶ Jupp and Pocock, *Carpenters' Company*, p. 351.

Wardeyns of the same crafte for the tyme being afore he be bound to the intent that they may understand whether the same apprentice be free borne or not and also that he be not lame crooked or deformed etc.

Other examples occur in the ordinances of the Skinners (1486), Mercers (1504) and Pewterers (1522).¹

FREEDOM FROM DEFORMITY

The reference in the Carpenter's ordinances above quoted is matched by those of other London companies which also prescribed physical standards.^{2 and 3}

Thus the Leathersellers (1467) required an apprentice to be presented to see if he was "of clenly fecture and not deformed in his visage, nor in noe other parts of his body".

The Bowyers (15th c.), "no one shall take an apprentice who is greatly disfigured in his body".

The Saddlers (15th c.), "the wardens to satisfy themselves that the apprentice is clean and whole limbed".

The Brewers (15th c.) provided for an examination in the common hall of their craft as to the "clenesse of their bodies and other certyn poyntes".

The Cutlers (1420), the Mercers (c. 1504) and the Skinners (c. 1486) also apparently made a similar stipulation.

PERSISTENCE OF THE TITLE

The change of title in 1655-6 from the "London Company of Freemasons" to the "London Company of Masons",⁴ whilst admittedly not without significance, has apparently led to the belief by some that the original title henceforward applied only to speculative masons. This is not so.

The title "freemason" was used in S.W. England, and no doubt elsewhere in a purely operative sense far beyond this, and even long after 1717.

Intensive research by many biographers of the life of Thomas Chatterton, the boy poet, has brought to light much detailed knowledge of his forebears, gratuitously proving to be freemasons. This family of working masons for generations carried out their trade in and about St. Mary Redcliff Church, although no major work was carried out on that church in their time.

Thus the Redcliff Parish accounts record payment on August 22nd, 1662, to "Thos. Chatterton, freemason for worke donn".⁵

The City Chamberlain's records show that on May, 1668, Thomas Chatterton, mason, was paid for work done near "Redcliffe Horse Pool".

The Bristol Burgess books record:—

On January 12th, 1680: "William Chatterton ffree Mason was admitted into The liberties of this Citty for that he is ye sonn of Thomas Chatterton".

On February 16th, 1680: "John Chatterton Ffree Mason is admitted into the liberties of the Citty for that he was ye app. of his ffather Thomas Chatterton and hath taken ye oath of allegiance".

On August 7th, 1713: "William Chatterton junior ffreemason admitted into the libertyes of this city for that he was son and apprentice of Wm. Chatterton and hath taken ye oath of obedience".

Leaving the Chattertons, we have on February 26th, 1724: "Esau Osborne ffreemason admitted freeman by marriage to Sarah daughter of Thos. Pearce furrier".

The last freemason traced was James Osborne, who on October 16th, 1729, was admitted freeman by marriage to Anne, daughter of Mr. Geo. Britten, woolcomber.

After the last freeman freemason there emerges an interesting and, so far as I can trace, new variation. Under the date December 24th, 1735, the Bristol Burgess books record: "James Goodale, freestone cutter was admitted by marriage".

On June 1st, 1739: "Daniell Sidnell Free Stone cutter admitted by marriage".

On October 3rd, 1739: "Samuel Philips Stone cutter was admitted by being apprenticed to James Patty".

¹ O. J. Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, p. 43.

² O. J. Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, p. 44.

³ A. H. Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Mem. Rolls, 1364-1381*, p. xlii.

⁴ E. Conder, jun., *Hole Craft*, p. 173.

⁵ Mayerstein, *Life of Thomas Chatterton*.

Since there do not appear to be any entries similar to these last three, either before or after, it would seem that an attempt was being made to avoid possible confusion between the speculative freemason, official so to speak after 1717, and the operative freemason.

The Burgess Books of Bristol are a further source emphasising the incongruity of the suggestion that the prefix "free" referred to municipal privilege. They show that:—

- (a) An ordinary mason did not become a freemason when free of the city.
- (b) The freemason was already so called before he became free.
- (c) No craft other than that of the freemason embodied the prefix "free" in its title on entry.

ANDERSON'S CONSTITUTIONS

With the emergence in 1717 of the first non-operative central organisation we find Anderson writing, "The Constitutions of the FREE-MASONS", not "of the FREEMASONS". This sounds like hair-splitting, but such a hyphenated spelling as the former has not yet come to my notice in thousands of operative references. In the whole of the Bristol Burgess and Apprentice books (1532-1740) I have found only very few "free" masons, the single crisp word "freemason" or "freemason" overwhelmingly predominating. In the Approbation, pp. 73 and 74, of the same *Constitutions* of 1723, we find that they are "of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS". From beginning to end there are 10 references to FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, 9 to FREE-MASONS, 12 to FREE MASONS, 126 to MASONS, 4 to ACCEPTED MASONS, 1 to ACCEPTED FREE-MASONS, but not one to FREEMASONS.

There is, however, a curious and unauthorised variant. The author tells us that to fill up page 82 "it is thought not amiss to insert a Paragraph from an old Record of Masons", and then goes on to refer to "the LONDON COMPANY of Freeman Masons". No such company existed, or at any rate it was unnoticed by Conder. On the other hand it may well be that Anderson was subconsciously influenced by his Scottish background, the term "freiman measone" being used for instance in the Lodge of Scoon and Perth.¹ It never has been a generally used English term.

Appropos the distinction, if such it be, between "Freemason" and "Free Mason", it is of interest to note that the latter only was used by Ashmole in both his 1646 and 1682 diary entries.²

Similarly, Randle Holme III's famous expression in *An Accademie of Armory*, 1688, contains "Free-Masons", according to Knoop and Jones (*Early Masonic Pamphlets*), p. 34, although when definitely referring to operatives he speaks of "Terms of art used by Freemasons stone cutters" (*vide A.Q.C.*, xlv, p. 70). In Holme's notes concerning "that Society" (*Harl. MS.*, No. 2054, reproduced in facsimile, *A.Q.C.* xlv, facing page 74) the three references are all to "free Mason(s)".

One final reference to Bristol, this time in a modern speculative sense. In that ritual, the word "freemason" is never used, always deliberately plain MASON, the "free" part appearing elsewhere in an entirely different context.

THE PARALLEL IN ENGINEERING

I have made several references to engineers because I believe there is a significant parallel, for a building of magnitude is a work of engineering. The precursors of the first recorded English Masons were the "ingeniators", of whom Ailnoth (fl. 1157-1190) is a typical example,³ and their craft was so named because they devised engines of war, including defenceworks. They were succeeded in general building work by men called freemasons, who designed and built structures mainly of freestone. In the seventeenth century Varignon and Newton for the first time in recorded history paved the way to an understanding of statically determinate forces which revolutionised large scale building and thereby eventually took out of the hands of the freemason the responsibility for strength and stability. Engineers branched out in different directions and the names of Watt, Brunel, Stephenson and many others became synonymous with great technical achievements, until with the passage of time, the most humble member of the A.E.U. has come to be known in the popular mind as an engineer, in company with the most eminent. In a somewhat similar manner, we can see from the persistence of the title that the operative freemason of the early eighteenth century, despite the great decline in status, was proud and justly proud to be known by a name which tradition associated with superlative craftsmanship. For the great freemasons of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries combined the qualities of artistry and form with a highly

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xliii, *Early Freemasonry of England and Scotland*, p. 211.

² *A.Q.C.*, lxv, *The Lodge of Elias Ashmole*, between pp. 38 and 39.

³ J. M. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*, p. 16.

developed skill which has never been equalled since. The chief executives of Westminster Abbey, Wells Cathedral and so many other superb edifices were more than engineers and more than architects. Without the technical knowledge nowadays more or less commonplace, they nevertheless were designers, artists and craftsmen simultaneously, and therefore supreme masters of their profession.

Hence, just as engineer is a title to which the artisan aspires, so the title freemason implied a traditional nobility not to be lightly discarded despite the far reaching changes in function of the later operative craftsmen.

CONCLUSIONS

The documentary evidence points unmistakably to the gradual evolution of the single crisp word "freemason", compounded from "freestone mason" and its derivatives, but having no connection with immunities from anything.

It became part of the English language c. 1400 when it denoted the superior designer-craftsman, and as a single word it remained in use in a purely operative sense, until well after the emergence of accepted masonry.

When in 1723 the first *Book of Constitutions* was published speaking of Free and Accepted Masons or just Free-Masons, the complete absence of the single noun "freemason", intentionally or otherwise, automatically differentiated between the new type of speculative and the old operative.

EPILOGUE

It is hoped that this enquiry, even if it serves no other useful purpose, will remind other students of the necessity for absolute precision when quoting from old documents. Again and again I have found "free mason" quoted when the original was "freemason", and *vice versa*. Even the label on the cover of the Quaritch facsimile of Anderson's 1723 *Constitutions* refers to the "Constitutions of the Freemasons" when in fact the latter word is not once used in the original text.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Ward, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. B. W. Oliver, H. Carr, Bernard E. Jones, P. R. James, H. M. Yeatman, C. R. Manasseh, J. R. Dashwood, F. L. Pick and G. H. Rooke.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS, W.M., said:—

Once again we have a paper which admits of very little criticism, and lends itself mainly to additional instances which may or may not be germane to what Bro. Ward is endeavouring to prove. There is no doubt that Bro. Ward has put forward his facts in a most concise manner, though some of his deductions may be contentious.

Our late Bro. Knoop said that "the evidence on most problems of Masonic history is incomplete", and until we have more evidence than is printed in this paper, we cannot be certain how the term "freemason" arose. Even the terms "freemason" and "mason" are interchanged in a confusing manner, subject, apparently, to the whims of the scribes.

We do not yet know the reason for the striking out of the entry "fre masons" and the substitution of "masons" behind the names of Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes in the City of London Letter Book H., under the date 9th August, 1376. This comment also applies to other instances, such as:—

1. That on the Lintel of "Lea Knowle", near Eccleshall, Staffordshire, where there appears "Peter Hand, Free Mason, 1702", or that within Eccleshall Church itself, where there is an inscription, "Anna Cope, 1683—T. H. Freemason".
2. Parallel with these is the will of a Richard Ellom of Lyme (Lymm), Co. Chester, Freemason, dated 1667, and filed in the Chester Probate Court; here the goods disposed of show that he was a husbandman, though he may also have been a worker in stone.
3. The Manchester Registers have, under date February 12th, 1603-4—Humfrey, son of Edward Holland, free-mason Bapt(ised) and there are other similar entries in the county. Yet in the Warrington Court Leet Records of the seventeenth century, despite Elias Ashmole's entry of 1646, there are no entries of "freemason" but only of "mason".
4. The Roberts "New Articles," of 1663, mention both Free-Masons and Free Masons.

From the evidence in Bro. Ward's paper one could easily deduce the theory that the "Freemason" (whatever might be the way in which it is spelled) was the superior of the ordinary stonemason, something between him and the Master Mason, one who could execute small works, and who was probably also a carver in stone.

But it would be dangerous to accept these theories until there is much more evidence than is, at present, available.

Yet, notwithstanding these comments, I am sure that every serious research student will be grateful in the future for the paper just read, and on behalf of all our 3,600 members I offer him grateful thanks. This is the first paper he has given before this Lodge, and I hope that both he and others will be stimulated by its reception, to foster still further the progress being made in Masonic research.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON, S.W., said:—

Colonel E. Ward's paper is a welcome addition to our *Transactions*. He has obviously spent some considerable time in research. He has produced new evidence on the subject and given references for his statements, the latter are particularly helpful.

The Register of Freemen of the City of York commenced in 1272. The first time that the description "Freemason" appears is in 1591 and the last occasion in 1713; during these 123 years there were 16 Freemasons sworn as Freemen of the City.

In this same period there were only 10 described as masons, but before this, from 1296 to 1574, there were 135 masons. The reason for the deterioration in numbers appears to have been that in 1592 bricklayers were registered for the first time and they seem to have swamped the masons, so much so that in the period 1551 to 1720 there were 140 bricklayers compared with 10 masons and 16 freemasons.

But the freemasons were not the only trade which used the title "Free". In 1627 the first "Free Laborer" was sworn a Freeman of the City, and from 1627 to 1720 there were 140 so described. In addition to this there were six registered as "Free Porter". In 1631 one man was described as "a free panyerman onlie, but not sworn a free citizen". One or two are described as "free denizen or laborer".

It is suggested that from 1639 onwards the word "free", when applied to a "Laborer", meant that he was a member of the Porters' Company and so free to work in the city.

It is appreciated that the "free laborers" at York were so called long after the description "Freemason" had been established. There is a printed certificate in the York Lodge Masonic Library which reads:—

City of York, to wit. To the Searchers of the Porter's Company, in the said City.
Permit the Bearer hereof (blank) to work in your Company as a free Brother,
during the pleasure of the Lord Mayor . . .

The certificate has been completed in ink, a name and the date 30th day of April, 1822, have been inserted, and the word "free" crossed out and "unfree" added. It is appreciated that the year 1822 is not long ago, but the meaning of "free" or "unfree" is somewhat of a problem. It appears that the Bearer of a Certificate was permitted to work as a Porter in the city of York. If "free" as a member of the Porters' Company, if "unfree" during the Lord Mayor's pleasure.

It is with pleasure that I second a vote of thanks to Colonel E. Ward for his paper.

Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER said:—

I should like to add my congratulations to Bro. Colonel Ward and welcome a "crisp English contributor" from the West Country.

Whilst not wishing to quarrel with the conclusions Bro. Colonel Ward has reached in his excellent paper, I feel that the whole story of the derivation of the title "Freemason" still remains to be told.

Is it not possible, and even probable, that there was a dual source? One, Bro. Ward has proved—that to the popular mind the worker in "Freestone" was known as a "Freestone Mason". But there are other stones than Freestone, which in many parts of the country is unobtainable; yet the Freemason worked in these other mediums, which were often more serviceable for particular purposes.

The author has pointed out that a Freemason was not necessarily free of the town or city, and might have to obtain its freedom by either purchase or marriage; but by the very nature of his calling, the mason had to follow his work from one part of the country to the other. This he could not do if he were a villein tied to the land of his Lord or to his tything.

To travel he must be free. The carpenter, the rough mason, or the layer, could find work in his own district, but the specialised work of the skilled worker and designer in stone was not so common. The craftsman who could travel the country had to be free of the feudal Lordship and of the ties of land and city. The carpenter or the mason might be bound in servitude to the Lordship, but he who was free to travel was the "Freemason" who could only be impressed by his King.

I have no doubt Bro. Ward is right in his side of the interpretation, but I shall cling also to the derivation I have suggested.

Bro. CARR writes:—

I would like to add my word of welcome to Bro. Ward on his first contribution to our *Transactions*. His main conclusion that the title freemason was applied to those craftsmen engaged in work on "freestone", is one with which we may heartily agree, and he has furnished a solid mass of evidence in support of it. There are, however, two points in his essay upon which I should like to comment.

First, the implication that the word freemason is evolved "from Latin with or without French support" (p. 60). This might be misleading.

The word "free" is an Anglo-Saxon word of Teutonic origin, and "mason" is either of Norman-French or old French origin. Up to the fifteenth century, public documents were customarily written in Latin or Norman-French, and in many instances (but not always) technical terms, etc., in such documents were translated into those languages. Inevitably, our earliest references appear in Latin or Norman-French, but there can be no suggestion that these craftsmen were so described in everyday life, or that the name of their particular craft was originally Latin. The earliest appearance of the word "ffre maceons" is in a Latin document,¹ dated 1396, and soon after this we begin to find it used fairly widely, with all sorts of variations in spelling.

Bro. Ward goes on to show very rightly that the special skills of the freemason were of a higher order than those involved in other branches of the mason trade, and then proceeds to develop the conclusion that the word freemason from c. 1400 denoted the "superior designer-craftsman". On the evidence he has adduced for this purpose, I fear we must record a verdict of not proven. It is true that many of the great designer-craftsmen were freemasons, but that is not the point at issue, and I believe there is good evidence to show that their skill as freemasons was merely incidental to their capabilities as architects and designers.

We know from the London Mason's Ordinances of 1356² that masons of sufficient skill were (in London, at least) permitted to "work at any work touching the trade . . .". It seems to me that the implications of this particular clause in the ordinances has never had the attention it deserves. At a time when the London Crafts were splitting up into all sorts of sub-divisions and forming their own guilds or artizans who specialised in only one branch of their particular trade, the masons were ordaining that competent men should have liberty to work at any kind of mason work. Obviously, this was intended to enable men who had hitherto been engaged in less-skilled branches of the trade to undertake more intricate work, and the ordinances required proper safeguards by way of four or six men of the trade as guarantors that the work would be properly completed. This regulation clearly implies a certain scarcity of highly-skilled men, and although it was made at a time when the title "freemason" was not yet in common use, it is clear that "freemasons" were not then a *separate class* of master craftsmen.

In the Patent Roll of 1396, where we first find the word "ffre maceons", a distinction is clearly drawn between them and the "ligiers" (or layers), but the "ffre maceons" are merely a category of artizans, of a higher class perhaps, but by no means exceptional, since the document empowers the Archbishop of Canterbury to take 24 "ffre maceons" for work at Maidstone.

The extracts which follow, are drawn entirely from that amazing collection of mason contracts which are reproduced as an Appendix to Salzman's *Building in England Down to 1540*. They show:—

- (a) Instances of masons doing freemasons work (1395, 1436).
- (b) A freemason undertaking all kinds of mason work, including brickwork (1476).
- (c) Freemasons engaged specifically in freestone work (1506, 1511).
- (d) Freemasons employed in such numbers as to preclude the possibility that they were of the "designer-craftsman" class (1434, 1512, 1513 and cf. 1396 above).

¹ Patent Roll 19, Ric. II, 14th June, 1396. The passage is reproduced photographically in *A.Q.C.*, 43, plate 3 after page 88, and I vouch for the spelling as shown above.

² Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 250.

In 1395, two men, who are described throughout as masons, undertook a contract for cornice work, *i.e.*, moulded stone, to a design provided by Henry Yevele for work at Westminster Palace. Yevele's status is not specified in the contract, but the two men were undoubtedly doing freemasons' work. (Salz., p. 472.)

In 1419, "Rog Denys de Loundres fremason" was engaged in dispute regarding some work he had done on a church tower, and in an effort to prove his claim to a further payment he had called in four master craftsmen who are described as "maistres masons de franke pere". (Salz., p. 495-6.) There is no suggestion that the latter were of the master-designer class.

In 1436, "John Wode masoun" was engaged to rebuild the Church Tower of Bury St. Edmunds, and the contract required that he shall work with one servant ". . . in all manner thynges that longe to fremasounrye . . .". (Salz., p. 592.) He was no master-designer, although he was certainly a freemason.

In 1434, "Will Horwood free-mason" undertakes to build the nave of Fotheringay Church. A long and highly detailed contract, in which the use of free-stone is frequently specified. A restricting clause is included to limit the number of ". . . freemasons rogh setters ne leyers . . .", who are engaged on the work. Clearly the freemasons are still only a category of craftsmen. (Salzman, p. 505-9.)

In 1476, "Robert Stowell fremazon" contracted for building work on the church at Broxbourne, which included "Stone werke and breke (*i.e.* brick) in all that belongeth to masonry", and also a "Tombe of Fre Stone". The whole job involved a payment of only £24 plus the provision of raw materials. Stowell was certainly a freemason and a small master contractor, but he was not of the master-designer class. (Salz., pp. 537-8.)

In 1506, two "Fremasons" contract to make the stone vault of the choir at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, "with freestone". (Salz., p. 556.)

In 1511, Richarde Horssale, fremasson", contracts to build a church house, in which freestone is constantly specified. (Salz., p. 561.)

The two records above are only quoted to show that at this date the freemasons were still builders in freestone.

In 1512-13, John Wastell, in a contract for King's College Chapel, Cambridge, is required to "kepe contynually lx (*i.e.* 60) Fremasons werkyng vpon the same werkes". Wastell is described as "master Mason". The same details still with 60 freemasons appear in a later contract of 1513, and it is clear that the "Fremasons" are still only a category of artisans. (Salz., p. 565-8.)

It is impossible to reconcile a staff of 60 freemasons continually engaged on one job with the theory that the freemasons were of the master-designer class.

I have laboured the question, because in this interesting and well-documented essay, Bro. Ward has submitted one conclusion which appears to be a non-sequitur, and I am sure we would welcome any further evidence he may adduce in support of his contention.

BRO. BERNARD JONES writes:—

I welcome Bro. Colonel Ward's paper, and note with more than a little interest its internal evidences of having been written by an engineer. He has done well, I think, to refer for some of his facts to a comparatively new book, L. F. Salzman's *Building in England*, the publication of which, I think, will tend to modify hitherto accepted views on some small details of Masonic history.

The paper is the most effective presentation I have so far met of evidence in favour of the derivation of the word "freemason" from the "freestone mason" of the fourteenth century. Many previous writers, of course, have raised the very likely possibility of such a derivation, but I do not remember one of them going so far as to speak of "incontestible proof". I go nearly all the way with him, but I do not forget that we first learn of the "crisp English word" in 1376 (City of London Letter Book H.) and that by that year there had been, say, 300 years of serious stone building in England, during which period there possibly might have been some other circumstance, some other cause, quite unknown to us, that in its effect might have contributed to the word. Somewhat illogically, I agree, some students are chary in accepting the "freestone-mason" explanation (our late Bro. Herbert Poole told me he was one of them) and perhaps their wish is father to their thought that one of these days a more satisfying derivation will be forthcoming.

I had regarded the use of the term "freestone mason" in connection with the building of Wadham College, Oxford, in the early 1600's as the latest example known of the use of the term, and the author's bringing to light of the term "freestone cutter" in the Bristol Burgess books of 1735 and 1739 is an addition to our knowledge on the subject, certainly to mine.

The paper speaks of a lad being apprenticed to a freemason who was not free of the City (Bristol). This poses a difficulty, especially when we have regard to the date, the year 1600, at which time I personally had concluded that the freemason was then achieving the prefix "free" by reason of his membership of a trade company, whose freedom, one would assume, carried with it the freedom of the City. Of course, the Master Freemason in this case might have been free of *another* city; indeed, I am wondering whether, in an entirely normal indenture of the period, mention would have been made of the Master not being free of the City and therefore whether any special circumstances lie behind the inclusion of the phrase. The author gives four references from the Bristol Burgess books, all relating to the same point; the Chattertons and Esau Osborne are apparently all freemasons before they are admitted into the liberties—the freedom—of the City of Bristol, and I am inclined to wonder, in the face of these references and of the very late usage of the term freemason to be found in epitaphs, etc., whether certain families handed down the appellation from father to son, quite irrespective of freedom of Company or of City.

The author remarks that the change of title in 1655-6 from the London Company of Freemasons to the London Company of Masons "has apparently led to the belief by some that the original title henceforward applied only to speculative masons". He challenges any such belief. I would like to say on this point that as from the date of the London Company's dropping of the word "Freemason", we must assume that mere membership of the Company would not or could not confer on the operative mason any right to call himself a "freemason". Further, the slight continuing use of the term "freestone mason" or "freestone cutter" following 1656, could only barely or even extremely doubtfully serve to sustain the use of the crisp word "freemason" as the appellation of the seventeenth or eighteenth century operative. So it follows that as an operative term the word would certainly decline and die, as indeed it did, through a period in which the same word under its new meaning—a purely speculative one—steadily and surely rose into great and ever-increasing popularity. In effect, then, what ever had been the reason for the decision to drop the word, the London Company did actually surrender the appellation to the accepted masons.

Bro. Colonel Ward has given us an informative paper, well provided with evidence carefully chosen and well presented, a paper from which one can learn much and by means of which one can test one's own theories and opinions. I thank him for it and am sure that the printed *Transactions* of our Lodge will be the richer and the more helpful for its inclusion.

Bro. P. R. JAMES writes:—

May I join in congratulating Bro. Lt.-Col. E. Ward on his paper, particularly on his use of local sources to correct the generalisations of national writers? From the records of Bristol he has deduced that a freemason was a hewer and finisher of freestone, distinguished from a rough layer. How right he is. Perhaps he will accept the excerpts (at end of my reply) from the archives of the neighbouring city of Bath in support of his conclusion. From them it is evident that, though both were loosely called masons, the two classes of workmen, freemasons and rough masons, were distinct. John Wood the elder, no mean practitioner of the craft, defined freemasons as those who work stone in the quarries which, being carried to the site, is apt to be damaged. Rough masons are those who use this refuse or common wall stones (*Essay on Bath*, 2nd Edn., 1742, p. 339).

From the figures quoted, even though they defy calculation, probably due to bad accountancy, the wages of a freemason *can* be rated with those of the rough masons. Both in the sixteenth century received about one shilling a day, a carpenter 10d., and a labourer 6½d. It is also noticeable how many masons there were in a city with a population of little over 1,000, and that they were employed on work of no very great importance. When, at the end of the century, the abbey church was being rebuilt, references to masons become very few. The only ones I have come across are in a building account for 1618:—

paid to Yeareington the freemason	lxj. li.
paid to other masons as to Moore and Rawlins	xx.li. xij.s. ix.d.
paid to the masons	ijj.li.

There is no evidence of a masons' gild in Bath at that period, but there was certainly one there in the eighteenth century, from 1752 to 1777, whose object was to exclude "foreigners". Its original Constitution is extant (see a forthcoming paper by the present writer in the *Transactions* of the Somerset Masters' Lodge No. 3746). Other local records provide the names of contemporary masons:—

Book 158: Recipients of Thomas White's Gift for apprentices
1666 John Ryall rough mason

- 1739 Richard Jones Freemason
John Smith Rough Mason
- 1743 Francis Farr rough mason
Abraham Fisher Rough mason
Henry Fisher mason
Nathaniel Fisher mason

Book 224: Inrolment of Apprentices

- 6/4/1708 Thomas Carrington to Edward Marchant rough mason
10/5/1708 Samuel Ems to William Webb rough mason
2/2/1711 Edward Marchant to Edward Marchant his father rough mason
John Marchant to Edward Marchant rough mason his father

A few other names, culled over the years, are added: "men of sutel craft, as fre masons and othere". (*The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded; Select English Works of Wyclif*, ed. T. Arnold, III, 333.)

1460. William Sanynges erected St. Mathyas' Chapel, then in ruins, into a Freemasons Hall. (*Trans., Som. Masters' Lo.*, 1953, p. 260.)
1470. Contract by John Stowell, of Wells, free-mason. *Wells Convocation Books II*, 89; H. MS. C.Rept. I, App. 107.)
1537. William Taylor freemason. (Bath) (P.R.O., C2/H13/51.)
1608. John Coombe mason. (St. Michael's, Bath, Parish Chest.)
1632. Travers Farr mason. (*1641 Survey, Bath*, p. 152.)

Finally, a small correction. The John Molton referred to by Bro. Ward on page two as being granted the office of master of works by the Prior of Bath is the same person as the John Molton (page three) who succeeded Henry Redman as the King's Master Mason. His name was John Multon; he was granted the *reversion* of the office on 1st February, 1537 (*Harl. MS.* 3970, f.4d.); there is no evidence that he ever functioned, as he was busy elsewhere, and the monastery was surrendered two years later.

I regret that in the short time since receiving the rough draft of Bro. Ward's paper I have had no opportunity of checking the accuracy of my quotations. They were obtained from a reliable editor and there is no reason to suspect any serious errors. But I will check with the originals if it is desired.

The references are to pages in *Bath Chamberlains' Accounts, 1568-1602*, Som. Record Soc., Vol. xxxviii.

MASONS

5. to iij. masons apone the howsse that was Myghelles vij.s.vj.d. (1569).
to the massons at the hott bathe xl.s. (1569).
10. The fyrste weke in Lent, iij. masons v. dayes haullfe xxj.s.vij.d., v. laborors v. dayes hauffe xij.s.vj.d. (1569).
32. paid to a mason (1576).
48. } to a mason . . . xij.d., to a man to serve him viij.d. (twice) (1580).
49. }
54. payed more to the mason for iij. dayes work and di. . . . iij.s.ij.d.ob. d.
payed more to a laborer for iij. dayes and half the same tyme ii.s.iiij.d.
pay to on mason and one laborer for one dayes worke xix.d. (1581).
156. to a mason . . . (1597).
162. paid to two masens for two daies worke and a halfe . . . v.s. (1598).
164. paid to the masons (1598).
167. paid to two masons for two daies worke . . . iiij.s.
paid to the masons . . . paid to a mason for on daies worke and a halfe . . .
xviij.d. . . . paid to a mason (1599).
182. paid to a mason (1601).
186. paid to a mason (1602).

FREEMASONS — ROUGHMASONS

1569

6. 4th weke, viij.fre massons vj.dayes xlvij.s., xj. laborars vj. dayes xxxv.s.iiij.d
7. 5th weke, vj. rowghe layers vj. dayes xxxix.s.vj.d., vj.d., vj. fre massons vj. dayes xxxiiij.s.
7th weke, vj. fre masons v. dayes xxix.s.vij.d., vij. rowe layers v. dayes xxxiiij.s.ix.d.,
xiiij. laborors v. dayes xxxiiij.s.ij.d., iij. carpentres v. dayes xj.s.vii.d,

8. 8th weke, vij. fre masons v. dayes xxxvij.s.ij.d., vj. rowghe layers v. dayes xxvij.s.j.d., xiiij. laborars v. dayes and a hauffe xxxvij.s.v.d.
- 9th weke, vj. fre masons v. dayes an a hauffe xxxvj.s., ix. layers v. dayes haulffe xlvij.s.vj.d., xj. laborors v. dayes haulffe xxxiiij.s.vj.d.
- 10th weke iij. carpentrs vj. dayes xiiij.s.vj.d., viij. fre massons vj. dayes xlvij.s., vij. rowghe layers vj. dayes xxxvj.s., xiiij. laborors vj. dayes xxxix.s.vj.d.
9. 11th weke, iij. carpentrs v. dayes xj.s.iiij.d., vij. fre masons v. dayes xxxiiij.s.ij.d., vij. rowhe layers v. dayes xxv.s.v.d., xj. laborors v. dayes xxvij.s.vij.d.
- 12th weke, ix. laborars v. dayes xxv.s., iij. carpenters v. dayes xj.s., vij. fre masons v. dayes xxxiiij.s.ij.d., viij. rowghe layers v. dayes xxxiiij.s.iiij.d.
- 13th weke, xj. laborars v. dayes haulffe xxxj.s.j.d., viij. fre massons v. dayes haulffe xliij.s.iiij.d., vij. rowghe layers v. dayes haulffe xxxij.s.vj.d., one carpentre ij. dayes xx.d.
- 14th weke, vij. fre masons vj. dayes xls.vj.d., vj. rowghe massons vj. dayes xxxj.s.vj.d., ix. laborres vj. dayes xxvij.s.
- 15th weke, iiij. rowghe layers v. dayes xvj.s.vij.d., iiij. fre massons v. dayes xx.s., v. labors v. dayes and a haulffe xxij.s.vj.d.
10. The second weke in Lent, . . . iiij. fre masons vj. dayes xxij.s.vij.d., ij. laborors vj. dayes vj.s.vj.d.
11. The thyrd weke, vj. fre massons vj. dayes xxv.s., iiij. laborors vj. dayes xij.s.vij.d.
- The iiijth weke, . . . v. fre massons v. dayes xxiiij.s.vij.d., vij. rowghe masons v. dayes xxxij.c.vj.d., vj. laborars v. dayes xv.s.
- The vth weke, v. fre masons v. dayes xxiiij.s.ij.d., vj. rowghe massons v. dayes xxvij.s., vij. laborors v. days xvij.s.vj.d.
- The vjth weke, . . . v. fre massons vj. dayes xxvj.s.iiij.d., vij. rowghe layers vj. dayes xxxix.s.ij.d., vj. laborars vj. dayes xv.s.
- The vij. weke, vij. fre massons iiij. dayes xxvij.s.iiij.d., viij. rowghe layers iiij. dayes xxx.s., vij. laborars iiij. dayes xiiij.s.vij.d.
12. The viijth weke, . . . ij. laborars iiij. dayes, iiij.s.iiij.d.
- The ixth weke v. fre masons vj. dayes xxix.s., iiij. rowghe masons vj. dayes xxiii.s., v. laborars vj. dayes xv.s.vj.d.
- The xth weke. . . . iiij. fre masons vj. dayes xxij.s., one rowghe masson vj. dayes vj.s., iiij. laborars vj. dayes xij.s.vj.d.
- The xjth weke, . . . iiij. fre masons vj. dayes xxij.s., ij. rowghe layers vj. dayes xj.s., iiij. laborars vj. dayes xij.s.vj.d.
- The xijth weke . . . iiij. fre massons v. dayes xix.s.ij.d., ij. laborars v. dayes v.s.v.d.
- The xiiijth weke, iiij. fre masons v. dayes and a haulffe xxj.s.ij.d., . . . ij. laborars v. dayes haulffe v.s.xj.d.

NAMES

6. to Gardner hymeselfe and hys mane v. dayes, the one xij.d. a day, the other xj.d., ix.s.vij.d. (1569).
- to Gardner and his manne vj. dayes apece xj.s.vj.d. (1569).
- to Gardner for v. dayes worke, he and his mane, ix.s.vij.d., iiij. laborars v. dayes x.s.x.d. (1569).
7. Gardner with ix. massons v. dayes and a hauffe lv.s.xj.d., xvij. laborors v. dayes and a halffe xlvj.s.ix.d. (1569).
10. iij. laborars v. dayes vij.s.ix.d., to Gardner and his mane v. dayes and a haulffe x.s.vj.d. (1569).
25. paid to Richard Tybbett and Thomas Slappe, the freemasons, for vj. daies worke apece at xij.d. the daie . . . (1575).
27. paid to Levet, the roughe mason, for making of walle in the Guildhall (1575).
44. Levett the mason (1579).
65. to Phelps for v. daies for hym and vij. dayes worke for Hulbert and Levettes boye one daye on Edmond Robertes howse xj.s.vij.d. (1582).

NAMES OCCURRING

John Gardner — (buried "a free Mason" 26/8/1570. St. James' Register)
 Thomas Gardner — mason, freemason
 William Lemon — mason
 Thomas Phillips — mason

John Moore — mason
 Thomas Moore — mason, freemason
 Richard Tybbett — freemason
 Thomas Slappe — freemason
 Thomas Levett — rough mason, mason
 — Skryne — mason
 — Deep — mason
 Thomas Hulbert (Hibbet)
 — Fortune — mason
 — Gregory — freemason
 William Biddle — mason
 Doubtful: Farr, Morley and Blackwell

Bro. H. M. YEATMAN said:—

I must point out that Much Wenlock is not in Somerset, but in Shropshire, indicating that a previous authority has been misquoted at some stage. I would not have mentioned this except for the fact that the author, in the last sentence of the paper, had given a specific warning against misquoting authorities. I further suggest that the presence or absence of a hyphen is a rather slender foundation on which to erect a rather imposing superstructure of inference; but do not wish my remarks to be taken as a serious criticism of a most interesting paper, on which I desire to felicitate the author most cordially.

Bro. C. R. MANASSEH said:—

There is little doubt, philologically, that the English prefix "Free" in the word "Freemason" is considered to derive its etymon from the old French word "Franc", from which we still keep the English word "Franchise" as a noun, and "Frank" as an adjective and, especially in this particular sense, as a verb.

In the Middle Ages, the French word "Franc" was applied to a serf who was no longer bound—in French "affranchi"—to his landlord.

It is also known that on all French estates there were men capable of practising the craft of masonry; and they were employed on the erection and repairs of buildings on the estate. However, there were never enough constructions or repairs being carried out on any particular estate to keep the masons fully employed.

Therefore, if a man wished to specialize in that craft, and that his skill and abilities warranted risking insecurity of abode and employment for greater remuneration if and when employed, he would obtain his freedom from his overlord and leave the estate in order to seek more remunerative employment further afield. It was the latter type of craftsman, who were literally "Franc-maçons", who built the cathedrals and other famous buildings in France. They were the craftsmen with the greater skill, and hence, in later years, the term "Franc-maçon" became descriptive of the effect—their great skill—rather than of the cause—the release from serfdom.

If a chronologically later derivation is required, it may also be considered that a body of French masons was formed as an organisation entirely independent from any authorities which employed them or which ruled over ordinary masons: a contemporary expression which would describe these "franc-maçons" adequately is *non* trades union members. They were therefore "free" to practise their craft wherever it was most expedient or remunerative for them to do so.

The use of the French word "Franc" in that particular sense can still be found in the modern French word "Franc-tireur", describing a man or, in the plural, a body of men who wage their own private war against the common enemy.

And as operative masonry in English history derived most of its traditions from the Normans, and later from France (*vide* our Gothic architecture), it is not surprising to find that French terms such as "Franc-maçon" were adopted by the English masons, who gave them an English translation which was literal, sometimes to the extent of using a hyphen, as in the original French word, as can be seen in some manuscripts. And they probably adopted these translated words irrespective of their meanings, which might no longer have been applicable under the conditions in which the craft was practised in England, where the prefix "Free" might have simply been awarded, as it was later in France, to the mason of greater skill in the craft than the ordinary one who was simply referred to as a "Mason".

Bro. J. R. DASHWOOD said:—

While this thesis has been discussed on many previous occasions, we may indeed be grateful to Bro. Ward for his re-statement of the case with new evidence.

For myself, I cannot help feeling that in this, as in so many other Masonic matters, we are inclined to read far too much *intention* into the usage of our ancient Brethren, which was probably much more a matter of the whim of the moment.

As Knoop has pointed out, the terms "Mason" and "Freemason" were largely interchangeable, the same person being, in one breath, described as the one, and in the next as the other.

I suggest that the term "free" was merely a matter of a minor pride, derived from its analogous use by other tradesmen who were, in fact, "free" of a Company or a Burgh, and I suggest that, in the case of the Mason, it merely meant one who was "free from" tutelage (whether it happened to be a formal indenture or informal tuition by a father or other relative), and "free to" work as a fully-qualified tradesman (whether by permission of a Lodge or of his Master, or just a tacit acknowledgment that he was now fully fledged).

Bro. Ward's antithesis between the single and the hyphenated words is ingenious, but again I should doubt the existence of *intention*.

Bro. FRED L. PICK writes:—

It might appear at first sight that Bro. Lt.-Col. Ward was merely going over ground that was already well-trodden, but a glance at the list of authorities quoted indicates the thoroughness and magnitude of his re-examination. Various meanings have been attributed to "the crisp English word", and it is interesting to realise how widely the views of our own members have diverged. One would have thought the matter settled by Knoop and Jones in *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, but Bernard Jones appears to differ, as, I am sure, our lamented Bro. Poole would have done had he still been with us.

As a member of the jury, I cast my vote in favour of the case presented by Begemann, Coulton, Knoop and others, and congratulate Bro. Ward on an excellent first contribution to *A.Q.C.*

Bro. G. H. ROOKE writes:—

One aspect of masonic "freedom" seems to have escaped with only minor consideration in the discussion on Bro. Colonel Ward's paper, namely, that of freedom "from". The point was indeed raised that by it might be understood freedom from seignorial control and the services attached to that control, but the terms of feudal service are frequently misunderstood, and as frequently misapplied. It should be remembered that the feudal system of tenure was essentially military in its origins: tenure of land involved the giving of services which might in themselves be essentially military, or, more generally, for humbler folk, the provision of such ancillary services as, in theory, would leave a lord free to devote his energies to military activities. Hence might well be induced the principle of "no tenure of land—no duties owed". Though a lord would be reluctant to allow one of his smaller tenants to escape his obligations and his plot of land at one and the same time, and might do much to prevent it, yet there were plainly numerous loopholes by which a man might escape, most notable of which was the freedom that might be attained by residence of a year and a day within a town.¹ The operative mason, depending for his livelihood on his skill rather than on the cultivation of land, must in the main have tended *ipso facto* to be outside the sphere of praedial services, and also, by the nature of his occupation, to have been more an urban than a rural creature.

Yet, once within the urban sphere, the mason might well find that he had incurred other, and as burdensome, liabilities for services of a different kind. The "freedom" referred to might more readily be applied to exemption from these urban services than from praedial ones. For example, on 10th July, 1380, a Patent was issued at Westminster in the following terms:—

"Exemption for two years of Thomas Hoo, Richard Cook, Richard Weyland, John Asshe, Geoffrey atte Well, and James Gylot, masons of Canterbury, at work on the fabric of Christ Church, Canterbury, from being put on assizes, juries, inquisitions or recognisances in the city and suburbs of Canterbury, or elsewhere."²

¹ e.g., the Customs of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in Stubbs' *Select Charters* (9th edition), p. 133.

² Calendar of Patent Rolls 4, Ric. II, 530.

Other exemptions, for similar reasons, may be found dated 7th February, 1390, and 31st May, 1393, in favour of masons, carpenters and plumbers engaged on similar work. Perhaps the most interesting of all is a Patent of 29th August, 1390, in favour of Henry Yevele, exempting him for life, on account of his work at Westminster, the Tower and Canterbury Castle, and of his great age, from being put "on assizes, juries, inquisitions, attainments or other recognitions, and from being made sherriff, alderman, escheator, coroner, constable, trier, taxor, controller, collector of tenths, fifteenths, or other taxes, tallages, customs, subsidies, or quotas, bailiff, officer, or other minister of the king, against his will".¹ These were not inconsiderable exemptions, and must have warranted the description of "free" as justly as any other cause.

Bro. E. WARD writes in reply:—

In this paper two issues are posed:—

- (a) did Freemason mean freestone mason, and
- (b) does Free-Mason mean Speculative mason.

The second only became apparent when collecting material for the first, and it might have been better to have kept them separate, which I will, so far as is possible, in replying.

THE CASE FOR FREEMASON = FREESTONE MASON

Prefatory

We have covered a period from 1140 to 1740, 600 years in which obviously great changes occurred in every walk of life. That at various periods, by various people, different understandings must have arisen, I cannot possibly doubt and will dispute any suggestion that in isolated instances the prefix "free" has been genuinely believed to be related to freedom of some kind.

We are on common ground, too, if agreed that until about the eighteenth century most people wrote words without consistent spelling, and that even official documents frequently show different spellings of the same word in the same sentence. But after allowing for occasional variations the overall consistency in this case is I maintain, too marked to be fortuitous.

Free and Freestone

Bro. Carr is right about the word free, but as I have tried to show, that is anything but the point. The genitive word is freestone, which is not stone that is given away, but stone that can readily be carved. The first reference I know to it in English is c. 1320, "The Knyght gat masons many ane and grat them hew ful faire fre-stane",² which seems to be from "franche pere" already quoted, "franche", meaning "of excellent quality" (N.E.D.) and franche=frank (as in frankincense) from francus=medieval latin.³

Franc-Maçon

Bro. Manasseh's observations are interesting, but would be even more interesting if supported by facts.

Various Kinds of Stone

Bro. Oliver calls attention to an important point forgotten. It is certain that freemasons hewed many kinds of stone, marble (so called), alabaster and incidentally timber when they made moulds, but the fundamental material without which Gothic architecture would not have come into existence was freestone, the white limestone of Caen for example being so highly esteemed that it was shipped for Canterbury and Norwich Cathedrals, Westminster Abbey, London Bridge and numerous other works.

Granite, although abundant in Cornwall was rarely used there for major works until the fifteenth century, freestone being brought from afar,⁴ and Purbeck "marble" is a form of limestone.

In Scotland, on the other hand the lack of native freestone points significantly to the fact that the title "freemason" does not appear in early Scottish records.⁵

But in Great Britain it is from England that the best freestones (colitic limestones) are found in the broad escarpment running diagonally from Lyme Regis to the mouth of the Tees. On this belt lie the famous quarries of Bath, Winford, Winchcombe, Taynton, Painswick, Dundry,

¹ *Ibid.*, 14, Ric. II.

² N.E.D., 1901.

³ Weekley, *Etym. Dict. of Mod. English*.

⁴ L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*, p. 396.

⁵ Knoop and Jones, *The Scottish Mason*, p. 74.

Ham Hill, Barnack, Doultong, Chilmark, Ancaster and many others with which some of the earliest freemasons were connected, as their surnames imply, *e.g.*, Richard Farleigh, *c.* 1360, probably from Monkton Farleigh near Box (Bath) and William Wynford *c.* 1400, probably from Winford, near Dundry.

I think it is to places on this ridge, the dividing line between industrial and metropolitan England that we shall eventually trace the genesis of (operative) freemasonry.

Freedom to Travel

Bro. Oliver feels unable completely to feel that this once generally accepted theory has no substance.

In the twelfth century, when the population of England and Wales was under two millions¹ there were built in Great Britain, apart from secular structures, no less than 63 great religious houses including Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, York, Durham and Lincoln.² This achievement is amazing by any standards, and many of these works were remote from hamlets, let alone towns. They could not have been built had not many masons of all kinds, carpenters, plumbers, glaziers and so on travelled from their homes to build them. But that did not result in "freeplumbers", etc.

One-and-a-half centuries later, after the labour troubles at Windsor Castle (resulting from the Black Death) the Statute 30, Ed. III, 1356, decreed:—

"If labourers and artificers absent themselves out of their services in another town or country, the party [concerned] shall have suit before the justices . . . and if he does not return after three monitions, and for the falsity, he shall be burned in the forehead . . ."³

This clearly implies that previously there was no embargo upon travelling by either labourers or artificers.

Three-and-a-half centuries later the state did not seem to know of any exclusive travelling privileges of freemasons, for in 1548 a Statute⁴ 2 and 3, Ed VI, c. 15, states:—

"Any Freemason, roughmason, carpenter, bricklayer, plasterer, etc., borne in this realme or made Denizon, to work in any of the saide Crafts in any cittie Borough or Towne . . . albeit the said p'son or p'sons do not inhabit or dwell in the cittie [etc.] nor be free of the same."

Had freemasons possessed travelling privileges denied to other crafts, why the need to mention the former?

Incidentally, this Statute proves that in 1548, throughout the nation, a freemason was so called before becoming free of a city, etc.

Analogous Terms

To the several Brethren who find difficulty in accepting freemason both as a single word as freestone is a single word, and as one derived from the material on which the worker was engaged, the following are similar compounds:—

1. A Rowmason, Roughlayer, or Roughmason, was not an uncouth mason, but one who worked rough stone, *i.e.*, other than freestone.
2. A Hardhewer was not a callous mason, but one who hewed hard stone.
3. A Blacksmith (first noted as such in 1483) is not a denigrated smith, but a worker of black iron.
4. A Greengrocer is not a simpleton, but a retailer of greenstuffs.

Freedom from Serfdom

Bro. Rooke rightly says that I gave scant consideration to this aspect. This is only because I cannot see why mason hewers should have special claim over, say, carpenters, to name but one of the other essential trades. Both were required in every major building, and if freedom were necessary for one it must have been necessary for the other. As I mentioned before, some of the great carpenters achieved distinction equal to that of their mason colleagues. See, for example, John Harvey's recent work, *English Medieval Architects*, which is the most comprehensive collection of biographical facts known to me.

Since carpenters did not become "freecarpenters", I cannot think that freedom from servitude in any way influenced the derivation of the word "freemason".

There is another point, however. The English word "freemason" first becomes known

¹ E. S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157, 158.

³ J. Dallaway, *Architecture in England*, p. 425.

⁴ F. A. Hibbert, *Influence and Development of English Gilds*, p. 133.

to us in 1376, by which time almost everyone claimed freedom. Trevelyan speaks of this era as being more free than the England of the nineteenth century.¹

Freedom on Completion of Training

The test of Bro. Dashwood's theory is whether it can be reconciled to parallel circumstances obtaining in other sub-divisions of mason craft.

In building records, the most frequent categories of masons are freemasons (hewers), layers (of freestone and roughstone), roughmasons (*i.e.*, cutters of stone which has not the fine texture of freestone), roughlayers and hardhewers. All these required skill, the best layers and roughmasons often a great deal, and many boys were apprenticed to roughmasons, as I have already mentioned. See also Knoop.²

All these were masons, but on completion of their tutelage, whether they became free of a company or town or both, that did not make them freemasons.

Operative Status

Bro. Carr has probably misread me, both in wording and intention, for I said that the word "freemason" became part of the English language *c.* 1400, *when* it denoted etc., not *from c.* 1400.

"For in Chaucer's time the English people first clearly appear as a racial and cultural unit. The component races and languages have been melted into one. The upper class is no longer French, nor the peasant class Anglo-Saxon: all are English. Henceforward she gives forth her own."³

I referred at some length to decline in status, and indicated that by the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries the freemason devisor had been virtually superseded by the non-manual architect, some of those freemasons at the end (*e.g.*, the Chattertons) being almost odd jobbers. But in suggesting why the title freemason meant so much more than that of any other kind of mason, I specifically spoke of "great" and "distinguished" freemasons, *i.e.*, of the early days, and these were the designers who had graduated from the ranks of ordinary freemasons—indeed through any grade of masonry. That some freemasons were undistinguished is obvious, but generally their grade received better pay than that of all other buildings workers.⁴

In 1391, "As to John Sampson, for that he is a master freestone mason and extremely knowledgeable and skilful in that art and in carving, and because the takings of such masons cannot be put on a level with the takings of other masons of another grade and rank in depth of knowledge and judgment of that art, by the discretion of the Judges he was discharged."⁵

In the twilight of operative freemasonry the Rates of Wages "of all manner of Artificers" laid down at a General Quarter Sessions, *c.* 1685, in Warwickshire,⁶ Freemason heads the list with 1s. 4d. per day (without meat and drink), a master brick mason getting 1s. per day, and their "servants and apprentices above the age of 18" getting 8d. per day. A master bricklayer is entitled also to 1s. per day, but his servants and apprentices above the age of 12 years take 6d. per day.

The general pattern of early mediæval building organisation is quite clear and well documented (see annotated bibliography and Papworth).⁷ The client laid down broad principles to suit his individual requirements, the business management was delegated to his representative, usually a non-technical official, and the execution left to a trained body of craftsmen. Within this body the mason craft had by the thirteenth century created a special class of skilled workers in stone identifiable with that later known as the freemasons, and from this class were derived the Masters. In these circumstances, skill as freemasons was not just *incidental* to ability in design; it was the key to their greatness and the reason why their work has not been excelled.

This is why I consider that the title, once established to distinguish freestone hewers from freestone layers, etc., continued to the time when the difference was of no consequence.

Freemasons, the Municipalities and the State

The Regulations of 1356 mentioned at page 59, which Bro. Carr amplifies, but in my opinion misinterprets, was an example (not confined to Masons or London) of attempts to assert municipal authority, for surely it was not the masons who ordained, but the city of

¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 17.

² D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 66.

³ G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 11.

⁴ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 146.

⁵ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 75.

⁶ *Archeologia*, Vol. xi, p. 208.

⁷ W. Papworth, *Superintendents of English Buildings—Misc. Lat.*, Vols. xv and xvi.

London. It seems to have been effective at London Bridge, where the hewers and layers received the same rates, but this was exceptional and temporary.

Secondly, I suggest that this ordinance, despite the preamble, was a by-product of the Black Death (c. 1349), when, owing to extreme shortage of labour by the loss of at least one-third of the population,¹ it was considered necessary to curb incessant wage demands. This view is supported by the Statute of 1349 23, Ed. III, stating that "a great part of the people and especially of workmen and servants late died of the pestilence, whereby many demand excessive wages and will not work", etc.²

Thirdly, that the hewers were equivalent to freemasons and a separate class or grade of the same mystery is proved by their separate classification in the 1356 Regulations in contradistinction to the six layers and setters, and that some of the former were master craftsmen of the first rank is proved by the inclusion of Henry Yevele (called freemason in 1598 by Stow³), Richard Sallynge (Windsor Castle and Hadleigh Castle, at which latter he was warden), John Tyrington (Tower of London, Kennington Palace and St. Mary Graces-by-the-Tower, London) and Thomas Gloucester (principal mason at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster).⁴

Leaving aside the debatable question whether they could have split up into different organisations, the fact that never at any time did they do so is evidence in itself that the freemasons were the leaders of the single masonic fraternity, the Hole Craft. In 1443-4 the Statute of 23, Hen. VI,⁵ lays down wages: "eny free mason or master carpenter is to receive 5½d. per day", whilst "a roughe mason and mesne carpenter is to receive 4½d. per day". Note that *any* free mason equalled a master carpenter. Also reason why in this case the crisp single word was not used.⁶

Fourthly, London was a state within a state and, I suggest, apt to mislead if we aim to get into proper perspective a national craft impossible to segregate and confine within the narrow limits of towns, the fundamental principle adopted by almost every other craft in the Middle Ages.

Dangerous Theories v. Unsolved Problems

Reference Bro. Rogers' third and fourth paragraphs, if anyone deduces from my observations the dangerous theory that many Freemasons were (a) themselves masters, (b) executives of works great and small, (c) superior to ordinary masons, (d) wonderful carvers in stone, his danger will be slight, for these are facts very easily checked by the collations in John Harvey's *English Medieval Architects*.

Bro. Rogers also draws attention to the alteration made in *Letter Book H*, August, 1376. My reading from the reproduction⁷ is that the word was "ffreemasons", not "free masons". The clerk cancelled the names of Wrek and Lesnes, adding "quia postea", and, indeed, on the same page added the same two names very properly with two others of the Masons' company, for it was not yet called otherwise. It seems quite clear that Wrek and Lesnes were "Masouns hewers"=freemasons, and the other two "masouns ligiers & setters" (see ref. 12), but all were, of course, in the broader sense, masons. Conder's view⁸ subsequent to the "Hole Craft" seems decisive to me.

With reference to Richard Ellom, whom I take to be identical with Richard Ellam, as implied in Bro. Rogers' own work⁹ (foot of p. 46 and bottom of p. 47), the only word in the will which can be reconciled to the occupation of husbandman seems to be "cattle". But many masons owned real estate, e.g., Richard Farleigh (responsible for the spire of Salisbury Cathedral), who in 1363 sold nineteen acres and six messuages at Keynsham, Somerset.¹⁰

According to Conder,¹¹ W. H. Rylands, in *Mas. Mag.*, 1881, stated that not *one* of those present at Ashmole's initiation was an operative mason, and yet in *Freemasonry in Lancashire* he is quoted in Bro. Rogers' paper, p. 47, as saying that "the term Freemason referred to the Trade of Freemasonry".

With these latter sentiments and spelling I heartily agree. Had Ellam really been a husbandman, it would be extraordinary at any time, let alone 1677, to omit this and substitute "freemason" if the latter meant a speculative "Free-Mason", as Ashmole wrote it.¹²

¹ G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 8.

² W. Papworth, *Misc. Lat.*, Vol. xvi, No. 2, p. 18.

³ J. Stow (ed. Kingsford), *Survey of London*, Vol. i, p. 212.

⁴ J. A. Harvey, *English Med. Architects*.

⁵ Ed. Conder, Jr., *Hole Craft*, p. 77.

⁶ W. J. Williams, *A.Q.C.*, xlviii, p. 148.

⁷ *A.Q.C.*, xli, following p. 136.

⁸ *A.Q.C.*, ix, p. 29.

⁹ *A.Q.C.*, lxv, pp. 46 and 47.

¹⁰ Somerset Record Soc., *Trans.*, Vol. xvii, p. 46.

¹¹ Ed. Conder, Jr., *Hole Craft*, p. 204.

¹² *A.Q.C.*, lxv, facing p. 38.

I have not yet traced information concerning Peter Hand, but, within thirty miles of Eccleshall, "Henry Pagett the elder of Bridgnorth, freemason, together with William Higgins of Pitchford, freemason, contracted on Feb. 15, 1713/14, to rebuild the nave and W. tower of Quatford Church, Salop, for £172"¹. As the term was used in that locality after the dates of the Hand and "T.H." references, it seems clear that both the latter were operative masons.

Freemasons' Hall in 1460?

Apropos Bro. James' most valuable contribution, I must make amends for his being misled by Bristol literati on this one point, quoted from *Somerset Masters' Transactions* and probably taken from Powell and Littleton.² I have already mentioned the Chattertons, and this particular temple was built only in the mind of Thomas Chatterton, the boy poet, c. 1768, appearing in his spurious *Rowlie MSS.*

The exact wording is typical of Chatterton and worth reproducing, if only to avoid others being misled:—

"Thys Chapelle was fyrst ybelden bie Alwarde a Saxonne ynne 867 & ys now (about the year 1460) made of the old walles of the same a Free Maconnes Logge, of wyche same amme I unwordie and Mastre Canynge Brendren; . . ."³

For years I have looked for clues to the origin of this fable, but, alas, without success. The "house of the freestone workers" near St. Mary Redcliffe was there before the time of Wm. Canynge the younger. In the latter's will⁴ there was a bequest of 3s. 4d. to John Hampton, mason, of Bath, who lived in "Redclifstrete".

The great merchant Canynge is reported to have employed 100 carpenters and masons, etc. daily.⁵

London and the Provinces

Of the many interesting points raised by Bro. Bernard Jones concerning operative masonry *post* 1650, some of them, I feel, can better be dealt with in a separate paper now being written around the constitutions of the Bristol Masons', etc., Company of 1672, which has just come to light. Nothing has yet been noticed to change the view expressed that the special case of London may, perhaps, have exerted a little too much influence upon our understandings of a nation-wide craft.

For example, the tomb at Fairford, Glos., inscribed, "Valentine Strong, freemason" (died December 26th, 1662).⁶ This mason and quarry owner, of Taynton, was followed by his sons, Thomas and Edward, both of whom became free of the Masons' Company of London by redemption in 1680.⁷ It is, of course, impossible to detect any difference between the type of work of the father and that of the sons, yet the father (in the West of England) was called a freemason, but the sons in London are usually referred to simply as masons. I do not think this would have happened in Bristol, in support of which I cite another entry in the Apprentice Books:—

"Samuel, son of John Jones freemason of London 18 Sept. 1721 apprenticed to Richard Eagles clothworker and Hester his wife for 7 years."

One other point. When I quoted the "freestone cutters", this was not the only example of reversion to type, for in the list of subscribers to John Wood's *A Description of the Exchange of Bristol*, published in 1745, there appears:—

Benjamin & Daniell Greenaway of Widcombe near Bath, Marble and Freestone Masons.

Robert Parsons of Widcombe, Freestone Mason.

The Incontestible Contested

I apologise to Bro. Jones for the unqualified expression. That the conclusions were contested is not the fault of the evidence, but mine in handling it, since for brevity's sake I embraced the material contained in the authorities annotated. This is, therefore, condensed to the following simple facts:—

1. In 1212 a statute of the Realm mentions
sculptores lapidum liberorum (*i.e.*, carvers or hewers of freestone suitable for fine work).

¹ H. M. Colvin, *English Architects, 1660-1840*, p. 428.

² Powell and Littleton, *Hist. of Freemasonry in Bristol*, p. 10.

³ Robert Southey ed., *Works of Thomas Chatterton*, Vol iii, p. 297.

⁴ T. P. Wadley, *Notes of Bristol Wills*, p. 151.

⁵ J. Dallaway, *William Wyrcestre*, p. 114.

⁶ *A.Q.C.*, xlv, following p. 232.

⁷ H. M. Colvin, *English Architects, 1660-1840*, p. 576.

2. In 1351 another statute differentiates between master freestone mason (mestre mason de franche pere) and other masons.
3. In 1359 and 1360 we have statutes wherein master of "franche pere" (freestone) is contrasted with mason of gross pere (rough stone unsuitable for carving).

The important point is that freestone came first. Next, that the State recognised the necessity to distinguish between the mason who worked freestone and the mason who worked rough stone, and from this emanated the name freemason.

THE CASE FOR FREE-MASON = Free and Accepted Mason

Bros. Rogers and Dashwood require more evidence, and on this side of the picture there is a consistency which I find remarkable, for it is difficult to discover any evidence at all that speculative and accepted masons were originally called freemasons.

Operative Records in London

For the paper, *Masons and the City of London*,¹ Williams collected all he could find in public documents from 1293 to 1654 relative to operatives and the many quotations all appear to be *verbatim et literatim*. The single word freemason(s) occurs in the actual records no less than 46 times, but free mason(s) not once.

Non-operative Records in London

I have already mentioned Anderson's *Constitutions*, but every successive *Book of Constitutions*, including the present, which presumably we must regard as authoritative, is addressed to "Free and Accepted Masons".

But consider unauthorised documents. Knoop and his colleagues published *Early Masonic Pamphlets*, containing presumably exact copies of some 47 miscellaneous leaflets, broadsides, etc., dating from 1638 to 1735, all referring to speculative and accepted masonry. Only in one, *The Pig and the Mastiff*, p. 153, can I find the word "freemason". All the rest refer over and over again either to FREE-MASONS or some similar two-word title. If Knoop's copying is as reliable as usual it shows remarkable consistency in the formative period.

Antiquity M.S.

This has played so prominent a part in Masonic histories that the conclusion to the Regulations for "Masons allowed or Accepted" is worth nothing.²

"THESE be all the Charges and Covenants that ought to be Read at the Makeing of a Free-MASON or Free-MASONS. The Almighty . . . Amen. WILLIAM BRAY FREE-MAN OF LONDON AND FREE-MASON. Written by Robert Padgett Clarke to the Worshippful Society of the FREE-MASONS of the City of LONDON in the second year of the RAIGNE of our most GRACIOUS SOVERAIGN LORD KING JAMES the SECOND of England, etc., Annoq Domini, 1686."

Hughan notes that Conder failed to find Robert Padgett's name connected with the operative London Company, and suggests he was not an operative mason. The prefix "free" was dropped from the name of the Company in 1655.

The names of William James, and Henry Pagett appear in Knoop, *London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*,³ but not Robert Padgett.

Roberts Constitutions (dated by Knoop, 1722)

Bros. Rogers and Rylands both mentioned this, and I assume the passage particularly referred to is that headed, "Additional orders . . . agreed upon . . . Dec., 1663".⁴ The Roberts print is a perfect example of what I meant in the final paragraph.

The first clause is virtually identical in wording, but not in spelling with G.L. M.S. No. 2, from which it seems likely to have been copied. I quote from G.L. Library facsimile of this earlier M.S. from the latter half of the seventeenth century:—

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xlv, p. 117, etc.

² W. J. Hughan, *Old Charges*, 1895, p. 67.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xlvi, p. 5, etc.

⁴ Knoop, Jones, Hamer, *Early Mas. Pamph.*, p. 82.

"noe pson of what degree soever be accepted a free Mason [two words] unlesse he shall have a Lodge of five free Masons att ye least, whereof one to be Master or Warden of that Limitt or division, wherein such Lodge shall be kept and another of the Trade of ffremasonry " [one word].

The words in brackets are my additions, but there is here a very clear distinction between operative and non-operative. Incidentally, Anderson (1738 *Constitutions*) seems to have made the same error as Roberts in transcribing this passage.¹

The Union

The Declaration² lays down as a first principle:—"By the solemn act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of FREE-MASONS of England in December, 1813, it was declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry, etc. . . .".

Finale

If we are prepared to accept (a) the obvious fact that a significant difference exists between operative and non-operative masons, (b) the evidence which points so strongly to the now extinct freemasons being freestone masons, and (c) that we who freely and voluntarily, etc., are properly designated Free-Masons, it must be admitted that some problems which appear obscure are no long problems at all.

In three cases I have called men freemasons without documentary evidence of their being so called during their lives. I purposely chose men whose artistry is known well enough to be able to say that theirs was freemason's work. By the same token Christopher Wren, at the height of his career, was apparently never called "Architect" in official documents.³

But irrespective of whether we agree on all points or none, I am most grateful to those who have contributed, for they have made me realise more than ever how much better the essay could have been were I able to start all over again. Finally, I must particularly thank Bro. Dashwood for toleration and understanding with an untried stone, and Bros. Rogers and Carr for their generous measure of controversial material.

¹ W. J. Hughan, *Old Charges*, 1895, pp. 124, 125.

² D. Knoop, *A.Q.C.*, liii, p. 4.

³ J. Summerson, *Sir Christopher Wren*, p. 10.

REVIEW

ROBERT BURNS — FREEMASON

By Fred J. Belford, M.A.

(Reprinted from the Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland, 1955)



COTLAND and Scottish Freemasons are rightly proud of their Bard and though many papers on Robert Burns have been published, it is fitting that the excellent Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Scotland should contain a paper on the national poet. It may add little to our knowledge but, lest a generation arise which knows only the name of Burns (which Heaven prevent !), it is a good thing to keep the story of his life before mankind.

This is a useful background work—the social conditions under which Burns was initiated are amply illustrated as well as the three periods of his Masonic career, each with its distinctive setting. Bro. Belford deals neatly with the case of the alleged installation or appointment as Poet Laureate of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge—behind his impartial account of this controversial matter one seems to sense the historian who reluctantly demolishes a cherished fable. It was Murray Lyon who laid the axe to the root of this particular tree, but the legend, fostered by Stewart Watson's imaginative painting, dies hard.

As to the rest, we meet old friends, Willie Nichol of the "peck o' maut", Manson of the Cross Keys and the barrels, the happy "Within this dear Mansion" and the heartrending "Adieu ! a heart-warm fond adieu".

One cannot close this short review better than by a quotation from the last paragraph of Bro. Belford's enjoyable paper, "perhaps sufficient has been written to show that in the short span of life vouchsafed to him, Robert Burns proved himself an adornment to the Fraternity of which he was one of the most illustrious members".

FRED L. PICK.

1st July, 1955.

NOTES



THE EARLY MINUTE BOOK OF THE LODGE OF DUNBLANE, by Bro. A. F. Hatten—(a contribution to the Discussion of the paper read in June, 1954).—This paper is very welcome, and Bro. Hatten is to be warmly commended for his work. I hope it will not be his last contribution to the accumulation of material for the history of the Craft, and that it may be taken as another indication that the wealth of old Masonic records in Scotland, so strangely neglected by those who possess it, may eventually be made available to Masonic scholarship.

In the succeeding comments I shall confine myself to those points in which I am especially interested, and will leave the many other interesting matters to the tender mercies of other critics.

In reference to the phrase employed in the minutes from 1720 to 1726, "from the square to the Compass", I should say that there can be no doubt that it refers to ritual procedure. And if there was any particular reason for discontinuing it after 1726 other than a change of secretaries, or mere caprice on their part, it would have been that it came too close to recording matters "not proper to be written".

In 1929, Bro. N. S. H. Sitwell read a paper before the St. Claudius Lodge in Paris, in which he gave an account of the Lodge *Amis Reunis* at Aix-en-Provence, of 1766-1768. The actual date of the minute is not given, but must be between the years named. The citation was from the minute book of the Master's Lodge. As translated by Bro. Sitwell (he did not give the original), the entry informs us that a Candidate "received the Degree of Master by passing from the square to the compass".

That this phraseology, and the ritual form alluded to, was not a mere idiosyncrasy of this Lodge appears plainly from the well-known work, *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahis*, of 1745 (p. 126 of the Amsterdam edition), where the procedure is described with sufficient fullness. But it also has to be compared with a question found in some of the old catechisms, which with small variation runs: "If a brother were lost, where would you expect to find him?" The answer being: "Between the S. and the C.". The same question and answer appears also in the *Sceau Rompu*, also of 1745, and again in the *Wilkinson MS.*, which like *Le Catechisme*, seems to reflect a stage in the evolution of the ritual when there had not yet been any very definite allotment of material to such degrees as were then worked. There are later instances than these, but I will refer only to certain printed works ostensibly giving the catechetical lectures as taught in a well-known Lodge of Instruction; though in these it has strangely been put in the seventh section of the first degree, where its real meaning could not possibly be made clear. Which makes one doubt if the compilers or editors had the least idea of what it really did mean. Though it is to be remarked that elsewhere in these productions its significance is made clear enough to the "discerning eye". But so far as I know, it has never been remarked that every Mason who proceeds Master in a Lodge following English formularies has actually so passed, and were (as in France and America) any ritual search to have been made for him at one stage in the proceedings, between the S. and the C., he would have been found.

I think that Bro. Hatten has himself answered the question concerning the relationship of the Lodge and the Incorporation, when he suggests that the members did not themselves distinguish the two entities or realise clearly in which capacity they were acting. The minute of 27th December, 1722, does seem to imply that the Lodge and the Incorporation were regarded by the members as practically identical. But we need to know a good deal more than we do about the Scottish Incorporations generally, not only those of the Masons. We need to know more about their powers, terms of admission, their meetings and records, and their enactments and by-laws. I personally am inclined to think that the relationship between the two would be analogous to the formation of a limited liability company to-day. For example, the partners in a business decide to incorporate themselves; this gives them a definite legal status, but the business goes on just as before, and the partners still own and direct it.

Bro. Hatten interprets the minute of 27th December, 1729, as indicating "the respective

functions of the Lodge and the Incorporation", because "it shows that when it came to this distinctive test of an operative lodge, the non-operative members entrusted the examination of the candidates to one of the Mason family of Mushet". But it seems a perfectly straightforward proceeding on the face of it. If there were any special significance in the appointment of James Mushet to inquire into the qualifications of the two applicants for affiliation it would most likely have been that an operative mason was in general more *au fait* with what was required than a non-operative, simply because of his more ample opportunities of obtaining instruction. For in the daily exercise of his occupation in which he would come in frequent, perhaps continual, contact with other Masons, an advantage that the non-operative would seldom have, and would hardly ever have unless he made a special effort for the purpose. In fact, it is highly probable that the usage of rehearsing the lectures (*i.e.*, the catechisms) as part of the regular proceedings of a Lodge arose to meet this need of instruction by the members of "speculative" Lodges, Lodges entirely composed of non-operatives, in the eighteenth century, or it may be even earlier, and which continued, in theory at least, well into the nineteenth.

Bro. Hatten, it would seem, must have some hypothesis in mind when he extracts his inference, but what it may be does not appear anywhere in the paper so far as I can discover. As intimated above, the record seems clear enough. A capable member of the Lodge is appointed to examine certain applicants who claimed to be entered apprentices. Had they been described as masons by trade there might have been some colour to a supposition that operative masons, or members of a mason incorporation, had secrets apart from the non-operative members of a Lodge, or even that they alone had any secrets. But the applicants themselves were non-operatives. Mushet's report was that they had "competant knowledge of the Secrets of the Mason Word". They were then, we must infer, able to meet all the demands of the examiner: and if they could answer the questions asked they must also have been familiar with the latter. If then the non-operative members of the Dunblane Lodge were not sufficiently versed in the secrets to be able to conduct an examination it was only because of their lack of application in learning what they were theoretically supposed to know.

The cloud—or fog—of doubt which it has become—the fashion, shall I say—to raise about questions of ritual is greatly to be deprecated. It creates endless artificial difficulties where there are already sufficient real ones. I do not know of any old record (among those that have been made available to us) that gives any ground at all for supposing that the operative ritual usages were any different from those followed by non-operative or speculative masons. On the other hand there is evidence for the conclusion that they were essentially the same.

As an illustration, the comment made by Bro. Hatten on the previously cited minutes concerning the entering of "gentlemen and other persons of entire credit and reputation" may be taken. Having told us that there is no mention of a "quorum" being present on the occasion of this being done outside the Lodge, he says that "we cannot assert definitely that the requirement had been neglected". Of course we cannot. A positive assertion cannot be extracted from a mere omission in the record. But why should a suspicion be suggested that the requirement was not met? If we know anything at all about the traditional ritual, it is that it was always and everywhere held to be essential that at least five Masons should assist in the entering or passing a Mason. It does not seem possible that a well-instructed operative mason, as James Mushet evidently was, would have been guilty of an infraction of this ancient rule, whether expressed in the commission given to him by the Lodge or not, or whether or not it was recorded in the minutes. When mentioned in the minutes of an old Lodge, and there are some other instances besides the one under discussion, it is a confirmation of our information from other sources. When not mentioned it does not mean that the rule was unknown or neglected, but that to follow it was so much a matter of course that there was no felt need of recording it.

In regard to the different designations applied in describing Masonic organisations, I should say that when a group of masons organised themselves in any locality it was as a company or society, and when they were engaged in legislation, or in settling differences between individual members, or adjudicating upon offences committed, that they were a court. And when they entered apprentices or passed fellows of craft they were a lodge. And when they were exercising the powers granted by the civic authorities they were an incorporation.

Bro. Hatten has given us a very interesting paper, and in it is a great deal of valuable information to add to what has already been published, but I could wish that anyone following in his footsteps would so plan his paper—or book—that all the actual records for which he has space to give verbatim could be put together, all in one place, in order of date. This would make the work far more convenient for reference. But what I think all students would desire is to have complete texts of as many of these old records as possible.

R. J. MEEKREN.

The Pillars.—A question which is often asked is with regard to the position of the Pillars. According to I Kings, vi, 8, the door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house, and Tracing Boards show the winding stairs leading up to it from inside the porch.

This porch was at the East entrance to the Temple, and I Kings, vii, 21, states that Hiram "set up the pillars *in* the porch, to right and left"; but this doesn't solve the problem, for arguments may still revolve round the position of the viewer, according as he looks into the temple from the court outside or views the pillars from inside the porch, but it does seem to imply that he is inside. Yet one might argue otherwise and quote II Chron., iii, which states "he reared up the pillars *before* the temple"

The solution is not to be found in the two verses mentioning the names given to them, but in I Kings, vii, 39, which says: ". . . and he set the sea on the right side of the house eastward over against the south." Here we have the definite statement that South was on the right—therefore, North was on the left.

Looking at the pillars from the outside court would not agree with the positions mentioned in I Kings, for the South, from this viewpoint, is on the left, whereas verse 39 states that it was on the right, *i.e.*, where J. was situated, whose position is also confirmed by II Chron., iv, 10, as well as Josephus in his *Antiquities*.

There is no other position possible than to view the pillars from inside the porch.

N. ROGERS.

Historical Sketch on the Origin and the Development of the Scottish Rectified Rite in Switzerland, compiled by Br. H. R. Hilfiker, Eques a Petra Viventi, Great Prior, 1944-1951. Translated by Bro. Fulke Radice.—As the Directorate of the Scottish Rectified Rite has decided to commemorate in a modest fashion the foundation of the Independent Great Priory of Helvetia, it is very appropriate that we should, in the first place, give due prominence to the sacrifices and the fidelity of those Brethren, whose glorious example we should always keep before our eyes. May their memory, renewed for us to-day, once again revive our enthusiasm, so that we may continue to serve the noble Royal Craft with never-flagging zeal, in the same spirit as that which guided our predecessors.

To Bro. Andrew Buxdorf, Eques a Libertate, of Bâle, can be assigned the credit of being the first to introduce Knightly Freemasonry into Switzerland in 1765. This Brother was a member of the Scottish Lodge, "The Three Thistles", of Francfort, of the "Rittersfeld" (Knight's Field) Prefecture in the VII Province of the Order; and, together with Bro. Peter Burckhardt, Eq. a Serpente Curvato, and a number of Brethren belonging to the Lodge, which had been in existence in Bâle since 1744, all of whom had been also exalted in Francfort, he founded the Lodge "Libertas". The appropriate "Letters of permission" were granted to this Lodge by the "Rittersfeld" Prefecture. All these Brethren belonged to the so-called Wide Observance, as opposed to the Strict Observance, but they assumed at once, like the members of the latter Observance, the style of Knights Templar.

In 1765, Dr. Diethelm Lavater received in Erlangen the three degrees of Freemasonry. Then he travelled to Leipzig and joined the Lodge "Minerva of the Three Palms", which belonged to the Strict Observance. This Lodge set up a Prefecture, called "Derla", in the V Province of the Order. The same year Lavater was made Knight and received the name Eq. ab Aesculapio.

On his return to Zurich in the year 1767 he found the Lodge "La Discretion" very active and became its zealous Visitor, intending to bring over this Lodge to the Strict Observance. He succeeded in this in 1772.

Lavater's activity in building up the Strict Observance, activity which did not remain confined to Zurich only but even spread to Bâle, led for a time to strained relations between him and Buxdorf, the adherent of the Wide Observance. But the Bâle Brethren, remembering the previous friendly relations, formed out of the Lodge "Modestia" (formerly "Discretion") a Scottish Lodge of their own; and this led to the foundation in 1773 in Zurich of the first Swiss Prefecture, named "Modestia cum Libertate". The Commandery of Bâle, which was formed at the same time, was placed under this Prefecture's control. Dr. Diethelm Lavater was chosen as Prefect of this first Prefecture, which was officially assigned to the V Province, Burgundy, the seat of which was at Strassburg. Bros. Lavater and Buxdorf then took up negotiations with the Provincial authorities of this formerly so flourishing, but now decaying Province, and succeeded in gaining their favour for Swiss Freemasonry, as later years were to show.

After the Strict Observance had succeeded by its "Rectification" in the Convent of Kohlo in 1772 to cast off all clerical influence, the representatives of the various Provinces were again summoned to a new Convent of the Order at Lyon in 1778, which, after a month of strenuous activity, worked out a general knightly code for the Chevaliers Bienfaisants de

la Cité Sainte. Thus was laid the foundation stone of the Scottish Rectified Rite as still practised by us to-day, an offshoot of the Strict Observance.

The Order reverted to its original aim, the practice of charity in the widest sense of the word, the object being the fulfilment of man through the teaching of Christ in its original purity. The degrees were eventually limited to six: Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master Mason, Scottish Master of St. Andrew, Novice and Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte. Switzerland was represented at this Convent by Bro. Frederick Rudolf Salzmänn, Eq. ab Hedera, who succeeded in extracting the promise that a Priory, under the authority of a Scottish Directory, should be constituted in Switzerland. This promise, which was eventually carried out, was the first step towards freeing Swiss Freemasonry from all foreign influence.

Special plenary powers were granted to Bro. Diethelm Lavater enabling him to raise the Bâle Commandery, which was ruled by Bro. Peter Burckhardt, to the rank of a Prefecture with the same rights as Zurich. And now we come to the Convent of the V Province, Burgundy, held in Bâle on the 15th, 16th and 17th August, 1779, which was to prove so important for Swiss Freemasonry in general and our Helvetic Great Priory in particular.

In fulfilment of the promise given to Bro. Salzmänn at the Convent of Lyon, the Provincial Chapter assembled in Bâle, under the auspices of the supreme Leader of the Order, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, Eq. a Victoria, under the presidency of Very Worshipful Bro. Johannes a Flumine (Baron of Türkheim, near Strassburg) and the representative of the Swiss Chapter, Bro. Lavater, Eq. ab Aesculapio. These two Brothers drafted the text of the letter, dated the 17th August, 1779, which conferred independence on Switzerland.

For its part, the Directorate, over which the Grand Master of the V Province presided at first, designated on the 15th August, 1779, Bro. Diethelm Lavater as Swiss Great Prior in the first place, and then raised the Commandery of Bâle to the rank of a Prefecture, with Bro. Burckhardt as Prefect and Bro. Gisendörfer, Eq. a Domo, as Chancellor. On the following day, the 16th August, 1779, Bro. John Nägeli, Eq. a Tribus Stellis, was appointed Great Chancellor; and Bro. Ott, Eq. a Lutra, who represented the Zurich Prefecture at the Convent, was appointed as its representative at the Directory by the Bâle Prefecture.

The last sitting was devoted to the solemn installation of the Great Prior of Helvetia by the official representative of the V Province, Baron von Türkheim.

Since the grant of the Foundation Charter of the 17th August, 1779, in the year of the Order 466, which is signed by Baron von Türkheim, Eq. a Flumine, as plenipotentiary representative of the Provincial Chapter of the V Province, Burgundy, and Deithelm ab Aesculapio, Great Prior of the Independent Great Priory of Helvetia, the Directory in Helvetia possesses free and unlimited authority over its own property and is exempt from all dues to the Provincial authorities. It constitutes and rules Lodges, and no one can raise any objection. As regards its own internal affairs, it is independent of every foreign Tribunal. The Prefectures, however, the Commanderies and the Lodges pledge themselves to respect in every way the General Precepts and Rituals laid down at the Convent of the Order held in Lyon in 1778. In the interests of brotherly relations and mutual support, the Great Priory of Helvetia sent to the Provincial Authorities information concerning all its enactments, so that they could be noted.

The famous Convent of Wilhelmsbad in 1782 confirmed and acknowledge in due form the creation of the Independent Great Priory of Helvetia, and its Independence was subsequently placed beyond doubt on the 2nd August, 1828, when the Provincial Grand Chapter of Burgundy communicated to the Directorate of the Great Priory of Helvetia that it had ceased its labours and made over all its rights and privileges to that Great Priory. Zurich accordingly became the seat of the Scottish Grand Directorate in Helvetia.

I should be guilty of a grave omission if I did not make a few remarks on the Congress of the Order at Wilhelmsbad in the year 1782, which was to prove so important for Freemasonry. This Convent, which was convoked by the Supreme Leader of the Order, Eq. a Victoria (Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick), was opened on the 16th July, 1782, and it welcomed the representatives of all the Provinces of the Order, except Bordeaux, as well as those of all Knights Templar Orders. Switzerland was represented by the Great Prior Lavater and Bro. Kaiser.

The Convent lasted 45 days, and 30 plenary sessions were devoted to the examination of 10 questions. The two Codes drafted in Lyon were confirmed, with a few amendments, and it was laid down, once for all, that Freemasonry was not the direct successor of the Knights Templar, but it could not be denied that there did exist a spiritual relationship between Freemasons and the Knights. Freemasonry owed its esoteric knowledge largely to the influence of the Templars. It was accordingly appropriate that the teaching of this Holy Order be made available to members of the Highest Degrees of Freemasonry and, in particular, that stress be laid on the origins of this noble Order of Knighthood. Accordingly, the name Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte was given to the Highest Degree of the Scottish Rectified Rite, together with the Cross and the Ring of the Order.

The Regulations compiled at Wilhelmsbad give proof of a deep and serious understanding of the Royal Art, and especially of the virtues which should adorn Masonic Knights. They comprise the following Chapters:—

- I. Duties towards Religion.
- II. Immortality of the soul.
- III. Duties towards the Government and one's native land.
- IV. Beneficence.
- V. Further moral duties towards one's fellow men.
- VI. Ennoblement of oneself.
- VII. Duties towards one's Brethren.
- VIII. Duties towards the Order.

These Rules are still to-day the basic principles of every Masonic body which takes its obligations seriously.

The division into Provinces was rearranged as follows:—

- I. Province: Lower Germany.
- II. Province: Auvergne.
- III. Province: Occitania.
- IV. Province: Italy.
- V. Province: Burgundy.
- VI. Province: South Germany.
- VII. Province: Austria.
- VIII. Province: Russia.
- IX. Province: Sweden.

The Concordat concluded at the Provincial Convent of Bâle in 1779 with the Great Priory of Helvetia was confirmed by the Convent in all its particulars, and the complete independence of the Swiss Great Priory from all foreign influence was recognised. The Acts dealing with these events are to be found in the Burgundian Archives, which were eventually entrusted to the keeping of the Lodge *Modestia cum Libertate* as Trustee. In addition, these Archives contain the message dated the 28th August, 1782, in which the Supreme Leader of the Order assigned to the Great Prior of Helvetia the Rights and Plenary Powers which are still in force to-day, and are maintained and exercised by the Helvetic Directorate in so far as they have not been devolved on the Swiss Grand Lodge *Alpina* as far as the symbolic Lodges are concerned.

The Scottish Rectified Rite struck deep roots, especially in German-speaking Switzerland, until the political storm of 1789 broke over Europe and forced one after the other of the Masonic Lodges to close. Our Scots Directorate only ceased working in 1793.

Not long after, a number of Knights of the Holy City established contact with former dignitaries of the Order in Lyon, Strassburg and Bâle, and, after three years of preparation, decided to revive the Order. A start was made in the Lodge "*Le Centre des Amis*" in Paris, which derived from the former *Guillaume Tell* Lodge.

On the 24th April, 1811, the Geneva Lodge "*Union des Coeurs*" qualified for recognition as a member of the Scottish Rectified Rite. But in the year 1828 the Provinces of Burgundy and Auvergne found themselves compelled to cease working in France, and from that time the V Province assumed the name of Burgundy-Helvetia, the Directorate of which had its seat in Zurich.

During these stormy years it was only in what was then the free Republic of Geneva that Masonic working could be continued without interruption; and on the 5th August, 1789, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, later father of Queen Victoria, was initiated in the Lodge "*Union*" and, after being raised to the degree of Master Mason, filled the office of Junior Warden until, to the regret of all the Brethren of his Lodge, he was recalled to London in 1790. The documents on the subject are still kept in the archives of the Lodge "*Union des Coeurs*" at Geneva. This Lodge also received later as visitors foreign notabilities, among whom I should like to mention the following:—

The two sons of Sir J. St. Aubyn, Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall;
Sir —. Mackenzie;

D. F. P. Barton, British Consul, who on the 27th December, 1887, received the Light of Masonry in the Lodge "*Union des Coeurs*", and was armed on the 7th May, 1890, as honorary Chevalier *Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte* in virtue of his rank as Provincial Grand Master under the Royal Grand Lodge of Scotland (*sic*).

In 1816 the Republic of Geneva was received into the Swiss Confederation as the 22nd Canton; and at the same time the Lodge "*Union des Coeurs*" acceded to the Great Priory of Helvetia. This solemn act was performed by Most Worthy Bro. Peter Burckhardt, former

Landammann of Switzerland and Mayor of Bâle, who was at that time Great Prior and National Grand Master of Helvetia.

On the 20th November, 1817, the Great Prior of Helvetia for the time being, Bro. Kaspar Ott im Zeltweg, Eq. a Trifolio, empowered the Great Chancellor of the V Province, Bro. Raymond, to constitute the third Prefecture of the Great Priorate of Helvetia in Geneva.

In German-speaking Switzerland we note the resumption of Masonic working in Berne in the year 1803. The Chapter of the Great Priory of Helvetia began to work in 1809, the Zurich Prefecture followed in 1811, and after that Rectified Freemasonry showed a considerable expansion, thanks to the wise guidance of the Zurich Directorate.

Between 1815 and 1821 several Lodges acceded to the Rectified Rite and other new Lodges were constituted, so that Rectified Freemasonry embraced at that time about one-third of the whole of Swiss Freemasonry.

I quote here the Table drawn up by Bro. Montchal, Honorary Great Prior, which gives in chronological order the following sequence of events:—

- 1765 Foundation of the Chapter "Liberté", of Bâle. This was revived on the 15th January, 1808, under the name of "Freundschaft und Beständigkeit" (Friendship and Constancy).
- 1766/ 785 Foundation of the Symbolic Lodge "Zur Vollkommenen Freundschaft" (Complete Friendship), belonging to the same Rite in Basle.
- 1767 Foundation of the Lodge "Discretion" in Zurich, which was constituted on the authority of a warrant from the Grand Lodge in Geneva. Five years later this Lodge became "rectified", united with the Lodge "Freiheit" (Liberty) in Bâle to form the Lodge "Modestia cum Libertate" in Zurich, and constituted the first Prefecture in Switzerland. In 1779 the Commandery of Bâle was raised to the rank of the second Prefecture of Switzerland.
- 1768 Foundation of the Chapter "Union des Coeurs" in Geneva, which was raised in 1817 to the rank of a Prefecture.
- 1812 Foundation of the Lodge "Brudertreue" (Brotherly Fidelity) at Aarau, "rectified" in 1818.
- 1817 Foundation of the Lodge "Libertas et Concordia" at Chur, "rectified" in 1817.
- 1816 Foundation of the Lodge "Concordia" at St. Gall, "rectified" in 1818.
- 1791 Foundation of the Lodge "Bonne Harmonie" at Neuchâtel, "rectified" in 1820.
- Foundation of the Lodge "Constante et Avenir" at Vevey. Here the documents are missing.
- 1820 Foundation of the Lodge "Akazia" (Acacia) at Winterthur, "rectified" in 1821.
- 1844 Foundation of the Lodge "Fidélité" at Geneva, "rectified" in 1851, reverted to the Ancient and Accepted Rite in 1857.
- 1858 Foundation of the Lodge "Les Amis Fidèles" at Geneva by the Brethren of the Lodge "Fidélité", who wished to remain faithful to the Rectified Rite.

It would take too long to chronicle all the benevolent works performed by these Lodges in their fidelity to their oaths and in carrying out the objects of the Craft; but I should like to mention particularly three Lodges which distinguished themselves in this respect: "Modestia cum Libertate", of Zurich; "Bonne Harmonie", of Neuchâtel; "Union des Coeurs", of Geneva.

The humanitarian activities of these Lodges were not confined merely to material relief of widows, orphans, etc., but were extended in a most disinterested way to the care of the sick, education of children, wardship of orphans and girls exposed to moral dangers.

In 1839 the Helvetic Chapter answered an appeal of three Brethren who belonged to the Lodge "Le Centre des Amis", in Paris, with the object of reviving the Rite in France, which had been obliged by political events in 1814 to close its Lodges. During a solemn Chapter ceremony three Novice Brethren were armed as Knights, and thus was laid the foundation stone of the revised Order on the strength of a warrant issued from Geneva dated the 1st October, 1839. This warrant was issued in virtue of the powers devolved on the Prefecture of Geneva by the dormant II Province, Auvergne, the archives of which are still held in trust by the Prefecture of Geneva. The newly-constituted Prefecture in Paris, however, was obliged to suspend its working after a few years, and handed over its Rituals and Archives to the Prefecture of Geneva for safe keeping.

Under the guidance of the Great Priors, Dr. Lavater, Zurich, Peter Burckhardt, Bâle, Kaspar Ott im Zeltweg, Zurich, Felix Sarasin, Bâle, and John Jacob Escher, Zurich, the Great Priory of Helvetia flourished abundantly. These times of expansion would, no doubt, have continued, had the Scottish Rectified System been fostered in the surrounding countries with the same loving care as in Switzerland. This, however, was not the case, and the repercussions of events in the other Provinces did not fail to exercise their influence on the further development of the Rite in Switzerland.

I have stated that on the 2nd August, 1828, the Provincial Chapter of the V Province

notified the Helvetic Great Priory of its own dissolution and at the same time transferred to it all the rights of the V Province and delivered to its keeping the Provincial archives.

On the occasion of a festival in the Zurich Chapter in 1836 all the talk was about the future Grand Lodge; the idea had, therefore, taken root and was progressing towards its realization. The Zurich Brethren would have liked to realize this idea by means of an alliance between the three systems working in Switzerland. In pursuit of this object, Bro. Escher, the Great Prior, with the support of Bros. H. Lavater, Ott, Pestalozzi and Hottinger, drew up new Regulations of the Order, which maintained, unaltered, the ideas and the spirit of the Rectified Rite. But this magnificent scheme suffered shipwreck on the opposition of the Genevan Prefecture, which insisted on retaining the literal form of the Lyon Code. The schism which followed and the loss of interest which it caused in Zurich was bound to weaken the position and the influence of Great Priory in the negotiations with the other Swiss Obediences concerning the foundation of the Grand Lodge.

Every two years the delegates of the Rectified Rite and the Berne Grand Lodge met in turn in Zurich, Bâle and Berne in order to settle the conditions to govern their Union, but it was not until 1844 that this object was attained and Bros. Hottinger, Eq. a Tazito, Great Chancellor of the Zurich Directorate, was elected first Grand Master of the Swiss Grand Lodge Alpina. The second Grand Master was Bro. Yung, Chancellor of the Bâle Prefecture. The Helvetic Great Priory yielded to the authority of the newly-created Grand Lodge Alpina its symbolic Lodges, but retained that over the St. Andrew Lodges, including the degrees of Scotch Master and Master of St. Andrew, as well as, of course, the higher degree of the Esoteric Order, Novice and Chevalier Bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte.

The years which followed these events brought the continued existence of the Rectified Rite and the Helvetic Great Priory into great danger. It was this danger, which could be easily foreseen, which led the Lodge "Union des Coeurs", of Geneva, to delay so long its adherence to the Grand Lodge Alpina, as it feared to weaken the Genevan Prefecture by such an action. Only seven years after the foundation of the Grand Lodge, *i.e.*, in 1851, did it seek admission to the Swiss Lodges' Union, which was accorded without further argument. This decision had precisely the opposite effect on the Geneva Prefecture to that which the "Union des Coeurs" had feared. Instead of the expected decline, a revival took place. A new enthusiasm inspired the Brethren of Geneva, for the old tradition had struck roots too deeply to allow the tree to be blown down by even the most violent storms.

Developments in Zurich were different: the Great Prior, Bro. Escher, resigned and his Office remained vacant for some time, until the Prefect of Geneva, Bro. Pechier, impelled by his devotion to our noble cause and supported by Bro. Aubanel, succeeded in rekindling even in Zurich enthusiasm for the order and reconstituted its Directory under the leadership of Bro. Henry von Orelli, Eq. ab Aurelio, and, when he ascended to the Grand Lodge above, of Bro. Gisy, Eq. ab Activitate, who, however, resigned in 1866. Geneva and Zurich then decided not to elect another Great Prior for the time being, but to entrust the discharge of current business to a Committee of Five, without Directorial Authority. The President was Bro. Baiter, Eq. ab Aristarcho. After his ascension, however, to the Grand Lodge above, and that of another member of the Committee, Bro. Vögeli, Bro. Gisy also, who had become in the meantime a member of the Alpina's College of Officers, thought that he ought to resign as a consequence of his new appointment, and he handed in his resignation from the Esoteric Order. The remainder of the Committee, Bros. von Muralt and Meyer-Hoffmeister, thought themselves bound to follow his example and their resignation was accepted to the Zurich Prefecture in 1874. This meant the end of the Zurich Prefecture. The remaining Knights were growing old and the fire of enthusiasm flickered out. But Geneva did not give up the struggle and, as proof of their determination, the Scottish Grand Lodge of Geneva, together with the "Union des Coeurs" and "Les Amis Fidèles" celebrated on the 3rd December, 1882, the centenary of the introduction of the Scottish Rectified Rite in the form in which it had been fixed at the Convent of Wilhelmsbad into Switzerland.

On the 8th October, 1885, the remaining Brethren in Zurich informed the Geneva Prefecture that they were about to abandon any further working and at the same time they handed over the Archives they had received from Strassburg to the Craft Lodge "Modestia cum Libertate". Whether they were entitled to do so, is a question on which we will make no comment now. Thus the oldest Prefecture of the Independent Great Priory of Helvetia was extinguished; but 40 years later the spark hidden under the ashes, revived by the breath of brotherly love and fidelity, blazed forth again into flames. *Perit ut Vivat!*

As the Order had become dormant in all Provinces except Switzerland, the Helvetic Great Priory became by rights the only and the highest authority of the Scottish Rectified Rite; and, after the extinction of the Zurich and Bâle Prefectures, the Prefecture of Geneva became the sole possessor of the rights and plenary powers of the Order. It became:—

1. the seat of the Helvetic Great Priory,

2. the only authority entitled to revive or found Lodges and Chapters of the Scottish Rectified Rite,
3. the guardian of the Rituals and Archives of the Scottish Rectified Rite in Helvetia.

To the Prefecture of Geneva are due our thanks and our highest tributes for its unshakeable fidelity, which no disappointment or any rebuffs, however hurtful, could weaken. It stood, the only remaining upright column of the Temple, among the ruins, preserving within itself the plans for reconstruction. *Adhuc Stat !*

Faithful to the device of the Masters of St. Andrew, "*Meliora presumo*", our Brethren of the Rhone Valley looked to the future with faith. This hope was not destined to be deceived, this fidelity was not to remain unrewarded. Gradually the world began to notice this still sturdy and healthy cell of the once so honoured Order and friendly representations were exchanged with many foreign Obediences holding the same or similar principles.

On the 2nd February, 1896, the Directorate of the Helvetic Great Priory concluded a treaty with the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite in Switzerland, which had been founded in 1873 and had its seat in Lausanne. This treaty created a close bond between the two Rites, and an earnest of this was the fact that Bro. Eugène Richard, Eq. a Justitia, was, from 1897 to 1906, both Great Prior and Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite. This treaty was renewed on the 9th July, 1910, and this act declared the complete autonomy and reciprocal independence of the Obediences' parties to the treaty. Five Knights were also members of the Supreme Council.

At the beginning of the thirties of this century, notice was given to terminate this treaty, after a period of nearly 30 years, by the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, then presided over by Bro. Junot as Sovereign Grand Commander. A period of interrupted relations followed until November, 1946. On both sides a wish then manifested itself for the conclusion of a fraternal understanding, and, after several conferences between Bro. Paul Collet, Sovereign Grand Commander of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, and the author, who was then Great Prior, delegates from both Obediences met in Lausanne on the 14th September, 1946, and, after a discussion characterized by good feeling and a brotherly spirit, a new treaty was concluded which ensured mutual moral support and fixed the respective equivalence of the degrees as far as the 30th degree. This treaty, which is still in force, was ratified by the Supreme Council on the 23rd November, 1946, and by the Grand Chapter of the Helvetic Great Priory on the 24th November, 1946.

At the beginning of October, 1911, several Brethren of Neuchâtel expressed their wish to work the 4th degree of the Rectified Rite in their Valley, and found a St. Andrew's Lodge. The Directorate in Geneva gladly met this wish, all the more as it had originated with Brethren who belonged to a Lodge which had kept alive the tradition of the Rectified Rite in their Craft Lodge. On the 24th March, 1912, the St. Andrew's Lodge of the Valley of Neuchâtel was solemnly consecrated, and Bro. A. L. Jacob, Past Master of the Lodge "*Bonne Harmonie*", was obligated Deputy Master and installed. Under his Mastership and with the support of the Brethren the Lodge flourished; and as, of its 15 members, six became Knights and five Novices, the St. Andrew's Lodge of Neuchâtel could be raised in solemn ceremony to the rank of a Commandery on the 22nd February, 1913. Only 13 years later, in 1926, the number of members reached 40, of which 18 were Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte, so that the conditions for the raising to the rank of a Prefecture were fulfilled, and the Directorate gladly met the request of the Commandery of Neuchâtel to that effect.

From Neuchâtel the light of the Rectified Rite spread as far as Zurich, and, actually, it was Bro. Lamblet, C.B.C.S. of the Neuchâtel Prefecture, who induced Bro. Ad. Welti-Furrer, of the Lodge "*Modestia cum Libertate*", to interest himself in the higher degrees of the Rectified Rite. In 1911 he was made, in Geneva, Free Scottish Master of St. Andrew.

Bro. Ad. Welti-Furrer, Eq. a Cigno, succeeded in winning the support of the highly-esteemed and learned Bro. Hermann Wassmuth for the cause of the Rectified Rite. His choice was excellent, for this Brother, after being initiated into the high degrees of the Rectified Rite, devoted himself wholeheartedly with brotherly affection and wisdom to Scottish Rectified Freemasonry. First of all, in virtue of the full powers granted him by the Directorate on the 20th December, 1925, he founded a St. Andrew's Circle, the members of which pledged themselves to work diligently in the interests of the Order with a view to founding in the near future a Lodge of St. Andrew in the valley of the Limmat.

This object was attained one year later, and the Zurich Lodge of St. Andrew was consecrated on the 28th December, 1926, by the Most Illustrious Great Prior Ernest Rochat, Bro. Hermann Wassmuth, Eq. a Tribus Spicis, being unanimously elected, obligated and installed.

The eager and serious work performed in the Zurich St. Andrew's Lodge soon brought fruit. More and more worthy Brethren expressed the desire of perfecting themselves in Masonry and to penetrate more deeply into the esoteric part of the ritual, so that already in

the year 1939 the Commandery of Zurich could be set up under the author as Commander. One year later, in 1940, the prescribed number of Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte was reached, so that, before a vast concourse of Brethren from Geneva and Neuchâtel, the Commandery of Zurich could be raised to a Prefecture, and the tradition, dormant since 1885, was roused to new life and activity. The Directorate of Geneva appointed Bro. Hermann Wassmuth, Eq. a Tribus Spicis, who had so well deserved of the Rectified Masonry for his work in developing it, as Honorary Prefect, and Bro. H. R. Hilfiker, Eq. a Petra Viventi, was obligated and installed acting Prefect by the Most Worthy Ernest Rochat, Eq. a Studio, Great Prior of the Helvetic Great Priorate.

But it was not in Zurich alone, but in Bâle also, that the flame of the Rectified Masonry, newly fed by the devotion of Brethren initiated in the Zurich St. Andrew's Lodge, blazed forth; and a Zurich Prefecture was able to grant to Bro. Max Wiessmer the Licence to form a St. Andrew's Circle in the Rhine Valley. This Circle is showing, both spiritually and materially, a very vigorous development, so that its raising to the status of a St. Andrew's Lodge can be foreseen in the near future.

The relations of the Directorate of the Scottish Rectified Rite in Helvetia with the other Masonic Obediences in Switzerland are fraternal and cordial.

A Treaty was concluded in 1939 with the Grand Lodge Alpina which, renewing the Agreement of 1844, recognises the Grand Lodge's sole right to work the three Craft degrees. I have already referred to the brotherly Agreement with the Ancient and Accepted Rite in Switzerland.

We have exchanged representatives with the following foreign Masonic Obediences, which work on the basis of the Christian Religion, and maintain with them cordial relations:—

Great Priory of England and Wales, to which has been granted the right by the Directorate of the Scottish Rectified Rite, at its own request in 1936, to work as the VI Province of the Rite in Great Britain and the Dominions.

Great Priory of the Scottish Rectified Rite in U.S.A. This was founded by the Helvetic Great Priorate in 1934 at the request of a number of Brethren who were made and armed as C.B.C.S.

Grand Encampment of Knights Templars in U.S.A.

Grand Lodge of Norway.

National Grand Lodge of Sweden.

Grand Lodge of Denmark.

Great Priory of Scotland.

Great Priory of Ireland.

Great Priory of Canada.

Grand Prieuré des Gaules. After a number of Brethren of the 33rd degree had been armed as C.B.C.S. in Geneva, at their request and under the direction of Most Worthy Bro. Dr. Camille Savoie, the Directorate of this Grand Prieuré des Gaules was most solemnly constituted on the 20-23rd March, 1935, in Paris, by the then acting Great Prior, Bro. Ernest Rochat. In 1949, after it had been obliged to suspend its labours during the war years, it resumed its activities. May this plant, which is still weak, be fed lovingly by faithful Brethren and grow and flourish; that is my fraternal wish, and I hope it will come to fruition, all the more as the roots of the Grand Prieuré reach far back into the history of the Craft Lodge "Les Centre des Amis" of the Grand Loge Nationale de France, which has been so closely connected with the Rectified Rite.

In Italy, conditions in Freemasonry are too chaotic to make the re-introduction of our Rite either possible or desirable; our representative, Maruzzi, Eq. a Tribus Baculis, will undertake at the proper moment the revival of the still dormant IV Province.

The Prefectures and St. Andrew's Lodges of the Helvetic Great Priory deliberately renounce any claim to influence Craft Lodges, and confine themselves to recommending their Brethren in the Blue Lodges to be the most active and keen and to be an example in the fulfilment of their Masonic duties.

My dear Brethren, I have tried to sketch out the history of our Great Priorate from its first beginning to the present day. The various events, birth, growth, progress, decay, revival, arose from causes which had their germ in the hearts of the Brethren of those generations. Often they were faced with tasks caused by political and other events of the outside world, and we must ask ourselves whether, in every case, we would have acted as wisely and with the same fidelity and firmness as the leaders of the Order of those times. In the critical time when all the best men seemed to desert our Rite, it was the Prefecture of Geneva which maintained high the banner of the Scottish Rectified Rite and guarded it faithfully. To those Brethren of the Rhone Valley, to whom we owe our bright reawakening, I give my special thanks. This shining example pledges us also to imitate their self-sacrificing devotion to the noble cause of the Rectified Knightly Freemasonry.

Let us also remember with gratitude our Bro. Hermann Wassmuth, who has ascended to the Grand Lodge above, who revived Rectified Freemasonry in German Switzerland and

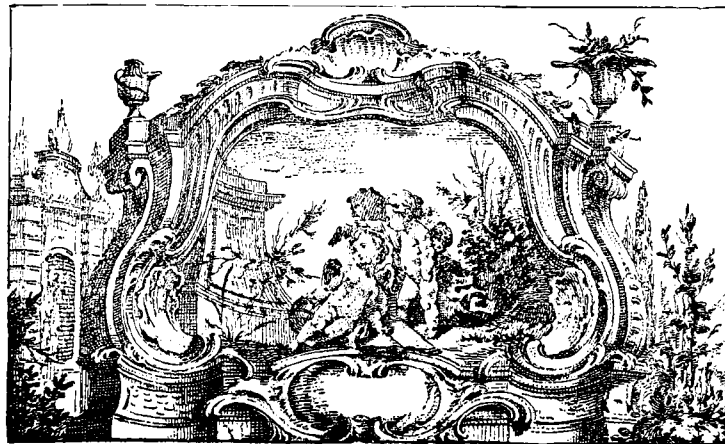
especially in Zurich, and repaired the faults which perhaps one may lay to the charge of the Brethren whose courage failed in 1889.

The Temple once destroyed stands rebuilt before us: let us with all zeal and perseverance call up again the Creative Word concealed in its Holiest of Holies, that it may give us strength and show us the way to a fruitful activity.

Public charity relieves us to-day of the duty to render material assistance, but all the greater is the spiritual need, the relief of which deserves all our care. Every age has its own calls which the Knights of the Holy Grail must perform; and if we cannot fulfil such great tasks in the service of humanity as our Bro. Jonas Furrer, the first President of the Swiss Federation, was able to discharge 100 years ago, yet let us at all time plan and work for the good of mankind and in the fulfilment of our obligation as Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte.

LIST OF THE GREAT PRIORS OF THE HELVETIC GREAT PRIORY

I.	Lavater, Dr. Diethelm, Eques ab Aesculapio	-	-	-	1779-1809
II.	Burckhardt, Peter, Eques a Serpente Curvato	-	-	-	1809-1817
III.	Ott im Zeltweg, Kaspar, Eques a Trifolio	-	-	-	1817-1820
IV.	Sarasin, Felix, Eq. a Tabernaculo, Bâle	-	-	-	1822-1828
V.	Escher, Johann Jakob, Eq. a Marte, Zurich	-	-	-	1828-1844
VI.	von Orelli, Heinrich, Eq. ab Aurelio, Zurich	-	-	-	
VII.	Gysi, Heinrich, Eq. ab Activitate, Zurich	-	-	-	
VIII.	Richard, Eugène, Eq. a Justizia, Geneva	-	-	-	1890-1899
IX.	Leclerc, Joseph, Eq. a Labore, Geneva	-	-	-	1899-1905
X.	Bouvier, Aimé, Eq. a Voluntate, Geneva	-	-	-	1905-1909
XI.	Montchal, Charles, Eq. a Montecalvo, Geneva	-	-	-	1909-1919
XII.	Rochat, Ernest, Eq. a Studio, Geneva	-	-	-	1919-1939
XIII.	Droin, César, Eq. a Jure, Geneva	-	-	-	1939-1944
XIV.	Hilfiker, H. R., Eq. a Petra Viventi	-	-	-	1944-



St. John's Day in Harvest

FRIDAY, 24th JUNE, 1955



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), I.P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.G.D., P.M., S.W.; B. W. Oliver, 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; G. S. Draffen, M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.D.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.D.

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. Abell, H. W. Harrison, E. Ward, F. H. Farrar, F. A. Anderson, H. H. England, P. C. Gilbertson, A. I. Sharp, G. Holloway, E. Gerrard, A. Lever, W. E. Edwards, J. L. C. Dribbel, L. E. C. Peckover, F. L. Bradshaw, K. Astrup, J. C. A. Raison, T. W. Fripp, R. A. Pratley, E. A. Jeater, T. G. Hoffman, L. D. Cowling, G. D. Elvidge, A. R. Jole, A. Parker Smith, L. Bedford, G. C. Lockett, W. L. Harnett, J. D. de S. McElwain, O. J. Raeder, C. R. Manasseh, S. W. Mills and F. E. Barber.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Thomas, Lodge 2030; E. A. Truelove, Lodge 72; C. Tillinge, Lodge, 7056; F. A. Butler, Lodge 4377; F. A. Donald, Lodge 7056; R. Hood, Lodge 6192; and G. A. Grochett, Lodge 7397.

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.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; W. Jenkinson, O.B.E., P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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., P.G.D. (I.C.); 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.; J. R. Rylands, M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., 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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., I.G.; G. Brett, M.A., P.M. 1494; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C.; and A. Sharp, M.A., P.G.D.

One District Grand Lodge, three Lodges and fifty-four Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Attention was called to the following EXHIBITS—

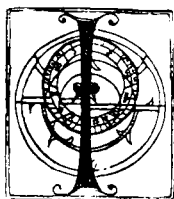
From the Grand Lodge Library:

A number of Symbolical Plates by Lambert de Lintot.
Wonnacott's paper on the *Rite of Seven Degrees*.
Transcript of a Summons of the "Loge de l'Observance".

An interesting paper entitled, *Some Further Notes on the Rite of Seven Degrees in London*, was read by Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN, as follows:—

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE RITE OF SEVEN DEGREES IN LONDON

BY BRO. GEORGE S. DRAFFEN, M.B.E., *Grand Librarian, G.L. of Scotland*



IN 1929 the late Bro. Wonnacott read a paper to this Lodge on *The Rite of Seven Degrees in London*.¹ This was Bro. Wonnacott's swan-song in Masonic research and his untimely death left unfinished those further researches on the Rite of Seven Degrees in London which the wording of his paper indicates it was his hope and intention to pursue.

While pursuing research in quite another direction, I have come across a series of letters and some papers which are intimately connected with the Rite of Seven Degrees as worked in London during the period 1782-1786. My main line of research having come to a standstill—I trust but temporarily—I have been tempted to stray down this bye-way and now place before you, for your acceptance, these letters and papers, with my comments upon them.

The letters are eleven in number and are to be found in the first Letter Book of the Royal Order of Scotland. This book is preserved in the archives of the Order in Freemasons' Hall, Edinburgh. I refer to the book as a "Letter Book", but it is not such in the true sense of the word. It is a guard book, measuring some 14in. by 9in. and is 1½in. thick. It contains, in more or less chronological order, a collection of correspondence received by, and a few, very few, copies of letters sent out from, the Royal Order of Scotland between 1782 and 1843. All the documents are serially numbered in red ink and the collection is a really catholic one. We have letters; petitions for charters; printed reports from Provincial Grand Masters; requests for rituals; and a Proclamation issued by the Grand Lodge Astrea of Russia on its erection as a sovereign Masonic body. It is reasonably certain that it is to Dr. George Arnott Walker-Arnott that we owe the survival of these documents. Some time in 1843, when the Royal Order of Scotland was revived by Houston Rigg Brown and a few others, he collected all the old letters and carefully pasted them into this guard book. The red ink serial numbers are in Walker-Arnott's unmistakable handwriting, and he has occasionally commented (also in red ink) on the contents of the documents.

The letters which form the subject of this paper are the first in the book. It is of particular interest to note that no mention of their receipt, or of any business arising out of them, is anywhere mentioned in the Minutes of the Royal Order. These minutes are complete from 1763 onwards (to the present day) and include the minutes of meetings and decisions of the Executive Committee which administered the affairs of the Order.

Our first letter (No. 1)² is dated October 11th, 1782, and is a covering letter from P. Lambert de Lintot, with which he encloses a Petition for a Charter. The letter and petition were addressed to the "National Grand Lodge" at Edinburgh, and the postal authorities evidently delivered it to the office of the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, *vide* letter (No. 3). Fortunately, William Mason, who was Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland from 1774 to 1789, was a member of the Royal Order, having been admitted in Edinburgh in 1754 with the Characteristic of "Worship". William Mason was elected Deputy Grand Governor in 1776, and Deputy Grand Master and Governor in 1786. De Lintot's letter and petition were passed on to William Gibb, Grand Secretary of the Royal Order, for his attention.

The letter (No. 1) and the Petition (No. 2) are in the following terms:—

(Note I have kept the spelling and grammar as they stand in the original. The long "s" has been changed to the short "s".)

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxix.

² These numbers refer to the red ink serial number in the letter book.

LETTER (No. 1)

To the Grand Secretary of the National Lodge at Edinburgh.
Sir and most dear Brother.

Included is our Petition to the Grand Lodge, which we beg you will present at the next Comity.

In case you should find some difficulties on some point, we beg to let us know it, also to instruct us of the way that we must keep, in order to meet with the rules of the most respectable Grand Lodge, of which we are ignorant, and would be very glad to redress any differences that you might find in our way of petitioning; you will easily see Sir and most dear Brother, that the meaning of our Petition is to be enabled to keep our Lodge in a superlatif but regular way in the high degrees, to avoid as in the simboliq, the ordinary chaos of their to often been composed of members of suspected faith, who once introduced, forgets the respect own to their obligation, disturbs all good order, vilify the society and annihilate the Lodge, which is too frequently seen by the number of Lodges that only subsist but a short time.

Our desire is also to prevent the further admission of a number of profanes of all Countries of Europe, that qualify themselves as having been admitted in the high degrees, who often have no other science than that taken out of a book printed either in France or elsewhere, and even as some stiled it in the real Scotch Masonry, and by those means have founded a great number of Lodges, being they and their deluded adherents, ignorant of the grounds of it.

Therefore Sir, and dear Brother, we flatter ourselves to meet with no opposition and that our demands shall be friendly granted, remaining with the fraternal concord.

Sir and most dear Brother

Your most obliged Brothers

P. Lambert De Lintot
coy gardens No. 59
tottenham court road

P.S. We beg of you to send
us in answer the name of the
present grand master and the
place where he lives

PETITION (No. 2)

INITIUM SAPIENTIAE AMOR
DOMINI

From our East; on an elevated Place, where reign Union, Silence, and peace, of the common year 1782, and of Masonry 5782.

To The Worshipfull Worshipfull
and National Grand Lodge of Scotland seated at Edimbourg

Greeting

FAITH HOPE and CHARITY

may temperence, prudence, fortitude and Justice always be the basis of our square, level and perpendicular to the Glory of the Great architect of the Universe.

We the Master, first and second Wardens autorised by the officers and members of the undermentioned Lodges undersigned, apprentices, Fellow-crafts, Past Masters, architects, Knights of the Royal Arch, of the Sword, of the Eagle and Templars, duly constituted by the most Respectable Grand Lodge of York, under the name and title of the perfect observance of the seven degrees being the whole of Masonry No. 1.

THE MASTER first and second Wardens of the Lodge The Union No. 270 under the constitution of the most respectable Grand Lodge of London and being in possession of the two above mentioned constitutions, &c., &c., &c.

represent

That a dispute has arisen between the two Grand Lodges tending to disturb the peace and union of all good Masons and in which we have deliveredated to take no part whatsoever; and considering the antiquity of the most Respectable Grand Lodge of Scotland, proved by historical facts, in the high degrees of Masonry, possessed by the Ancient Lodges of Scotland, which we readily acknowledge; Supplicate her to grant to us (having examined us or caused us to be examined) a constitution or diploma, under the name and title of the Perfect Observance of Scotland of Heredon of the seven degrees as aforesaid on condition to have every Member (admitted and autenticated for such by our Lodge conforming ourselves to the Statutes and Laws of the perfect Masonry) registered in the above Most Respectable Grand Lodge of Scotland paying 2^{sh} 6.

to have our particular Statutes and Laws deliberations and minutes signed by us confirmed by the said Most Respectable Grand Lodge, that in case of an appear to

the said Grand Lodge, they may be preserved in their form and tenor, as being our particular laws.

Submitting our selves, in general, to all that shall be for the good and prosperity of the said Grand Lodge.

to have leave to make alliances with any foreign Lodges on condition that their members shall pay to the said Grand Lodge 1st each and that every such foreign Lodge that shall take our constitution and name with our consent shall pay £3 to the said Grand Lodge for obtaining her sanction and being registered.

and whereas, in our particular statutes signed by us, there are cases of exclusion mentioned viz perjury, deceit, imposture, the denying of a Supreme Being, falso witnesses, lascivious persons and generally those, who carry to an extreme any of the noted vices, such as wantonness, envy, greediness, covetousness, passion, laziness and particularly those upon whom any punishment has been publically inflicted or who have failed in point of honour and fraudulent bankrupts will not be admitted. all those shall be excluded and looked upon as dead whenever they are found out and their manual sign erased from the books ; hoping that the said Most Respectable Grand Lodge of Scotland will (upon giving her notice of it) order their names and titles to be erased from her books, engaging ourselves to do the same whenever require(d) by any of the foreign Lodges in alliance with us.

Bound to you, by the eyes of that brotherhood which ought to unite all real free masons in the world ; we will at all times rejoice as much in your prosperity as in our own.

P. Lambert De Lintot
N. Joseph Gregoire
Wm. Adeane
By order of the Master
francis Baes
second secretary

P.S. Please to direct your
answer as follows
to Mr. Lambert De Lintot Esq
No. 59 Coy's Gardens
Tottenham Court Road,
London

(Seal)

List of the Officers of the said Lodge

Peter Lambert De Lintot, Master, administrator and conservator and keeper of the archives	
Lord Augustus Frederic Baron of Linkendorf	Senior Warden
Benedict Mayer Esq	Junior Warden
De Salles De Calvi, Esq	Deputy Senior Warden
N. J. Gregoire	Deputy Junior Warden
Francis Le grand	Speaker
Dr. John Godefroy Dexter	Secretary
Vincent Lineun Esq	Treasurer
John Mathieu Ljumberg	Grand Expert
Augustus De la Salle	Second Grand Expert
Peter John Laurent	Keeper of the Seals
Henry Count of Nassau	Architect
Peter Emarot	Sword Bearer
Proposed (to be Masters) on the 20 February 1780 by John Mathieu Ljumberg, the present Duke of Brunswick and The Prince of Hesse Cassel, now members	
William Adene	member

The covering letter (No. 1) requires no comment. On the Petition (No. 2), I would say that presumably what was sought was *one* charter for the higher degrees, and that members of both the petitioning Lodges were to be admissible into the newly-erected higher degree body. What was the particular dispute ? And between which Grand Lodges ? I cannot trace anywhere that the Grand Lodge of England ever regarded *either* the Grand Lodge of England ("Antients") or the Grand Lodge of York as anything other than beyond the pale, and, by dispute, De Lintot may have been referring to the schism in which the Lodge of Antiquity parted company for a few years from the Grand Lodge of England. The dispute can hardly have been one between the "Antients" and the "Moderns", for they were in continuous dispute until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The petition lays at the door of the G.L. of Scotland a recognition of the high degrees. This was, of course, in ignorance, for the G.L. of Scotland has never recognised any degrees other than those of E.A., F.C. (including the Mark) and M.M. There is nothing in the petition to indicate for what specific degrees the petitioners sought a Charter. It seems that

William Gibb, by a process of deduction, concluded that as they worked seven degrees (from the proposed title) they requested authority for four additional degrees above Master Mason; that one of these additional degrees might be the Royal Order (from the use of the name "Heredom" in the title) and was prepared to oblige on receiving confirmatory evidence, or on one of the petitioners coming to Edinburgh, to be made a member of the Royal Order.

The List of Members of (presumably) the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 is interesting, as showing that De Lintot was still Master in 1782 (*vide* Wonnacott's paper).

However, the petition did not cut much ice. William Gibb replied on the 21st October, 1782 (in Letter No. 3 as follows):—

LETTER (No. 3)

COPY

Most Worshipful Brother,

William Mason Esqr Grand Secretary of Scotland, received your letter of the 11th inst & as he has likewise the honour to hold a high office in the order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning, he communicated to me, as Grand Secretary of that order, your letter & petition therewith transmitted; & as it is your desire to obtain four additional degrees in Masonry, & from several other circumstances, which we observed in your communication, we easily discovered that your application could not be made to the Grand Lodge of Scotland w^t any propriety. I therefore laid your Packet before our Deputy Governor, & am commanded by him to inform you, that there are two different orders of masonry which subsist in Scotland. The one called "The Holy Lodge of St. John"; over which the Grand Master of Scotland presides; The Grand Lodge of Scotland is composed of all the masters of the diff^t Lodges in Scotland of that Order; and consists of Entered Prentices, Fellow Crafts & Master Masons—The other is called the Royal Order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning or the Royal Order of Scotch Masonry, into which none but Master masons of the order of St. John can be admitted. This order con(tains) 4 other degrees of masonry, & was instituted for many great & valuable purposes; but it does not appear to us, from anything we can yet discover, that you belong to this order. We therefore are not at liberty to write to you further, than we can communicate to strangers; but if it is your desire, to be admitted members of, and to receive a Charter from this highest order of Masonry, it will be necessary, that without loss of time, you depute one of your number, & send him down here properly recommended, & who will in due form, be admitted a member of our order, & empowered to teach & instruct such as he shall find worthy of such communication. We would likewise wish to be more particularly informed of the nature of several offices, which we observe among you, such as "The Speaker," "Grand Experts," "Architect" & "Sword-Bearer" as they bear a kind of resemblance to some of ours.

We most sincerely regret that upon any pretence whatsoever disputes or dissensions should arise among masons; as nothing can be more foreign from or more repugnant to, the Grand principles of masonry.

It is the more necessary that one of your number should come down here, as the Powers you require are ample & various & will need to be settled & adjusted by conference and concert. We commend you to the Almighty Protection of the Grand Architect, who is love; & sincerely pray, that Peace Harmony & Concord may ever subsist among you.

(No Signature)

Done in the Grand Lodge of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning this 21st day of October 1782 and of Masonic years 5782 by Order of the D . . . Governor.

I find the reply of William Gibb chiefly of interest for that statement in which he says, "This order contains 4 other degrees of masonry". Now what did he mean by that? The Royal Order of Scotland has to-day two degrees—that of Heredom of Kilwinning and Rosy Cross (*not* Rose Croix)—and there is no evidence of any kind whatsoever in the minute books that any other degrees have ever been worked by the Royal Order. What the "4 other degrees" were remains a mystery.

To this letter from William Gibb, De Lintot replied on December 12th, 1782 (Letter 4) in a letter which runs thus:—

LETTER (No. 4)

Sir and dear Brother:

I have communicated at the first comity held of the Lodge of which I have the pleasure of being Master, the letter of the Worshipfull Grand Lodge of H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning and after the usual considerations and debates it has been deliberated

as you will see by the piece included under the seal and stamps of our Lodge in order that you should be so obliging as to deliver it to the said Grand Lodge.

The Compendium also annexed will give an idea of the order that we follow and of which we cannot deviate ; each degree having its particular officers who are relating one with the other untill the seventh degree where then the Master has command over all the seven degrees under the name and title of Knight Kadosh or Knight Templar ; and as this Lodge is generally established in all the Countries of Foreign Powers which are affiliated to us, is a reason for us not to alter the regular order that we observe, *vide compendium* I dont perceive, Sir and dear Brother, that our Lodge will grant any other expenses than those mentioned in our petition which is that they all shall pay for them being registered, for we foresee that the Grand Lodge of Kilwinning may have great advantages toward charities well intended, well granted and bestowed if even our scheme should not have all the extend of success that we wish with the foreign Lodges, aforesaid, for the antiq Lodges of England and London who have already proposed to join with us will make a Capital: we shall pay the registering of all our members into the hands of the Landlord where our Lodge is kept where receipt shall be sent to the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge in order that the amount may be paid at the Order of the Grand Secretary.

Under these considerations that I hope you will deliver to the Most Worshipfull Grand Lodge of The Royal Order of H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning.

I have the pleasure to be of you,

Sir and dear Brother
The most true and
affectionate Brother
P. Lambert De Lintot

coy gardens tottenham court road
1782 December 12

To Brother Gibb Parlement House
Edimburg

With his letter De Lintot sent what was, in modern parlance, an extract from the deliberations of the Lodge. William Gibb had asked for further information and this he got in full measure in the Compendium (Letter 6). The "extract" (Letter 5) is of no great interest, being chiefly an expression of thanks to the Grand Lodge of the Royal Order and an indication to that body that the Compendium was authoritative.

LETTER (No. 5)

To the Worshipfull worshipfull Grand Lodge of the Royal Order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning, Edinburgh
1314

Coledge
heredom
templars

From an elevated place where reigns, Union Silence & and Peace of the y, V 17, of the y. M.57 of our F 468. March 11th.

We perpetual administrator, Conservator and master of the Lodge the perfect observance of the Seven and last degrees, Comprehending Phisique, Philosophy, Moral and Enciclopledy No. 1 under the Constitution of the most respectable Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent seated at York Being in comity with our officers and members upon the subject here after mentioned, and being in due and right form assembled, we have deliberated as follows, in answer to the Worshipfull Most Worshipfull Grand Lodge of the Royal Order H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning in Scotland to a letter to us directed the 21st day of October of the year of our Lord 1782 of Masonry 5782 by Brother William Gibb, Grand Secretary of the Said Grand and Most Worshipfull Lodge.

It has been resolved in the first plact, to return our thanks to the Most Worshipfull Brother William Mason Esqr Wishing him Joy health and prosperity, for to have delivered our petition to the Very Lodge Where we intended it should be presented ; we do further approve in the Whole, What the said Brother has done on our behalf, in order that we may have as free an explanation as possible with the Brother-hood of the antiq Lodges of Scotland.

2dly it has been acknowledged that we have not explained us enough in our petition in order to give to understand that we dont ask for no Masonic degree but in Case we should not be in possession of some by due reception, and whereas that by our said petition We have submitted ourselves to any Masonic examination

by such Brothers as it may be right to do so, and as it now appears by the said letter that there is two Grand Lodges at Edimburg the one simboliq and Modern, the other professing the high antiq degrees under the name and title of the Royal Order of H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning; it is to that same Lodge that We desire that our petition should duly be presented acknowledging the same Lodge of Kilwinning for to be the most ancient Scot Lodge, Wishing to her and all her respectable members all prosperity. Greetings to be instructed by her if We trade in the right way, Which is the principal object of our petition and to grant us the power that We require, submitting ourselves to the offered payment having no other views than to bring all the grand cot Lodges dispersed on the universe on the same an uniq principle and level.

We have thought that the said Lodge of Edimburg must be acknowledged for the Mother Lodge of all, and in order that no foreign Lodge should not arrogate themselves as Scot Lodges without being registered at the Mother Lodge and in order also to avoid the abuses committed in all countries by a number of ignorants that qualify themselves Members of the grand Scot Lodge, being notwithstanding ignorant of the true motives and having only learnt something in some printed books or parcels of the said grand Scot Lodge.

3dly and in .Consequence of What is said above, we have resolved that a compendium shall be sent to the Said grand Lodge Seated at Edimburgh under the title of the Royal order of H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning, containing the seven degrees of Masonry in the same order as we do practice them in our Lodge, and also Containing the Subject of Every Section, Which has been left to us by Lord MacMahon last grand Scot Master of our Said Lodge, which we desire to be taken into the Kind consideration of the said grand Lodge of Edinburgh in order to go in the same regular Way Which is our ardent Wishes.

All Which has been so resolved, all the Lodges being duly opened on that purpose, in the year of our Lord November the 31st 1782, and of the Masonic Year 5782, and ordered to be registered in our grand book of deliberations.

By order of the grand administrator

Fs BAES.

2d. grand secretary.

Seal

The degrees worked in the Rite of Seven Degrees may be tabulated thus:—

1. Entered Apprentice	}	First Degree
2. Fellow Craft		
3. Symbolic Master		
4. The Little Elected	}	Second Degree
5. The Inconnu		
6. The Elect of Fifteen		
7. Architect	}	Third Degree
8. Judge		
9. First Architect (? Provost)		
10. The Royal Arch		Fourth Degree
11. Knights of the East	}	Fifth Degree
12. Princes of Jerusalem		
13. A Heredom Degree	}	Sixth Degree
14. A Templar Degree		
15. A Rose Croix Degree		
16. A Kadosh Degree	}	Seventh Degree
17. A Templar Degree		

The degrees are merely sketched in outline by De Lintot and no "arcana" is included with his text. Is it possible that this was sent and has become lost? The full details of the Compendium are as follows:—

LETTER (No. 6)

COMPENDIUM of the Seven Degrees of Masonry.

First light of the Law of Moses.

the first Degree, composed of the entered apprentice, fellow craft and simboliq Master, Containing three Sections; three Sacred Words, I. B. M. three pass Words

Signs and Grips and the Subject upon the Building of the temple of Solomon ; the two Pillars I. B. the flaming Star, the Murder of H. &c. &c.

Second Degree, the Little Elected, the unknown ; the election of fifteen, containing three Sections and as above three Sacred Words &c. &c. the Subject, the Seven Elected ordered for the discovery of the murderers ; the taking of one of them ; an unknown given advise of the two others, the Election of the fifteen, the taking of the two other murderers, their punishment and the burying of Hiram.

Third Degree of the architect, Judges and first architect of the Temple, containing three Sections three Sacred Words &c. upon the obligation there makes the architects in eating each a portion of the heart of Hiram as ordered by Solomon ; the Election of the Judges and Provost of the temple in order to prevent in the future any discord during the perfection of the temple which was achieved in Seven Years and upon the dedication of it made by Solomon.

Fourth Degree, the Royal Arch, Containing three sections, three sacred words, &c ; the subject upon the discovery of the Deltha by three architects in the nine arches of Enoch and particularly by G B L who finds the report made to Solomon, that the discovery contains the real name of God: Solomon and Hiram King of Tyr Set the Deltha on the Pillar of Beauty just under the Saint of Saint ; the institution of the Royal Arch, and on the demand of the Masons to Solomon the bad Masons buried under the falling of the nin Voutes by a punition of God for their price, the offering of the bread without and the oblation to Jehova with the Election of the grand Elected.

Fifth Degree, the Knights of the East, the Princes of Jerusalem, the reconstruction of the temple after the Captivity of 70 years by Zorobabel Isai and Josua ; three sections three sacred words &c. the subject upon the destruction of Solomon's temple by Nabucodonsor ; the deliverance of the Jewish people by Cyrus ; the Batle of the River Starburzanaij ; the temple re-edified with the trowel and Sword in hand ; the Deltha re-placed in the temple, the ambassadors sent to Cyrus for to obtain the delivery of the vases of the temple and the oblation of the Grand Commanders.

SECOND LIGHT UPON THE LAW OF CHRIST

Sixth Degree, named, the Metropolis of Scotland and Colledge of Heredom or Royal Order of Heredom, and on the pact of the Christian Princes for the cruises in the Holy Land; three Sacred Words &c.

The subject, faith hope and Charity.
the voyage of the three Collumns.

The research of the Word lost by the death of Christ.

The new Religion with the descent of Christ into the Limbes or Hell ; his delivering the souls, his resurrection ; the word found again I N R I Emanuel the origin of Masonry under the allegory of the construction of the temple. The Ecclesiastical Councils of France, Italy, Germany, Plaisance and Clermont in Auvergne (province of France) where the Pope was present.

The Pact of the Christian Princes for the conquest of Pallestina

Jerusalem and the Grave of Christ, when it was resolved that the moto of the colours and flags should be, *God's will*.

The nine cruises (? Crusades—G.S.D.) began by Godfrey of Bouillon and followed by the Kings and Princes of England, Scotland, france, Germany & flanders. also an etimology of that antiq Lodge of Scotland which was established in the Castle of Heredom and which took several different names according to the revolutions of the times of War Such as the Eagle, the Pelican, rose cross of St. Andrew of Heredon ; in fine the perfect Mason of Scotland the demolition of the Castle of Heredom whose name is only subsisting.

THIRD LIGHT UPON NATURE

Seventh Degree, containing Seven Sections Seven Sacred Words &c. called the royal order of the templars K. D. O. S. H. or Solitary, the Subject taken from Herod antiphas upon the real natural Philosophy of the Masons.

their friendship With Godfrey of Bouillon King of Jerusalem.

Upon the third and last destruction of the temple of Zerobabel, by antiochus under the Maccabees, by Crapus, by Pompee Kespasium and Jilus his son, upon St. John the almoner who gave his name to one branch of our order.

Upon the new reformation of the Masons untill the year L 1700.

Upon hughes of Pagantes and Godfrey of St. Omer that are received by Garinous Patriarch of Jerusalem in the 51 Age.

Upon the Seven Seals and books of the Masons, on the year of our Lord 1118.

Upon the creation of the order of the Knights templars by Godfrey of Bouillon confirmed and ratified by Baldwin the 1st and 2nd Kings of Jerusalem ; upon their valor, their deeds of arme and their grand Masters untill James Damolay.

Upon the destruction of that order in the years 1312 and 1314.

Upon the protection granted by the Kings of Scotland to all the Knights templars that took refuge in Scotland.

Upon the protestation that they made of their innocence also the protestation of their grand Master above mentioned at the Moment of his Cruel Death.

Upon the Nonauthority of the sentence of the Pope Clement the Sixth purporting, (We in a Secret Consistory of Cardinals and Bishops, have broke and annihilated the order of the templars, although unable to cast them by a regular course of Law ; We condemn them by our apostolique Authority and by provision, by the rights that our pontifical omnipotence Supply to all formalities, as we are unwilling to displease our dear Brother the King of france, and this bloody sentence was signed by the real Name of that Pope

Upon the non authority of the Popes to break a royal order created and confirmed by several Kings.

Upon the non authority of the Popes to judge the Temporal Mighties.

Upon the power that they have arrogated to themselves falsely grounded.

Upon the bad use they have made of their false powers.

Upon the falsity of Scolastique Philosophy of which the Popes have made use in order to arrogate themselves With divine Powers.

Upon that the Popes have never been assisted by the Holy Ghost in their Judgement.

Upon the Natural Religion.

Upon the Composition and discomposition of the four Elements.

Upon the fluid of the sun that gives life to any thing in being.

Upon the Soul. Upon Divinity and upon the Discomposition of vegetable mineral and animal.

Upon the Separation of the four Elements in the reign animal on the Corporal or incorporeal Soul.

Upon the real Name of God, the falsity of Devils or Demons.

Upon Heaven and Hell, and the authority of the holy books.

Upon the reality that God is the type of any thing and that creator & almighty is not such as the Popes teaches him to be, also upon good and bad.

Upon Phisique, Metaphisique, Philosophy and Moral.

Upon the knowledge of the salts of Hermess.

Upon the real philosophical Stone by mathematics, astrology and all the Sciences that proves the real existence of the Eternal being and upon the Worship own to him.

Upon the Lodges of our days that professes no more the Secrets of the ancient masons, neither in Scotland nor England by the suppression made in Scotland, York London and all Europe at the instigation of the grand Master of the Order of Maltha protected by the Popes in the year 1500.

Upon the powers and ancient charters granted by the King Athelstan and Edwin in the year 926.

Upon the Act of the Parliament of England in 1415 that has prohibited all the favor of the Masons and has reduced them to the only Simbolique use and Way.

Upon the obligation of the Masons to Write, and Why ?

Upon the introduction of the human Sciences in the World by the Masons.

Upon all the temples, and What Signifies the Word temple.

Upon the Lodge of Cromwell and under what system it is under the title of architect and generally upon all the false Masonique Grades invented by ignorant Members that knew no better.

And upon the three hieroglyph Keys of the Masons not to be found out but only in our Lodge to whom they have been thrust for to communicate from one to another Lodge upon matters of Deliberations &c.

Taken from the Grand Book of Deliberation by order of the g^d administrator
Fs. Baes.

Second Gd. Secretary

The extract (Letter 8) which De Lintot also sent to Edinburgh appears to have been a copy of a portion of certain Regulations which had been recently issued by the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns"). This extract was sent with a covering letter (Letter 9) dated March 25th, 1783, in which he plaintively enquires as to the fate of his letter of December. I presume he refers to his letter of December 12th, 1782.

LETTER (No. 8)

Extract

that each Lodge be required to transmit to the grand Secretary on or before the next quarterly Communication, a regular list of their Members, with the dates of their admission or initiation ; also their ages as near as possible at this time ; together with their Tittles, Professions or Trades and to continue on or before every Succeeding Grand Lodge to acquaint the grand Secretary, with the names and descriptions of any additional member or other alterations in the Lodge as to members, and for every person made a Mason, five shillings be transmitted, and for every person becoming a Member, two Shillings and Six pence for registering their names &c in the Grand Lodge books, agreeable to the regulation, and that no person made a mason subsequent to the 29th of October 1786 (at which time the regulation took place) shall be entitled either to receive charity from the grand Lodge, or to partake of any other Privileges of the Society, unless his name &c. be regularly registered as above.

also that this regulation shall extend to the Lodges abroad, and that twelve months be allowed to the Lodges in Europe, America or the West Indies to transmit their first accounts ; and two years to the Lodges in the East Indies. and whereas many Lodges have neglected to comply with the said regulations, by not registering their Members, or transmitting the fees prescribed, to the great injury of the fund of the society, it is therefore

Resolves, that to render the said resolution of the 19th of November 1773, more productive and beneficial to the Society, it shall henceforth be strictly enforced, and for that purpose it is ordered. 1. that no Brother, however exalted in life, who has been initiated since the 29th of October 1768 shall have the privilege of being appointed to the honour of wearing a blue or red apron, unless the grand Secretary certifies to the grand Master that the name of such Brother has been registered and the fees paid.

2. that no Brother initiated since the 29th of October 1768 shall have the privilege of being elected or appointed a Master or Warden of a Lodge, or of attending or voting at a comitee of charity or Grand Lodge unless his name has been registered and the fees paid.

3. that every petitionner of charity, initiated since the 29th 1768 shall set forth in his petition, the Lodge in which, and time when he was made a Mason, in order that the grand Secretary, may certify to the comity of charity by indorsement on the Petition whether the Petitioner's name has been duly registered and the fees paid.

4. that every Lodge shall transmit to the grand Secretary on or before the grand feast in every year, or oftener, a regular list of all persons initiated, or Members admitted in such Lodge, together with the registering fees, and such Lodges as may not have initiated or admitted any person Within the year, shall, in Writting, acquaint the grand Secretary of such circumstance, that their Silence may not be computed to neglect or contempt of the Regulations of the grand Lodge.

5. That to prevent any Lodge from pleading ignorance or forgetfulness of the proper method of registering its members, a blanc form shall be printed and sent to each Lodge, to be filled up and returned to the grand Secretary.

6 that the grand Secretary shall lay before the first quarterly Communication after each grand feast, an account of such Lodges as have not registered their Members within the year preceding the grand feast, that they may be erased from the list of Lodges for not conforming to the Laws of the Society, or be otherwise dealt with as the grand lodge may think expedient.

7. that to prevent any injury to individuals, by being excluded from the privileges of the Society, through the neglect or malpractice of their Lodges in not having their names duly registered, such Brethren, on producing sufficient proof to the grand Master, the Comity of charity, or quarterly communication (as the nature of the case may require) that they paid the regular registering to the Lodges, shall be capable of enjoying all the privileges of the Society, but the offending Lodges shall be rigorously proceeded against for disobeying the orders of the grand Lodge, and detaining, longer than in Justice or reason they ought, the fees that were the property of the Society.

agreed unaimously at the grand extra Lodge on the 8th ultimo and on the 14th instant.

London. 17th february 1783.

and is signed

James haseltine }
William White } G.S.

LETTER (No. 9)

London March 25th 1783

Worshipfull Brother

In the Month of December last I have send you a letter by order of Mr. Lambert De Lintot, Master of our Lodge, containing the deliberation of our said Lodge, and of which I have paid the postage at the general Post Office in King Street Newport Market; it wonder all the members that we remain untill this Day Without any answer, therefore beg to lett us know if such Letter has been received in order that I may lay it before the first chapter. Inclose. I send you a copy of extract of the new regulations taken by the grand Simboliq Lodge of England in Great Queen Street Lincoln inn fields, his Roual highness the Duke of Cumberland Grand Master, and which has been transmitted to our Simboliq Lodge, of which Mr. Lambert De Lintot is also Master, we sincerely wish that in the high degrees of Masonry the grand Lodge of H. R. D. M. of Kilwinning, Would adopt Such or Similar regulations, to which we make no doubt but every Lodge would gladly accept.

in my particular Wishing to you personally and to the Lodge in general, Joy, health and prospetity, I remain,
Worshipfull Brother

Your most obedient
and humble Servant

Fs Baes Second Secretary.

at Peter Lambert De Lintot Esqur. No. 59 Coy's Gardens Tottenham Court Road.

To Baes' letter of March 25th, 1783, we have (in Letter 10) a copy of the reply sent on 29th March. A Charter was granted—there is no record in the Minute Book of the Order—and the Charter Fee of £3 10s. requested.

LETTER (No. 10)

Copy letter to Mr. Fs. Baes, Second Secretary to the Lodge over which Peter Lambert de Lintot presides in London
R.W.B.

I am to acknowledge the recd of your letter dated 25th Curr and to inform you that at the first meeting after receiving your last I laid the same before the Gover & Council of the H. D. M. of Kilwinning and that it was ordered for me to make out a Patent for the most W/ful Br. P. Bernard De Lintot Esq. empowering him to advance such Brethren as was thought worthy to the R.Y.L. order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning the number to be advanced with the Characteristicks given to each (the same not to exceed sixty three without a new Patent from our Order to form a new Chapter) being transmitted to us every six months. The Patent is in forwardness and I now inform you that the money to be payed for the same amounts to £3. 10. 0. Please let me know in Course If I am to draw for the same on Peter Lambert de Lintot or any other Person.

I am with all due brotherly esteem

W. Br. Your affectionate Br. & Hble Sevt.
W.M.D.r.t.n.

Parl. House,
29th March 1783.

I shall lay the Extract you transmit me before the first Council of Knights to have their opinion upon it as in my own I think the regulations highly proper for the good of the Craft in general to whom I heartily wish all manner of Prosperity.

To this letter De Lintot replied in an undated letter (Letter 11) asking to whom the "3 guinny and a half guiny" should be paid.

LETTER (No. 11)

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL BROTHER

The Lodge of the seven and Last Degree of the perfect observance N¹ under the constitution of the Gd. Lodge of England South of the River Trent at York in London has delibered and is determined, according to your last letters, and ours answer to it, that we had resolved to pay 2 Shiling and 6d. for each Knights admitted under the four degree of the ancient Scots masonry or the Royal order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning on the condition that our Members shall be Registered in your chapter and that our chapter shall be intiled to deliver Certificate Where in the following words shall be mentionned (Registered in the Gd. Chapter of the

high Knights of the Royal order of H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning) at Edinburgh but notwithstanding we shall pay other fee as our Brethren does in Dublin for the use of your grand chapter. If there no objection in the chapter be so kind Dear Brother to acknowledge that the Receipt of this Letters immediately it time permit you or so soon that you can, and to let me know where you desire that 3 guinny and an half guiny shall be placed in London or at Edinburgk or at any place, or if you will for the Best, to send the charte at any place in London on your order you shall Receive the said sum free of the post that we shall pay particularly.

& as there is Great numbers of strangers in our Lodge and chapter or Royal Arch, who desire to be admited in Scoth ancient masonry (if the is no objection) after be admited by us, to call for charte for france Italie or other Kingdom on the same conditions, please let me know it, I send you copie of your last letters to remembert you that J'desire to make the good of the craft.

If you have received about two months ago a petition signed by me with Eleven other brother please to have no regard of it before the mony shall be placed according your desire and to send no charte before j' let you know.
J am with all due brotherly esteem

Wors^{ful} Brother

Your affectionate Br. & most humble servant
Peter Lambert de Lintot M^{ter}.

N.B. it is desired that the charte bear the name of Peter James Lambert De Lintot Esq. Deputy Governor or Master. accord your ruler.
Don Michel Baron Chilini diAsuni Signor Warden
Andrew Baynton Esqr. Junior Warden for the three firt officers &c&c&c&c&c.
Please to direct to Mr. Lambert De Lintot No. 5 cobham Row cold Bath fields London.

LETTER (No. 11a)

copie of the last Letters of the chapter of H.R.D.M.
R.W. Br.

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 29 current, and to inform you that at the first meeting after Receiving your Last J laid the same before the Governor and council of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning and that it was ordered for me to make out a patent for the most Worshipfull Br. P. Lambert de Lintot Esqr. Empowring him to advance Such Brethren as was thought worthy for the r y l order of the H.R.D.M. of Kilwinning the members he advanced, with the characteristicks given to Each the same not to exceed Sixty three without a new patent from our order to form a new chapter being forwardness and now inform you that the mony to be payed for same amount to £3. 10. 0.
Please let me know in housse if I am to draw for the same or Peter Lambert de Lintot or any other person.

I am with all due

William M. D. R. T. N. Gibb
Gnd Secretary

LETTER (No. 11b)

Parliament house
29 March 1783
and a N.B.

I shall lay the Extract you transmitt me before the first council of Knights to have their opinion upon it, as in my own I think the Regulations highly proper for the good of the Craft in general to whom I heartily wish all manner of prosperity
William M. D. R. T. N.

The rest is silence and we have no further records in our archives of the Rite of Seven Degrees.

At the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Draffen, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Ivor Grantham, E. Ward, W. Waples, R. J. Meekren and L. E. C. Peckover.

The W.M. said:—

I am sure we are all grateful to Bro. Draffen for his valuable and interesting contribution to our *Transactions*. It is particularly welcome as coming from Scottish sources, for it is becoming more and more recognised that the solution of many obscure Masonic problems will not be found in any narrow field; thus, the more information we get, the more we shall learn of those eighteenth century customs which tend to bemuse even the most erudite student of Masonic history.

The paper is particularly valuable as an addendum to Bro. Wonnacott's 1926 paper, and it will be of great interest to students of Prince Masonry (Rose Croix) in Ireland, and also Knights Templar, especially as no less an authority than the late Bro. Heron Lepper stated that a Bro. Laurent introduced the Rose Croix to the Kilwinning Lodge, Dublin, in 1782, and this Bro. Laurent received his seven degrees on 12th July, 1782, in the Rite of Seven Degrees. Also, it has been stated that, in the system of high degrees promoted by Lambert de Lintot, the Templar series were combined with the Kadosh, but, about 1790, when Dunckerley first appears as chief of the Templars in England, a severance seems to have taken place.

The reference to a dispute between two Grand Lodges in Petition No. 2, is undoubtedly a reference to that between the "Moderns" Grand Lodge and the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent (1779-1789), which followed the split in the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1. Bro. Wonnacott was under no misapprehension, for he stated (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix, p. 63) that "outside grades from 1764 or earlier, down to 1790, were in vogue among the Masons under the Grand Lodge of the Moderns and also its schismatic off-shoot, the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent".

By this schismatic Grand Lodge only two subordinate Lodges were constituted:—

- No. 1. The Lodge of Perfect Observance, which had a very strong foreign element; and
- No. 2. Perseverance & Triumph.

Notice now that this schismatic Grand Lodge was chartered on 29th March, 1779, by the Grand Lodge of all England, at York (it collapsed in 1789), and that there is a record in the minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, dated 9th June, 1779, to the following effect:—

P. Lambert de Lintot Admr. Genl. & Reprst. of the G.L. of ye Lodge of Heredom, Scotland.

attended along with a number of members of the Lodge of St. George de l'Observance No. 68. When de Lintot stated in Petition No. 2 that they had taken no part in the dispute between the two Grand Lodges, he must have had his "tongue in his cheek".

Peter Lambert de Lintot illegally purchased the Warrant of "French Lodge No. 270" in 1766 (erased 1775), and apparently altered its name to "Union". A Chapter of High Grades was connected with this Lodge, which later became the Perfect Observance of the schismatic Grand Lodge; though erased, it must have continued to work after its erasure in 1775. Later still, the Chapter was attached to the St. George de l'Observance, No. 148 (No. 53 in 1780). It was erased from the "Moderns'" list in February, 1794, probably having come to an end because the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent had ceased in 1789. It appears that there is no list of members of No. 270 in Grand Lodge.

The interest in this paper stems from the fact that here we have a series of degrees which may have given rise to some of our present-day Orders. We know so little about the other degrees such as the Black Mark, the Wreath, the Link, and even the eighteenth century Royal Arch, that any further information is bound to be appreciated. Yet perhaps it is as well that the Duke of Sussex "clamped down" on so many of these extraneous degrees during his thirty years' Grand Mastership, or we might now have had a multiplicity of them to detract from the beauty and attractiveness of the recognised three.

May I express the hope that Bro. Draffen's main line of research has not, as he states, come to a standstill, but that we shall be favoured with the results at some not very distant date, for we are all conscious of the fact that whatever he submits is quite out of the ordinary run, and is a distinct addition to the latest Masonic knowledge.

It is on this note that I end by proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to him, and I call on Bro. Johnson, the S.W., who is our expert on the Grand Lodge at York, to second.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON, S.W., said:—

This paper, *Some Further Notes on the Rite of Seven Degrees in London*, comes as a pleasant surprise, as it shows that there are still discoveries to be made in our Masonic Libraries.

Bro. Wonnacott, in his paper, *The Rite of Seven Degrees in London* (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix, 63), created something of a sensation as he had discovered a good deal of information on a subject of which little was known.

Now we are indebted to Bro. G. S. Draffen for producing further evidence which confirms many of Bro. Wonnacott's statements.

The Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 was constituted on 15th November, 1779, by the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street. Only the names of five principal officers are recorded. Three years later only one of these Brethren remained on the List of Officers and that was the first Master, Peter Lambert de Lintot, who still retained that position.

Lambert de Lintot was one of the mainstays of the French Lodges working in London in 1770-1790, and is best known for his Masonic engravings, some of which contain Cyphers which have been a puzzle to many.

Bro. Wonnacott mentions a plate in the Grand Lodge Library which formed the frontispiece of the Constitutions of Lodge No. 1, Perfect Observance, Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent. (*A.Q.C.*, xxix, 67). Is this the emblematical plate exhibited in one of the show cases a few weeks ago by the Grand Librarian?

This plate has no engraver's name, but bears every indication that it was the work of Lambert de Lintot. It has great interest for me, as it is headed, "Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent", and is the only engraving that I have seen connected with that Grand Lodge.

It is with much pleasure that I second a vote of thanks to W.Bro. G. S. Draffen for his valuable paper.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

This interesting contribution to our *Transactions* does not lend itself easily to comment in a Craft Lodge. But, if I may, I would claim the privilege of expressing my own personal appreciation of this paper for a special reason. If I am not mistaken, I happen to be the only person here this evening who was also present in Lodge on the occasion nearly thirty years ago, when the late Bro. W. Wonnacott delivered what proved to be his "Swan Song" in Freemasonry—the masterly paper on *The Rite of Seven Degrees in London*, to which Bro. Draffen has now added this useful supplementary note.

In the course of his paper, Bro. Draffen has enquired which were the two Grand Lodges mentioned in the Petition—Document No. 2 in the text—between whom in 1782 there was a dispute. The answer to that question is, I think, clear from the text of the Petition itself; for in the preamble reference is made to the two Grand Lodges to which the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 and Union Lodge No. 270 respectively owed allegiance—namely, the Grand Lodge of All England at York, and the *Modern* Grand Lodge in London. The nature of the dispute between two Grand Lodges, if this identification is correct, does, perhaps, remain a matter for conjecture; but I would venture to suggest that the dispute in question related to the activities of that section of the Lodge of Antiquity which, three years before, had severed itself from this Lodge of Time Immemorial fame and, in close association with the Grand Lodge of All England at York, had formed a so-called Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent.

To add interest to this paper, I have brought with me from the Grand Lodge Library, for exhibition in open Lodge this evening, a number of documents relating to the Rite of Seven Degrees in London; and I would draw attention to the symbolic design, above which appears a specific reference to the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1, South of the River Trent. As de Lintot is known to have been Master of this Lodge, there is good reason for thinking that this symbolical design may be attributed to him. Other designs, which are known to be specimens of his work, are exhibited for comparison. In reply to the questions raised by the Senior Warden in his comments, I can state with confidence that this particular document is the one referred to by Bro. Wonnacott in his paper. The Lodge is indebted to the Board of General Purposes for permission for this document to be reproduced in our *Transactions*.

I cordially support this vote of thanks.

Bro. E. WARD said:—

Bro. Draffen's discovery is to the history of the Chivalric grades as was the finding of the *Graham* MS. to the Craft. Perhaps this is an understatement because, however incomplete our knowledge of eighteenth century Craft working, the blanks are as nothing comparatively,



Engraved Chart

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and these letters, with their appendages, provide a link which may well prove of inestimable value.

Read alongside Wonnacott's paper, we know much more of what manner of man de Lintot was, and if, as some think, he was the principal channel by which the so-called higher degrees became popular in England, we can understand why the history is so entangled.

For instance, in a minute of Antiquity Lodge, dated 9th June, 1779, quoted by Gilbert Daynes (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix, p. 94), one of the visitors is de Lintot, styled "Admr. Genl. and Representative of the G.M. of ye Lodge of Heredom, Scotland". But he apparently knew so little of this "Lodge" that three years later he petitioned for a charter to the National Grand Lodge at Edinburgh.

Again, according to Wonnacott, the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent, the Lodge of Perfect Observance No. 1 and the College (of Rites) had by 1780 become unrecognisable as separate entities, and it seems that the Union Lodge No. 270 could be included in the merger. Nevertheless, in de Lintot's petition of 1782 (letter 2), one of the two Lodges mentioned was 270, its officers being anonymous, whilst the officers of Observance were all named.

It seems inescapable that de Lintot stressed the connection (which no longer existed) between No. 270 and the regular G.L. of England solely to give prestige to his appeal. Here we might ask why it was necessary to obtain a charter from Scotland. Why should not the G.L. South of the R.T. issue one, as it did when constituting the Perfect Observance Lodge itself? In referring to differences between Grand Lodges, I assume that de Lintot meant between the "Moderns" G.L. and his own schismatic G.L., and that he felt misgivings about the latter having sufficient status to attract prospective Knights. But if he did not expect much sympathy from the "Moderns" G.L. at London he could have fared worse than by going to Bristol, for in 1780 the Baldwyn Rite, the Emminent of seven degrees (and I must add inevitably time immemorial) had with all modesty constituted itself as the supreme authority in England, and, indeed, eventually possessed five subordinate encampments. We still have the regulations in what is self termed a Charter of Compact, dated December 20th, 1780, and because in the past it has been suggested that there was a previous separate charter which has become lost (Yarker,¹ Waite² and Powell³), I would here point out that the internal evidence shows that the regulations and the charter are one and the same, although there is nothing to indicate the identities of the compacting parties. Lambert de Lintot surely must have known of this Baldwyn organisation, and his Lodge could have become a daughter encampment, but didn't, and it is for consideration whether this was because de Lintot regarded the Rite as of too recent an origin and wanted to be sure of being associated with an order which had an antiquity, as he puts it, "proved by historical facts".

The Rite of Seven Degrees outlined in the Compendium (letter No. 6) is remarkably like the Irish system quoted by Wonnacott (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix, p. 71), but differs from that directly associated with de Lintot's Lodge, also quoted by Wonnacott earlier, in which the three Craft degrees are telescoped into one. Reading through the material, one wonders whether this was principally a storehouse of legendary matter on which to draw, or whether the seven degrees were really all worked independently. To mention again the Baldwyn Rite of seven degrees, of which two are Craft and R.A. and five orders of Knighthood, it is extremely doubtful whether more than two of these five were originally worked. Certainly the sixth, Kts. of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta, otherwise Knights Templar, on which the Rite was founded, and possibly the seventh, Rosae Crucis or Sov. Princes Rose Croix of Heredom. According to Tuckett, the three Lesser Knighthoods (3° Nine Elected Masters, 4° Scots Knight of Kilwinning, and 5° Knight of the East, Sword and Eagle) were not actually worked as separate degrees before 1802, the material being only to a small extent the same as used in other similar rites.

When William Gibb spoke of four other degrees *contained* in the Royal Order, had he in mind a similar store which could if need be added to the recognised degrees? Surely it must have been somewhat like this, because, having agreed to issue a patent (letter No. 10), he did not correct de Lintot's acknowledgment (letter No. 11) which repeated Gibb's own words regarding the four degrees of the Royal Order. Otherwise, either Gibb sold a patent for four degrees when he only had two to sell, and didn't even say which these were, or else de Lintot was not in the least concerned what they were, so long as he gained possession of so valuable a charter to give authority to the system which he preferred to propagate.

One question which I ask Bro. Draffen is whether the handwriting in the body of the letters and that of the signatures is the same, because Wonnacott notes de Lintot's use of English for the first time in 1786. If all were written by Baes (the master of languages) under de Lintot's direction in French it might account for much. I take it that this is meant by Bro. Draffen when saying that the degrees are "sketched by de Lintot", although actually the Compendium was in that instance signed by Baes.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xvii, p. 88.

² *Encyclopædia*, Vol. ii, p. 227.

³ *Freemasonry in Bristol*, p. 778.

Bro. W. WAPLES said:—

It appears from de Lintot's letters that he may have considered the Kilwinning H.R.D.M. the ancient and true *ne plus ultra* of Masonry, and that he wanted to include it in the Rite, ascribed to him, in place of the Prussian Order, which may have been, in his view, a too modernised version of the Phaleg story.

The origin of the Rite used, or introduced, by de Lintot is doubtful; it was certainly not his own concoction, for a similar one is quoted at length in *Maconnerie Adonhiramite*, first published in 1781, but written some time earlier. The 1747 edition of *Les Francs-Maçons* quotes Architectes ou Ecossois following the Maître—therefore, there may be grounds for assuming that a series of degrees was established *circa* 1740 or before. One must not lose sight of the Swalwell Lodge Harodim of 1735 (see *Book M*), which had something in common with the Kilwinning H.R.D.M., and also the modified Harodim of the Phoenix (No. 94), Palatine (No. 97) and other Lodges in Durham County about the middle of the eighteenth century. There was likewise the Scone and Perth influence of the higher orders in 1778, and later the Arch and Temple of St. Stephen's in 1807, and preceding Alex Deuchar's interest in that body at Advocates' Court.

Here in North-Eastern England there is undoubtedly Scottish influence over a long number of years. Our early Brethren apparently looked to Scotland for leadership, not only for reasons of proximity, but possibly because the Scottish system was not tainted with Continental innovations.

De Lintot's Compendium shows that, in common with similar systems, his Seven Degree Rite followed a general theme, a pattern, the origin of which may well be found in the so far undiscovered history of the Royal Order of Scotland; maybe de Lintot thought similarly about the *ne plus ultra*.

Thank you, Bro. Draffen, for a most valuable contribution to the Seven Degree Rite.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

Bro. Draffen has not only recalled to mind our late Bro. Wonnacott's paper on the Rite of Seven Degrees in London, but has added in his present paper, brief as it is, some very interesting information. The impression given in Bro. Wonnacott's account was that the various degrees worked by the French Brethren in London in the latter part of the eighteenth century were a loose and inchoate agglomeration, but from one of the documents Bro. Draffen has discovered it would appear, on the contrary, that they formed a well-defined system or series, for these early Rites, or most of them, were, after all, nothing but agglomerations of degrees which were originally worked separately and independently.

In the document particularly referred to, the Compendium sent to Edinburgh by Lintot, it becomes quite evident that these degrees, so-called, were each really three degrees grouped together, with the exception of the seventh, which comprises seven degrees or "sections." These separate degrees (called sections) are in all twenty-five, which number again was taken to have some significance, or at least to be symbolically appropriate. The titles of these degrees are referred to in many places, and the rituals of many of them were published in various works that appeared in France in the period, and even in the early years of the nineteenth century. There are also MS. rituals, mostly of unknown provenance, and ritual documents that turn up in unexpected places, as, for example, one referring to the Royal Arch, which was discovered in the archives of the Great Priory of Helvetia of the *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*.

In order to make up the number twenty-five, the Royal Arch in Lintot's rite has to be taken as being composed of three degrees, or sections, as Lintot describes them. The document just mentioned above (as in the Swiss Great Priory) bears this out. It is in English—rather illiterate English—and brings in the nine Arches of Enoch, and the placing of the Delta in the secret vault under the S.S. of the Temple, as well as its subsequent discovery.

Ragon, considerably later, yet not too late, I think, but that he may have received some tradition at second hand, makes the statement that the degrees of the Rite of Perfection were divided into seven groups, which he calls "Colleges or Temples", which is curiously parallel to the "Seven Degrees" given by Lintot, each divided into three "sections" (excepting the last), which confirms the conjecture that the Franco-London rite was an early form, or one of the variant early forms, of that of Perfection.

Some of our works of reference say that the Rite of Perfection was elaborated in the College of Clermont; others, as the late Albert Lantoiné in his history of the *Rite Ecossais, Ancien et Accepté*, appear to be of the opinion that it was the Emperors of the East and West who were responsible for it. The matter is uncertain; there were so many other bodies engaged in building up a series of degrees. The *Plus Secrets Mystères des Hauts Grades* (ascribed to Berage, of date 1767) gives a series of seven degrees, of which the first

three correspond in their titles to the sections of Lintot's second degree, and the next in order are two Architects, small and great (*Petit and Grand*), while *Recueil Precieux de la Mac : Adonhiramite*, of 1787, gives the same degrees in the same order. Neither of these two works are rare, hardly even scarce, but, in any case, I suppose they can be seen in most Masonic libraries of any size.

The list of the degrees of the Rite of Perfection given in works of reference, and which, I think, date from the earlier part of the nineteenth century, contain the same *Elus* and Architects in the same order, but they are preceded by a number of other degrees, showing that in the interval the Canon, so to speak, was not yet closed.

Incidentally, there is one great mystery that is, or seems to be, insoluble from sheer lack of any evidence or even hint concerning it; and that is when, and how, did the *Elu* motif get included in the third degree as worked in English-speaking countries. There is no trace of this in any form of the M.M. degree as worked in Continental Europe. This must have occurred before 1760, and (as it would seem) later than 1730.

What I would particularly like to draw attention to is that we have here a very promising field for investigation that has so far hardly received so much as a pioneer survey. I could hope that it might be taken up by some of our younger students. There is room enough in it for a number of investigators. I would suggest, however, to anyone interested that here purely historical methods will have to be implemented by others. It will need something of the acumen of a detective, for the material yields little more than hints and clues.

What my own rather unsystematic observations point to is that there is a good deal of information to be extracted respecting the original forms of the first and third degrees, especially the latter, and also the evolution and development of the interpretations put upon them. A good many of these "high" grades were originally conceived as "fourth" degrees, immediately following the third, and supposed to give the real interpretation of symbolic Masonry. In the later forms, when they had begun to be collected into incipient systems, these indications are apt to be edited out, but enough remains here and there to give a clue.

Perhaps the most interesting lead is the relationship of the *Elu*, or *Elect*, degrees, of which there are many, to those called *Ecossais* or *Scottish*. Personally, I think this relationship was very close, and that, indeed, they may all have emerged from the same germ, directly or indirectly, and (what is contrary to received opinion) that they, or the original root from which they sprung, may have existed as far back as the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

There is also, I believe, some light to be gained on the motifs that either led to the emergence of the Royal Arch, or exercised an influence upon its various developments—for it has had several. This is not the place to give reasons for so thinking, but here is one of the enticing problems afforded by the so-called *hauts grades*. It is to be hoped that Bro. Draffen (while looking for something else) may make a further discovery.

Bro. L. E. C. PECKOVER writes:—

There appears to have been so little research carried out on the other degrees of Freemasonry outside the Craft and Royal Arch that I find W.Bro. Draffen's paper of exceeding interest. I, of course, promptly read the paper by the late Bro. Wonnacott.

There seems to be little doubt that Bro. P. Lambert de Lintot was more or less responsible for the establishment of some of the so-called higher degrees in this country, and we must thank W.Bro. Draffen for his trouble in bringing before us his new discovery.

I am intrigued by the paragraph in the letter No. 5 which reads: "From an elevated place where reigns, Union Silence & and Peace of the y, V 17, of the y. M. 57 of our F 468. March 11th." These figures refer, apparently, to dates arrived at by various Masonic calculations, but none that I know of. Has Bro. Draffen any opinion on this? Also, can he elucidate on "Lord Mac Mahon last Scot Master" later on in the same letter?

It is interesting to note that all the degrees are associated with KS temple or with Templar Masonry. It would be nice if we could ascertain whether the second Templar Degree was equivalent to our present KTP, or whether the Templar Degrees and the Kadosh degrees are confused and have come down to us under different headings. Most certainly the Royal Arch has altered its complexion during the course of years.

Bro. DRAFFEN writes in reply:—

I have read the comments submitted with very great interest. In preparing this paper, I deliberately kept my own observations to the very minimum in order to let the original documents, around which the paper was written, speak for themselves.

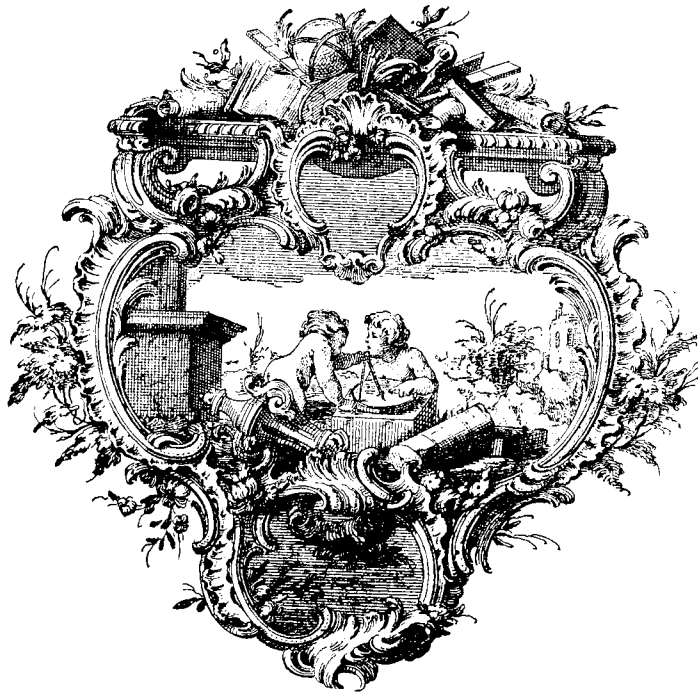
It seems likely that this paper will prove, in years to come, a useful "reference", for it

does give conclusive proof that what was assumed by many of us to be a somewhat nebulous organisation was, in fact, a quite well knit together affair.

Bro. Peckover raises an interesting point in connection with letter 5. I have carefully checked the original, and I am glad to find that my transcription was correct. It is certainly an unusual way to date a Masonic letter, but I think that a solution can be discovered from the text. I assume that the letters "V", "M" and "F" refer to the words "Vulgar Era", "Masonic Era" and "Founder". If this is correct, the last date mentioned, *i.e.*, F 468, brings us to the year 1314, which ties up with the date at the head of the letter, and if you add 468 to 1314 you get the year 1782, which is, of course, the year in which the letter was written. I can only think that for some reason or other the numerals 82 have been omitted by the writer after the numerals 17 and 57 respectively.

As far as I can judge, the handwriting in the body of the letters indicates that they were written by Baes, but there are one or two exceptions to this. In all cases where signatures appear they are actually signed by de Lintot or Baes, as the case may be.

It seems pretty certain—from evidence which I have had submitted to me by Bro. R. S. Lindsay, Grand Treasurer to the Royal Order of Scotland and Grand Secretary of the Supreme Council of Scotland—that the other degrees to which William Gibb refers are those of Royal Arch and Rose Croix. It is impossible to print the evidence, and only verbal discussion could confirm or deny it.



FRIDAY, 7th OCTOBER, 1955



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, 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.G.D., P.M., D.C.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., *as I.G.*; and J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. B. Foskett, who acted as S.W., D. Rushworth, G. Norman Knight, J. C. A. Raison, T. W. Marsh, K.-J. Lenander, C. W. Parris, W. H. Stanyon, P. J. Watts, J. A. Hunter, J. A. Jowett, D. O. Thornhill, A. J. Beecher Stow, M. R. Wagner, R. A. N. Petrie, J. G. Wainwright, D. T. Biddle, A. I. Sharp, H. H. Mennell, F. H. Anderson, W. Coles, J. D. deS. McElwain, K. Astrup, W. Patrick, R. W. Reynolds-Davies, E. Ward, M. Ellinger, F. M. Shaw, K. M. Serjeant, A. Parker Smith, W. J. Laws, F. L. Bradshaw, A. F. Ford, A. P. Cawadias, A. G. Dennis and E. S. Goddard.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. J. Cust, Lodge 7189; J. Philip, Lodge 3862; C. W. Long, Lodge 1622; W. J. Rowe, Lodge 3722; and A. E. Roch, Lodge 4977.

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.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); 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., S.W.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*, P.G.D. (I.C.); 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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., I.G.; G. Brett, P.M. Lodge 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland; and A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D.

One Association, one Lodge of Instruction, three Lodges and fifty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS

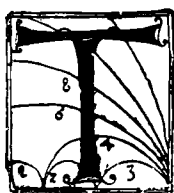
From Grand Lodge Library and Museum—

- Set of Silver Badges of the Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians.
 - Sword Scabbard of the Cheap-Side Chapter of Gregorians, 1736.
 - Song entitled "The Merry Gregs", from George Bickham's *Musical Entertainer*, 1742.
 - Ahiman Rezon, 1778, containing List of Clubs, including "The Gregorian Club".
 - Hone's *Every-day Book*, Volume ii, 1827, containing an allusion to "Gregorians".
 - An Engraved List of Gregorian Chapters.
 - Engraving of a portrait of Sir Edward Astley, Bart., Grand of the Gregorians in Norwich, 1771.
 - Letter, dated 10th February, 1780, written by Sir Edward Astley.
-

An interesting paper was read by Bro. J. R. RYLANDS, entitled *The Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians*, illustrated by Lantern slides, as follows:—

THE WAKEFIELD CHAPTER OF GREGORIANS

BY JOHN R. RYLANDS, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.



HIS is an essay slighter in substance and lighter in vein than those which have been submitted to the Lodge in recent years.

Yet it is not without its purpose. Firstly, it poses a number of hitherto unsolved problems and gives ample scope for discussion. Secondly, it raises once again the question—Why should an apparently worthy society flourish for the best part of a century and then disappear, leaving very little trace of its activities? The times in which we live to-day are not so serene and untroubled that we may be certain of the survival of any system or society, no matter how worthy its aims and objects. Thirdly, it brings to the attention of students a little—very little—new matter round which, perhaps, new theories may be woven.

This matter of survival or eclipse is not without importance; if amid the turmoil of conflicting ideologies we desire to preserve our great Masonic system, it may be no useless thing to learn, here and there, of a pitfall to be avoided.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by our late Bro. Douglas Knoop in his comments on a paper I read to the Lodge during the last war on *Early Freemasonry in Wakefield*.¹ Bro. Knoop pointed out that several members of the old Wakefield Lodge of *Unanimity* had also been members of a Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians, and he gave as a reference a paper read in 1908 by Bro. William Harry Rylands, a distinguished founder and the first Senior Warden of this Lodge, and printed in *A.Q.C.*, xxi.

That paper may not be very easily accessible to the majority of the members of the Correspondence Circle, and I may, therefore, perhaps be forgiven if I draw to some extent from the notes of my illustrious namesake, and then indicate the new data which have come to light since he wrote.

We have to admit that we still do not know a great deal about this Society of Gregorians. It was one of the fraternities which apparently took its rise in this country in the early eighteenth century, and which flourished fitfully until about the period of the Napoleonic Wars. To-day, I think, we should class it as “quasi-Masonic or imitative of Masonry”.

These familiar words did not always appear in the documents associated with admission into our Craft; a century-and-a-half ago no discrimination was in force against such bodies. Indeed, it is interesting to note in passing that the prohibition in question is of quite recent date. The 1926 *Book of Constitutions* has no reference to quasi-Masonic organisations; Rule 204 is directed rather against irregular initiations.²

It is the 1940 *Book of Constitutions* which first contains the reference to “quasi-Masonic” and “imitative of Masonry”. The reasons for these alterations are fairly well known and need not be discussed here. My present point is that no such prohibitions existed in the early years of the eighteenth century. Nor could they well have been enforced. There were many fraternal and social organisations competitive in a sense with Freemasonry, and there would appear to be scope for study of the reasons why some prospered and others died out.

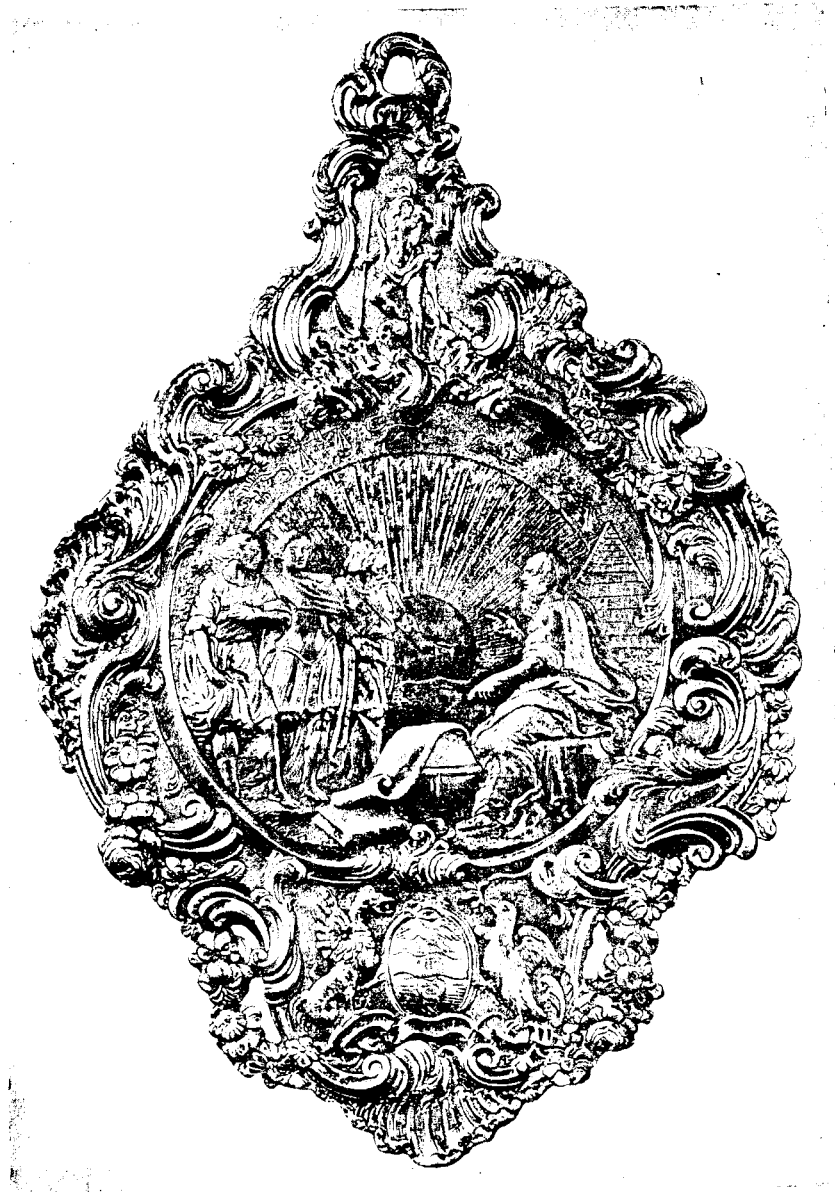
WHAT WAS A GREGORIAN?

Before we come to the actual story of the Society, or to what is known of it, the first question which must arise in our minds is—What does the name signify and whence was it derived? We are as much at a loss for an answer as was W. H. Rylands in 1908; we do not know.

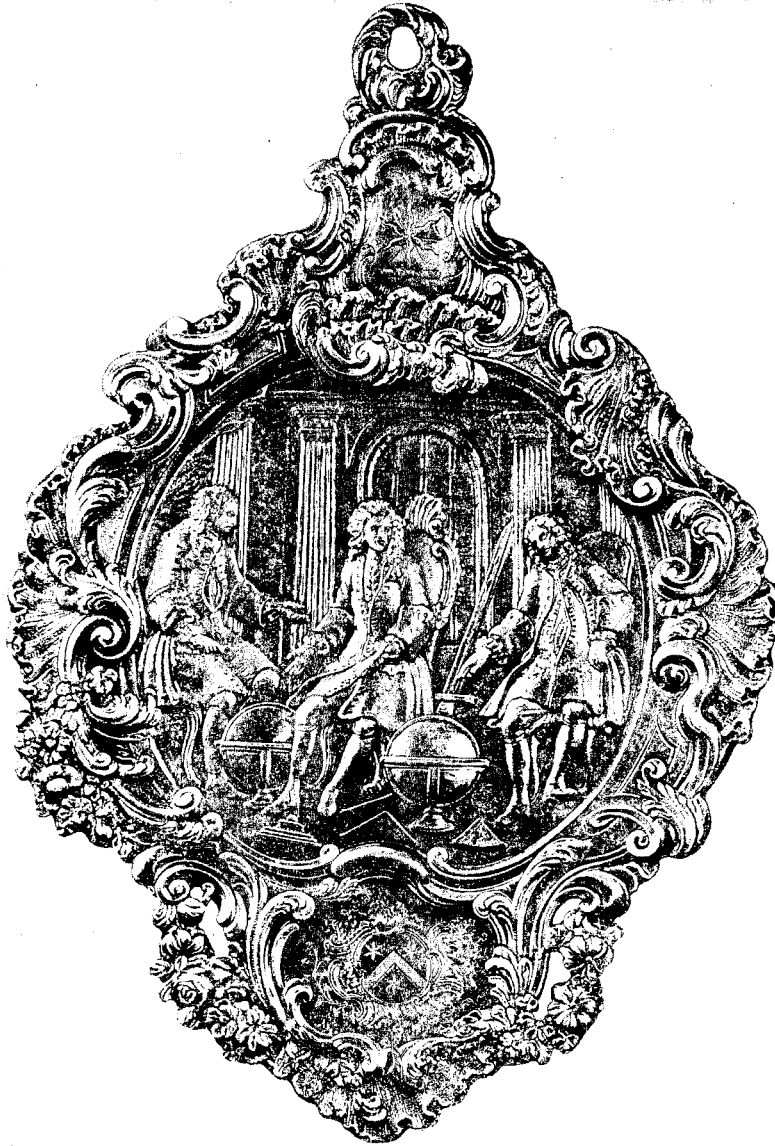
The ordinary works of reference do not help us very much, neither do they contain much of interest on the subject. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has nothing at all about a Society

¹ *A.Q.C.*, Vol. lvi, 1943.

² Rule 204, B. of Cons., 1926:—“A Brother who has been concerned in making Masons clandestinely, or at a Lodge which is not a regular Lodge, or who may assist in forming a new Lodge without the Grand Master’s authority, shall not be admitted as a member . . .”



Gregorian Jewel: Obverse



Gregorian Jewel: Reverse

of Gregorians, although it has a great deal about the Gregorian Chant and plainsong. So far as I can tell, neither of these has any connection whatever with our present subject, though I must confess that I spent much time assuring myself on this point, and in the process acquired a deal of knowledge for which I see no immediate use.

The *Shorter O.E.D.* is a little more helpful, if inaccurate and not very enlightening. After mentioning the Gregorian Chant, the Gregorian Telescope, the Gregorian Wig and the Gregorian Gallows, it says that the name was also given to:—

“A member of an eighteenth century society, often classed with the Freemasons.”

It gives the first occurrence of the name in this connection as 1742. This is not correct; we have earlier references indicating the existence of the Society as far back, possibly, as 1730. Actually, the first Press notice about the Gregorians occurs in the *Daily Journal* of May 8th, 1736. I quote W. H. Rylands:—

“On Monday last was constituted at the Flower de Luce, in St. Alban’s, a new chapter of the ancient and honourable order of Gregorians, at which were present the Grand, Vice-Grands, with their proper Officers, together with a large number of the Brethren. At their entrance into the town they were received with the greatest acclamations of joy that could be expressed by the populace. The bells rang, and continued ringing till the Grand left the town.”

I do not think that anything earlier has come to light; if it has, I hope the reference will be brought to the notice of the Lodge.

From 1736 until about 1810 there are Press references to the Society in many journals all over the country. There does not seem to have been quite the same reticence about the affairs of the Gregorians as there was about Freemasonry, though in both cases forthcoming meetings were frequently well advertised.

But even this greater publicity sheds little useful light on the nature of the Society. It must in many ways have resembled other contemporary fraternities, especially in their convivial customs. “The Gregorians had numerous Lodges or Chapters. One exercised great influence at Norwich, it bespoke plays, and the members attended with all their decorations; at contested elections for the city they proceeded to the hustings in regular order, and in full costume . . . Towards the close of their existence, for they are supposed to be defunct, they were memorable for their deep potations of Port wine.”¹

This Norwich Chapter appears to have been founded “some time before 1761”, and came to an end in 1806. H.R.H. Prince William of Gloucester was “initiated into the ancient and honourable Order of Gregorians . . . with seven other gentlemen . . .”. Apparently, Lord Nelson also was elected a member at Norwich, but the account does not make it clear that he attended for initiation.

This branch of the Society flourished until about the turn of the century, when it died out. Its Press notices give little information and are usually advertisements of the annual Venison Feast.

CHAPTER AT PONTEFRACT

In addition to a number of Chapters in London and elsewhere, there was one at Pontefract, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a few miles from Wakefield. From the frequent references to it in the York and Leeds newspapers onwards from 1751, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was founded about that time. The leading lights are unknown; we do not know who the founders were, nor how it came to be founded. All we know is that the meetings were held at the Red Lion in Pontefract. This small town has a Masonic history which still remains to be uncovered. There is a very early Press reference to a meeting of Freemasons there in 1721; there is this Gregorian Chapter of 1751, active long before regular Masonic activity revived in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The oldest Masonic Lodge in the Province, now the Lodge of *Probity* No. 61, was warranted as far back as 1738, but after a year or two it became inactive and remained so until about 1763. There was an “Antients” Lodge in Sheffield in 1761, but it was short-lived and lapsed in 1765, in which year the present *Britannia* Lodge No. 139 was founded, followed by *Unanimity* in Wakefield in 1766.

Thus, between 1740 and 1760 there seems to have been little, if any, regular Masonic activity in the West Riding. Yet this Gregorian Chapter in Pontefract, founded somewhere in the middle of this period of Masonic quiescence, flourished and grew for half-a-century. So far as I know there are no records extant of its activities, but when the Wakefield Chapter came to be founded in 1796, its founders were either members at Pontefract or went there to

¹ *Notes and Queries* (2nd series, vi, 1858, p. 273) quoted by W. H. Rylands in *A.Q.C.*, xxi, p. 97.

be initiated for the purpose. Furthermore, as Bro. Knoop pointed out, some of them were members of the Lodge of *Unanimity* at Wakefield, founded thirty years earlier.

Indeed, I hazard the guess that the famous Richard Linnecar, initiated into Masonry in Gibraltar in 1741, was a Pontefract Gregorian before he helped to found at Wakefield the Lodge of which he was later to occupy the chair for a quarter-of-a-century. There can be little doubt that for a period of something like ten years at least a relationship of some kind must have existed between the Lodge of *Unanimity* and the Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians, if only because the two bodies had a number of members in common. There were at least ten founders of the Chapter, and of these six were members of the Lodge. Four of them, according to the list attached to Bro. W. H. Rylands' paper, had been Gregorians for some time; the record does not say for how long. They were:—

Richard Linnecar
William Brown
Thomas Gill
Richard Munkhouse

Little is known of Brown and Gill, though these surnames are familiar in Wakefield Masonry in the early days. Linnecar was one of the famous Masons of his time. He was a man of many parts; Coroner for the West Riding of Yorkshire in the Honor of Pontefract; linen draper; postmaster, wine merchant, and something of a minor poet and dramatist.¹

Munkhouse, too, was a Mason of some renown, and more will be said of him below. The other six founders, all men of standing in the town, were:—

Lt.-General Loftus Anthony Tottenham
Lt.-Colonel John Tottenham
John Lee
Andrew Peterson
Charles Watson
Thomas Rogers

These members were initiated into Gregorism on 8th June, 1796, preparatory to the formation of the Chapter at Wakefield. General Tottenham and Peterson were members of the Lodge. The former was one of the first initiates in 1767 and was Master in 1768. Andrew Peterson was a very young Mason, having been initiated about the same time as he joined the Gregorian Chapter. He was exalted to the Royal Arch in 1797. Of him, Dr. Walker² relates that he was one of the last to wear a peruke or wig. Another Gregorian who followed the fashion to the last was Thomas Smith, one of the original members. Peterson, like most of the other members, was fairly well-to-do, and, like them, took part in the life of the town. Soon after the formation of the Chapter there were general fears up and down the country that Napoleon was about to invade England, and, in common with other towns, Wakefield raised men and money to help to repel the invader. Neither the Masons nor the Gregorians were lacking in ardour or public spirit. On the 2nd April, 1798, there appeared in the *Leeds Intelligencer* the following notice³:—

“On Thursday the 22nd ult the Gregorian Brethren of the Wakefield Chapter, at their quarterly meeting, entered into a contribution in aid of government, and transmitted to the committee in London, on the 26th, the handsome sum of £80 17s., together with a copy of their resolutions, one of which expresses the intention of the brethren not to lessen (in consequence of this gift) any future contributions; and another suggests the propriety of all other benevolent institutions coming forward at the present momentous crisis with liberal patriotic donations. We are happy to add, that the Worshipful Master of the Masonic Lodge of Unanimity in that town has notified his wish to move the brethren of the Craft to this effect this evening.”

I think we may assume that Linnecar, the Worshipful Master of the Lodge, was the prime mover of both resolutions. I do not know what £80 17s. would represent in our inflated currency of to-day, but I imagine it would be an impressive sum. The implication that the Gregorians were a benevolent institution should be noted.

Other members of the Chapter were active in the Royal Wakefield Volunteers. John Tottenham was the Commandant of the whole corps, and Jeremiah Naylor, merchant, and Edward Brooke, gentleman, were Captain and Lieutenant respectively of the Grenadier Company. The Rev. William Bawdwell (or Bawdwen) was Chaplain, and at a later date this

¹ He occupied the Chair of his Lodge for a quarter of a century, and died whilst conducting an inquest in March, 1800. Some account of his Masonic activities is given in *Early Freemasonry in Wakefield*, A.Q.C., lvi.

² J. W. Walker, *Wakefield, Its History and People*, 2nd Edn., 1939.

³ For this and for many other Press references, I am indebted, as on so many former occasions, to Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

position was taken by the Rev. Dr. Munkhouse. Incidentally, Andrew Peterson was Chief Constable of the town in 1795. This was an annual appointment from 1745 to 1848, in which latter year the town received a Charter of Incorporation. Peterson was followed in office by three other Gregorians, namely, John Ridsdale, William Whitaker and John Barker.

COMPETITION WITH FREEMASONRY

W. H. Rylands quotes Mackey as saying that the Gregorians were "an association established early in the eighteenth century in ridicule of and in opposition to the Freemasons. There was some feud between the two orders, but the Gregorians at last succumbed and long ago became extinct".

I cannot find this reference in the edition of Mackey I have to hand,¹ but even Mackey suggests that towards the end of the century the Society must have changed its character. In support of this view he says (i) that Prince William of Gloucester was the presiding officer, and (ii) that Dr. Munkhouse, who preached a sermon on Gregorianism in 1797, and who was an ardent Mason, "speaks in high terms of the Order as an ally of Freemasonry".

These last words certainly seem to describe the relationship between the Gregorians and the Freemasons in Wakefield. Our information about the Gregorian Chapter and its members comes largely from a MS. in the library of the *Quatuor Coronati* Lodge, written by the Rev. Dr. Munkhouse, probably in 1798, or perhaps a little later. This MS., according to W. H. Rylands, was given by Bro. A. F. A. Woodford to Bro. R. F. Gould, who gave it into the keeping of the Lodge.

We can only guess how the documents came into the hands of Woodford. This worthy Brother was one of the founders of the *Quatuor Coronati Lodge* in 1884, and had been Rector of Swillington, near Wakefield, from 1847 to the time of his resignation in 1872. An assiduous Masonic writer and orator, he commenced in the latter year the compilation of the well-known *Kenning's Masonic Cyclopaedia*, a work still of considerable use to the student, though it has the faults common to so many amateur works arranged on an alphabetical basis. He must have wearied of his great task towards the end; he takes 500 pages to deal with the first half of the alphabet, 120 or so for the next quarter, and his friend Hughan finished the job for him in another 35 pages.

Woodford was a member of one of the Wakefield Royal Arch Chapters, and was elected to the Chair, but found he could not accept the position because he was already at that time in the Chair of another Chapter in Leeds. Nevertheless, he was well liked in Wakefield, and on friendly terms with most of the leading Masons in the town at that time. Where the MS. had been till it came to the notice of Woodford we do not know, but fortunately such documents do, from time to time, swim into the ken of Masonic students capable of recognising their significance. Woodford would immediately recognise the importance of his find, and took the right course in notifying another of the leading students of the day.

DR. RICHARD MUNKHOUSE

I have said that the notes in question were by Dr. Munkhouse. Of him, Woodford says in his *Cyclopaedia*:—

"Rector of St. John's Church, Wakefield, and a zealous Freemason. He was also the founder, more or less, of the Gregorians—a quasi-Masonic loyal order. He is said to have been initiated in the good old "Phoenix" Lodge, Sunderland, and to have died early in this century. He published a *Discourse in Praise of Freemasonry*, 1805, *An Exhortation to the Practice of those Specific Virtues which ought to prevail in the Masonic Character*, and *Occasional Discourses on Various Subjects*.

He was the son of Richard Munkhouse, of Winton, in Westmorland, and received his D.D. from Oxford. Instituted as Vicar of St. John's Church in 1795, he was promoted to be Vicar of Wakefield ten years later. Shortly after his preferment he suffered a paralytic stroke and went blind, and in 1810, at the age of 54, he died. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 80, p. 104, sympathises with his hard lot—"for twenty years he was a curate; he had a family of twelve children, of whom seven survived—twice twins".²

I wish it were possible to reproduce illustrations with the ease and low cost of bygone years. Before me lies a small print containing in an oval, 3ins. by 3½ins., a profile of Richard Munkhouse, D.D., with St. John's Church, Wakefield, faintly in the background. The date is not given, but must be round 1800. In small print under the oval are the words, "Baker. del." and "Mackenzie. sc." The face is keen and handsome, with large eyes and aquiline

¹ *A Lexicon of Freemasonry*, by Albert G. Mackey, M.D., Richard Griffin and Company, London and Glasgow, 1860. First English Edition reprinted from the Fifth American Edition.

² J. W. Walker, *loc. cit.*, p. 286.

nose. Munkhouse is shown in short wig, gown and bands. Looking at the alert expression, one can easily believe the anecdote related of him by Walker.¹

It is a good commentary on the customs of the day. Early in the eighteenth century the Wakefield Churchwardens had been ordered by a town's meeting to provide the Vicar with one quart of Claret and one pint of Sack upon every Sacrament day. Years later, with steeply-rising prices, the quarterly bills rose too much for the liking of the Churchwardens, who, at a Vestry meeting in 1809, decided to limit the quantity of wine ordered. On this basis they sent the Vicar one dozen of wine at Christmas. On the following day the case was returned to the Churchwardens with the note:—

“Dr. Munkhouse presents his compliments to the Churchwardens; begs to thank them for their intention of presenting him a dozen of wine, but at the same time to decline to accept it, on the grounds, that from long established custom the Vicar of Wakefield can (he believes) claim, as a right, a certain quantity of wine.”

The Vestry promptly capitulated and agreed respectfully to present twelve bottles to the Vicar at Christmas, plus one bottle to each Clergyman who should at any time officiate at the Altar Table. Bro. the Very Rev. Canon N. T. Hopkins, the present Vicar of Wakefield and Provost of Wakefield Cathedral, tells me, regretfully, that the custom has long since fallen into desuetude.

Munkhouse was clearly a man of character. The notes he has left about the Gregorians are copious and precise. They appear to be either a revision of the Constitutions of the Gregorian Society or an attempt to compile them. In many ways they run closely parallel to the Craft Constitutions of the time. The objects of the “Most Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians” were “the establishment and permanent continuance of Unity in Society, and Christian Charity, and a Gregorian must be a man of honour, sound morals, and true loyalty”.

This simple statement bears the marks of its time. If we put the origin of Gregorism in the period of 1720 to 1730 or a little later, it can, perhaps, be agreed that the motives behind it were not very different from those which encouraged Masonry. The Stuarts had been cleared out. The divisions in the country were healing. The '45 was still some years ahead, but was, in any event, a dying struggle. The country was tired of internal strife, and men of goodwill wanted nothing so much as the establishment and permanent continuance of Unity in Society. Happiness and prosperity lay ahead if only men could give their minds and time to getting on with their jobs. There are, indeed, parallels, on a larger scale, in our own day. Christian Charity, too, or something akin to it, there had to be, for without it there could be no lasting compromise. And the members of the Society had to be men of honour and true loyalty. The significance of “true” against this background may well be evident. There were other loyalties; there was only one “true” loyalty—to the House of Hanover now firmly established on the British Throne.

THE ESOTERY OF THE GREGORIAN SOCIETY

It is with such aspects as these that we must frame whatever tentative theories we may form about the nature of the esotery of the Society. Unfortunately, Dr. Munkhouse, true no doubt to his obligation, gives little detail just where we could wish to have most. He describes how a candidate for initiation is to be brought into the Chapter—admitted after three loud and deliberate knocks on the door have been repeated from inside. The candidate having acknowledged that he comes of his own free will and accord, “the Junr. Warden shall put into the Right Hand of the Stranger the Sword, and request him to repeat the following words after the Senr. Warden”.

And, here, all that Dr. Monkhouse writes in his notes is:—

“I, A.B., etc.”

The obligation having been taken and the Sword having been delivered to the Grand in token of submission, the Grand Secretary says:—

“Sir, You have, etc.”

Then the Prelate addresses him:—

“Sir, to distinguish, etc.”

At this point, as one might expect, the Sign Manual is communicated, and the Grand ends the ceremony with an address:—

“Brother, etc., In all cases . . . etc.”

¹ J. W. Walker, *loc. cit.*, p. 531.

All very tantalising.

Yet, assuming that the pattern was much the same as that of contemporary Freemasonry, the Obligation would consist of the usual parts:—

A promise to act in conformity with the precepts of the Order.

A promise, possibly with penalty for infraction, not to reveal the secret modes of recognition.

An acknowledgment of the new special relationship to fellow-members of the Order.

A formula imparting sanctity to the obligation.

The interesting and as yet unknown part would be the legend, which appears to be the portion communicated by the Secretary.

NEW DATA

Since W. H. Rylands wrote in 1908, there have come to light (i) the Jewels of the Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians, and (ii) the Chair, presumably that of the Grand. The notes I have given about the various members who belonged also to the Lodge are based on records which have become available only in recent years.

THE JEWELS

Munkhouse makes it clear that the regalia of the Order consists of Medals suspended from ribbons. W. H. Rylands says:—

“It is perhaps strange that few of these Medals appear to have survived, but as a fact we do not know exactly what form they took.”

Reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xxi., facing p. 97, is a copy of an engraving in the British Museum showing:—

“Sir Edward Astley, Bart., Representative in Parliament for the County of Norfolk, and Grand of the most ancient and honourable Order of Gregorians in Norwich 1771.”

The engraving is said to be “taken from an original Painting in the Possession of that Society”.

The portrait is that of a young man seated, in knee breeches, coat and short wig, with a sword at his side, having suspended from a silk ribbon collar a roughly circular jewel, similar to those described below. In a later note, W. H. Rylands says the colour of the ribbon on the original painting was red. He quotes also a letter from the late Mr. Edward Hawkins, Keeper of the Antiquities at the British Museum, printed in *Notes and Queries*, 1858, from which one gathers that the collection includes three Gregorian medals and a large sword of state. One of the jewels bears the word “Pontefract”. The jewels appear to be similar to some of those in the Wakefield collection.

The latter are now in the Grand Lodge Museum, and my attention was drawn to them some years ago by Bro. C. W. Parris, a member of the old Lodge of *Unanimity* and of our Correspondence Circle. I do not know how long they have been there, but obviously they were not available in 1908. When I enquired at the time from our late Bro. Heron Lepper, all that he could, or would, tell me was that they had been acquired by purchase many years ago. Perhaps he thought that Wakefield might lay a claim to them, and he was not disposed to part with any of his treasures. But they are in their rightful place.

There are eight of them, all fine examples of the silversmith's art. They are of two kinds—those worn by the junior officers and ordinary committee members, *i.e.*, the two Wardens, the Secretary and the Deputy Grand, and those, the larger and more ornate jewels, worn by the chief officers, namely, the Grand Secretary, the Prelate and the Grand himself.

From Bro. Munkhouse's notes we gather that the Order, as a whole, was ruled by a Grand Committee, corresponding (if we may use the comparison) with the Grand Lodge. At the head stood the Grand of the Order for the time being; next to him came the Prelate and the Grand Secretary of the Order, and then the several Grands of Private Chapters, together with their Prelates and Grand Secretaries. Lower down the scale came the Pro. Grands, Deputy Grands and Secretaries. The office of Warden was quite junior, and did not qualify for membership of the Grand Committee. It corresponded rather to Deacons in the Craft.

The jewels now available for study are those of a Private Chapter and its Committee; the manner of display in the Grand Lodge cabinet is governed by balance, and not by precedence.

ARMS OF THE SOCIETY

The smaller jewels bear the arms of the Society on the obverse ; the larger jewels have the arms on the reverse. We have no new information about the arms themselves, but the explanations still elude us. Edward Hawkins described them:—

“ . . . azure, a fess wavy, between in chief a dove volant ; in base two snakes entwined caduceus fashion. Crest. Time, with his hourglass and scythe. Supporters, a wivern, and a dove, with the olive branch. Motto, in Hebrew characters, ‘ Shalöm ’, *i.e.*, Peace.”

The figure representing Time is not quite in accordance with our modern notions. We usually visualise an ancient, bearded figure, bowed with the passing æons, bearing a scythe and an hourglass with a certain venerable dignity. This Gregorian representation of a nonchalant, beardless youth, hand on hip, holding his scythe like a deacon’s wand, with his hourglass perched precariously on his head, strikes a jocular and discordant note. It may be that the poise has significance in the Gregorian system, but again I must confess that it eludes me.

The reference to peace, and the dove with the olive branch, may well fit the temper of thought at the time of the origin of the Society. There was a desire for peace after the troubled years leading to 1715 ; it was Walpole’s determined policy, at all events until his fall in 1741, to keep out of Continental wars ; and there was a widespread feeling that moderate men of honour, sound morals and true loyalty could avoid disunion and differences, and live in amity and peace. Our Craft Masonry owes much to the same attitude. But why the wivern—the dragon with the forked tail ? In spite of the “ peace ” motif, there is a touch of *noli me tangere* about this beast. Why the fess wavy on the azure field ? Can there be some symbolic reference to water or ocean ?¹ Why the serpents intertwined ? Why the slightly comic figure of Time ?

The obverse of the larger jewels is equally tantalising and intriguing. The jewels of the Grand and the Prelate show a venerable seated figure—Hawkins calls him a philosopher—holding a large sword (sword of state ?) in his right hand, and facing three standing figures. Behind him, on the right, is a portion of a sloping embankment or of a pyramid. In the background is the rising (setting ?) sun.

In the foreground, in the centre, is a globe on a low pedestal, and over it is draped a scroll, the nearer end of which rests on a closed volume, presumably the Bible. On the rim of the circular part of the jewel, forming an arch across the sky, are five zodiacal signs, namely, Scorpio, Libra, Leo, Taurus and Virgo. The Secretary’s jewel is very similar, except that the seated figure carries no sword, and at the base of the jewel the word “ Wakefield ” appears. On the jewels of the Grand and the Prelate the words *Pignus Amicitiae* are engraved.

In W. H. Rylands’ paper there is a reproduction of the Engraved Summons of the Wakefield Chapter, and in it appears most of these symbols. There is a structure which is clearly a pyramid. The dove and olive branch are on one side ; the closed volume with sword resting on it is on the other. At the base is the globe with scroll, the latter bearing words not appearing on the jewels, namely, “ Gregorian Charter ”. On the Secretary’s jewel, the sun in splendour appears faintly on the scroll.

The summons also shows Father Time, still with his hourglass on his head, but with one hand outstretched and the other supporting the scythe in a much more workmanlike manner. He wears a vestige of a beard, and the engraver has given him quite a happy smile.

Whereas on the jewels the sun appears to be rising over the waters, on the summons the hilly and wooded landscape is clearly outlined. Clouds fill the sky ; on the jewels the sun’s rays shoot upwards into the clear heavens.

The “ philosopher ” and his audience do not appear on the summons ; they are to be found only on the three large jewels. Two of the youthful figures have their left hands extended in some kind of gesture. The third, on the extreme left, has his *left* hand over his *right* breast. The “ philosopher ” is pointing to the globe with his left forefinger, and the central figure of the three, perhaps the candidate, is copying his example.

The garb, in all cases, is “ classical ”. The seated figure wears voluminous robes ; the other three are clad in what we might call short smocks, though the central figure appears also to be wearing some kind of breastplate or armour of chain mail. It is curious that whilst the jewels of the Grand and the Prelate show the “ philosopher ” holding a sword, the Grand Secretary’s jewel is identical, but has no sword ; neither is the sword visible elsewhere in the picture.

The reverse of the larger jewels is interesting. That of the Grand Secretary has the Arms of the Society beautifully engraved in the centre, with the words “ Grand Secretary ” above

¹ Incidentally, where are the “ Lodges beyond sea ” from whose “ Antient Records ” the Charges of a Freemason are extracted, in our Craft Book of Constitutions ?

and "Wakefield Chapter" below. On the jewels of the Grand and the Prelate, the arms are not so skilfully done, but they are surrounded by the words, in large letters—

"CENSEMUR SANGUINE LONGO"

THE CHAIR

So much for the jewels. Before we discuss their possible meaning, I must describe the Chair. This has been in the possession of the *Unanimity* Lodge for a great number of years; hundreds of Masons must have sat in it, but its character and origin have gone unnoticed. It came to the Masonic Hall in Wakefield from the Strafford Arms, one of the oldest hotels in the city. Dr. Walker says of it:—

"In one of the rooms [of the hotel] was a curious old mahogany chair, which once belonged to a Lodge known as "The Gregorians", the members of which met at the hotel. On the back of the Chair was a Latin inscription and the signs of the Zodiac."

Dr. Walker is sometimes inaccurate. He was not a Freemason, and was, apparently, not very interested in the Chair. The Gregorians were not a Lodge of Freemasons; the inscription is not in Latin; only five zodiacal signs are displayed.

Again we must regret that we cannot reproduce as many illustrations as we should like. The Chair is well worth study. It is a beautiful piece of craftsmanship, and has been attributed to Chippendale or to his school of workmen at the nearby Nostell Priory, where Chippendale was the estate carpenter. It obviously dates from 1796 or thereabouts, and except for the seat, which was re-covered some years ago, has not suffered from the passage of time and constant usage, except for the inscriptions and symbols. These are either worn away or covered with the patina of years. The zodiacal signs are recognisable enough. The outline of the globe is quite clear, as is that of the scroll. The lettering on the latter is almost entirely obliterated, but what remains, namely,

GREG . . .

CHA . . .

is enough. I do not know if skilful treatment would reveal further detail. I have tried soap and water, but have not dared to use a modern solvent on the ancient grease. Perhaps photographic methods would reveal what there is; in any event, we know what to expect.

Incidentally, the larger scale of the symbols on the Chair make it clear that the first of the zodiacal signs is undoubtedly Scorpio, and not Cancer, as suggested by S. T. Klein in the discussion on W. H. Rylands' paper. On the Wakefield summons the symbol was indeterminate; on the jewels it looks like a shrimp; on the chair it is clearly meant to be a scorpion.

INTERPRETATION

These are our data. What do they all mean? I think we can agree that the scenes represented on the larger jewels have reference to the ceremony or legend of initiation, and we may, perhaps, assume that the incidents shown are in some way related to the officer to whom the jewel is allocated. This seems reasonable enough on the basis of Munkhouse's notes.

For example, the three youthful figures are almost certainly the two Wardens and the candidate. Thus:—

" . . . The door sh^d then be opened, and the Stranger admitted, following the brother officiating as Jun^r Warden; who shall attend on the Left; whilst the Brother officiating as Sen^r Warden shall stand on the Right Hand; when the Grand shall demand of such Stranger—Whether it be of his own free will and accord that he presents himself a Candidate for Gregorism. This question being answered in the affirmative the Jun^r Warden shall put into the Right Hand of the Stranger the Sword and request him to repeat the following words after the Sen^r Warden.

"I, A.B., etc. . . ."

On all the jewels, it will be noticed that the Junior Warden on the left of the Candidate, has turned to the latter as if speaking to him. The Senior Warden, on the Candidate's right, is only half turned towards him, and has his *left* hand on his *right* breast. I thought at one time that the apparent lack of any conventional significance in this latter gesture might mean that the representation was perchance a mirror image, in which left is right and right left. But I suggest now that "left-handedness" was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Society, at all events in matters such as the Sign Manual. In Munkhouse's notes there is this passage:—

"The Sign Manual being given by the Grand, he shall give in charge to the New Brother that—in all these cases (for fear of discovery) he sh^d chuse rather to receive than to give the Sign."

There would be point in this caution if the token were left-handed. It will be noted, however, that the Grand is holding the Sword in his *right* hand; if the picture represents the stage where he is communicating the Sign Manual, only his left hand is free. I suggest the Candidate has, in accordance with the note below, just delivered, with his right hand, the sword to the Grand.

"Then the Brother Elect, in token of submission, shall deliver the Sword of the Order to the Grand, who shall direct him to attend to the admonition of the Grand Secretary . . . who shall address him in the following terms:—

"Sir; you have, etc. . . ."

The Grand Secretary's jewel shows a seated figure holding forth to the audience of three. There is no sword, but the three still retain their attitudes, all gestures being made with the left hand.

The notes then continue:—

" . . . the Grand shall require him to be particularly attentive to the Instructions of the Prelate . . ."

The jewel of this dignity shows exactly the same scene as the Grand's, complete with sword. It is all very puzzling.

We could wish, perhaps, that Munkhouse had not taken his Gregorian obligation quite so seriously, but we must after all honour him for his reticence. Perhaps we shall never know what followed in place of those tantalising "etceteras".

THE ZODIACAL SIGNS

What is the significance of the five signs? Why only five, and why these five in particular? Why in this irregular order?

SCORPIO	October 23
LIBRA	September 23
LEO	July 23
TAURUS	April 20
VIRGO	August 23

They were not the dates of the meetings, which were held quarterly—"There shall be four meetings in the year; when the Brethren shall assemble at a fixed hour in the morning".

There were, it is true, other meetings held in addition to the quarterly meetings—" . . . there shall be held as many Evening Chapters, as may be thought necessary to the due discharge of Gregorian business . . ." But these were *ad hoc* meetings, not held on fixed dates, and would appear to have no connection with the zodiac. The Anniversary or Installation Meeting was always to be held on the Thursday next following St. John the Baptist's Day, 24th June—unless the Festival itself fell on a Thursday, in which case the Anniversary was to be held on that day.

There must be some significance in this singular choice and arrangement, but once again it eludes me completely. Does the pyramid throw any light on the problem? Does it represent the Tower of Babel? What does the rising sun mean? One can imagine that the symbols must somehow all be linked, but the connection is far from obvious.

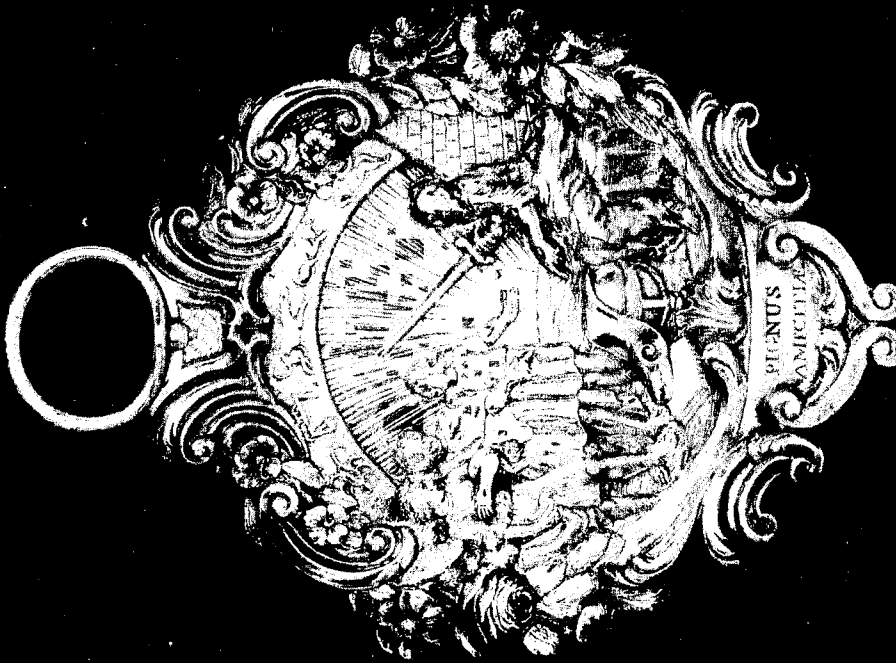
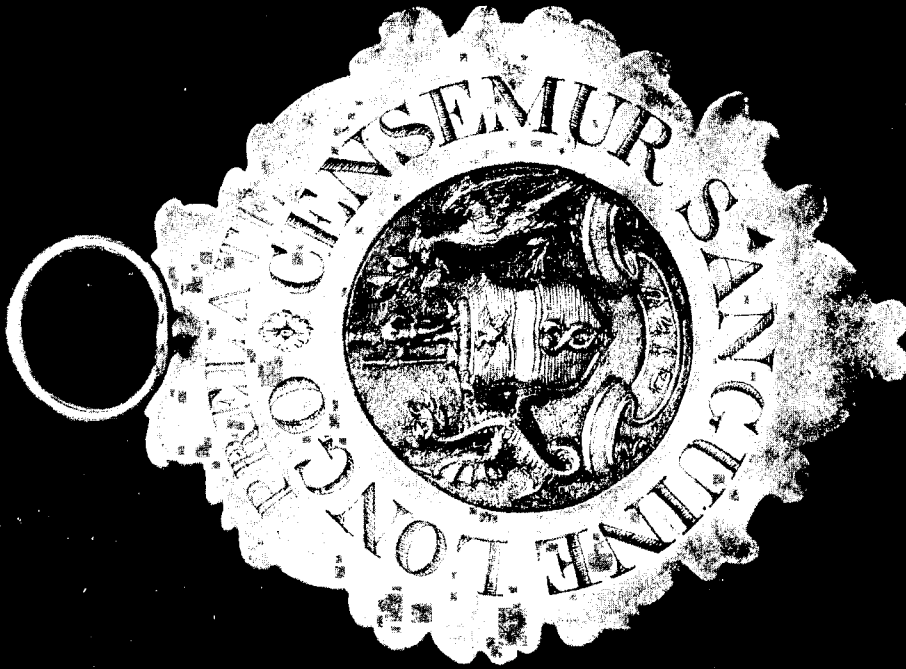
Is the incident portrayed on the jewels taken from Biblical legend, like so many Masonic ceremonies? Does this fit with Shum Tuckett's theory of a great store of "unused" legend? Or does it all come from classical myth. The Candidate clad in armour or chain mail looks more like a figure from the Odyssey than the Old Testament. The motto on two of the jewels does not help a great deal, though it has added a word to my vocabulary. I am no accomplished Latin scholar, and had to go to work laboriously with grammar and dictionary. PIGNUS AMICITIAE means a pledge of fellowship, and could refer to the sign manual or the distinctive grip. I find that the root occurs in the English word PIGNORATE, to give or take as a pledge. I offer to our American friends the term PIGNATRICIAN as a title for the ancient avuncular profession.

The motto round the Prelate's jewel, CENSEMUR SANGUINE LONGO, sent me on a long hunt with my amateurish methods. Dim stirrings of memories half a century old suggested hexameters, and I turned, more by accident than knowledge, to the old Roman satirical poet Juvenal, and began a systematic search through the sixteen Satires. Eventually, after some hours of painstaking plodding, I arrived at the beginning of the Eighth Satire, where I found:—

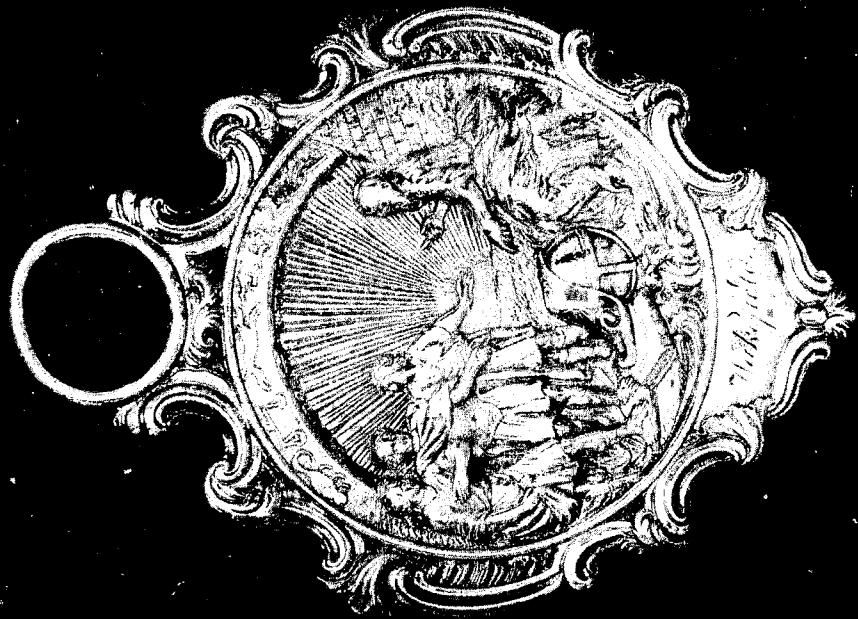
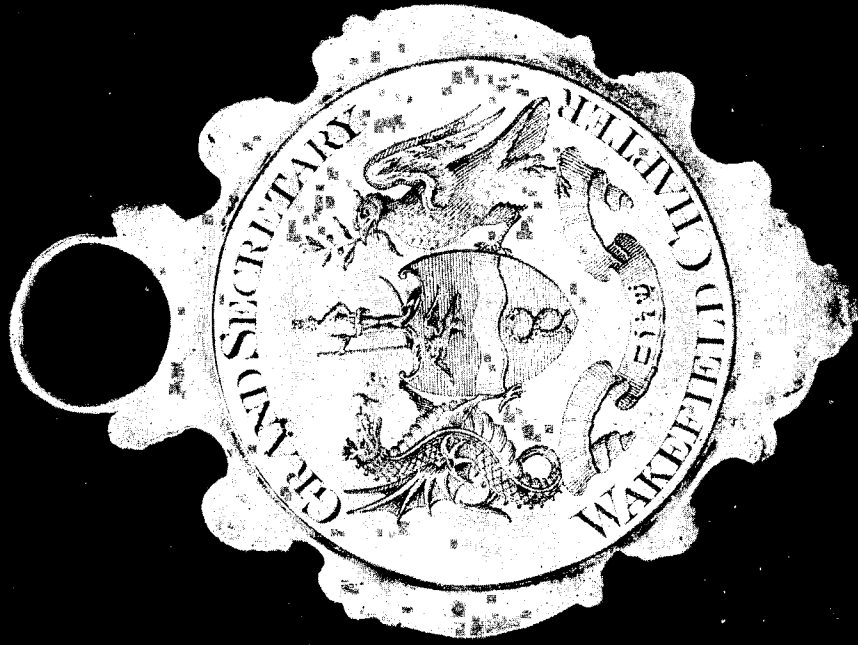
Stemmata, quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo Sanguine censer . . .

I offer the translation:—

What good are pedigrees? What point is there, Ponticus, in being valued by a long descent? . . .



Wakefield Gregorian Jewels: The Prelate's Jewel
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes



Wakefield Gregorian Jewels: The Grand Secretary's Jewel
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes

And the Gregorian motto I would translate:—

WE BOAST A LONG DESCENT

In other words, like many another Society, the Gregorians claimed an origin in the remote past. Juvenal's comment, nevertheless, is not inapt, and I had the curiosity to plod (not without a crib) through the whole satire, looking for hints which might solve the Gregorian puzzle. Here and there one encounters hints of outlook not unlike that of the Order; the general theme is that it is the man himself who counts—"a man's a man for a' that". But others more learned than I, must explore that particular path.

All that we can get from this, I imagine, is that the Gregorian legend, whatever it was, must have related to some incident a very long time ago. What it was, and what lesson was drawn from it, we are no nearer knowing.

CONVIVIAL ASPECTS

In few, if any, eighteenth century societies, was the convivial aspect neglected. Gregorism was no exception. Whether the expression "Merry as a Greg" was a corruption of "Merry as a Grig" (referring to a small and lively eel), is an open question.

The proceedings laid down in Munkhouse's notes for the Anniversary meeting are probably typical. They correspond very closely with the customs of the local Lodge at the corresponding festival of St. John the Evangelist.

Firstly, notices of the meeting had to be inserted in the *Leeds Intelligencer* three times before the day, and any Brother who was in the West Riding on that day, and did not attend Divine Service, was fined one shilling. The Committee of the Chapter was to assemble at 10 o'clock in the morning, and the service was to commence at or before 12 noon. The same sort of regulations applied to the Craft, but whereas the Masons went to the Parish Church, the Gregorians, at all events in the early years of the Wakefield Chapter, went to St. John's Church, where Munkhouse was Vicar. In that church there is a tablet to the memory of General Tottenham. Between 10 and 12 the Brethren of both Chapter and Lodge would occupy their time in much the same way.

The rest of the day was divided between the formal meeting of the Chapter, the meal and the toasts. At the Anniversary the meal was a dinner; three days' notice of intention to partake was requested. At quarterly meetings the Brethren took supper, and it was sufficient to notify Bro. Gledhill, the innkeeper, on the morning of the day.

The similarity of all these rules to those of the Craft is interesting and possibly significant. In 1776 the Lodge celebrated the Festival of St. John the Evangelist in much the same way. The Brethren assembled at 10 in the forenoon, and marched in procession from the George and Crown to the Parish Church, where they attended Divine Service and heard a sermon from one of their members. They returned to the Lodge room at the inn, where a sumptuous dinner was the main feature at the subsequent proceedings.

In both societies much attention was given to the liquor. The Gregorians had a rule that:—

"No liquor shall be called for in the Chapter Room more expensive than Red Port, Sherry, Brandy, Rum and Geneva, unless the member calling for such more expensive liquor shall pay for it himself in addition to his quota of the bill."

The Freemasons made their arrangements on more or less the same basis. At the 1776 meeting there was to be a sufficient quantity of Red Port and Lisbon. There was a large bowl full of Punch, and two smaller bowls, one of Rum and water, the other of Brandy and water.

In both cases much attention was paid to the toasts. The general style of the Masonic toasts and sentiments of the late eighteenth century is familiar; the Gregorians had a set list of what they called the Constitutional Toasts.

1. The King, Family and Friends.
2. The Grand of the Order.
3. Grand Secretary of the Order.
4. Prelate and Pro. Grands.
5. Absent Brethren.
6. Gregorians and their bairns. Those that lie in Gregorians arms and those that wou'd do.
7. Prosperity to Gregorism all over the World.

One would think that the Gregorian Chapter had its own glassware, as had the Masons. Some of the contemporary glasses, owned by the Lodge of *Unanimity*, still survive and are used on great occasions. I have, however, not yet encountered any of the local Gregorian glasses, which were apparently distinguished by special markings, including the initials of the

words "Wakefield Chapter" engraved or incised upon them. There is a rule in Munkhouse's notes:—

"The first, sixth and seventh Constitutional Toasts shall at all times be superlatively honoured. In all other instances the Wine rising to the Centre of the Initials W.C. shall be deemed high honour."

The quantity of wine in the glass appears to have been important and significant. The Constitutional toasts of superlative honour were apparently to be drunk in bumpers, *i.e.*, the glass had to be so full that the top surface of the liquor was slightly convex—with a "bump" on top. The member was allowed to choose his own liquor. For other toasts of great importance, a brimmer, *i.e.*, a glass full to the brim but with a concave surface, would no doubt be next in priority, and we may assume that the initials "W.C." would not be far below the rim of the glass.

At the quarterly meetings the Chapter was closed and the bill called for at 7 p.m. On the Anniversary this would enable some of the Brethren to proceed to the Lodge, which sometimes also met on St. John the Baptist's Day, and, if this happened to be a Thursday, both Societies would have a meeting. The rule of the Lodge at this period was that proceedings were to end at 10 o'clock, but this was not always strictly observed. In any event, those who belonged to both societies and loyally attended to their duties would not find occasional consecutive meetings too great a tax on their stout constitutions.

But the similarity of practice in convivial matters underlines the probability that the Gregorian Society faded away because hard times came along and it was redundant. It supplied no need, moral, social, philosophical, ethical or convivial, that was not already supplied by the larger Masonic order. Furthermore, it appears to have lacked a sufficient central organisation and direction. Men of standing may have been attracted by its tenets and its fellowship; we may imagine that its legend or allegory, like that of the Craft, may have taught or emphasised a moral lesson of high ethical standard.

Munkhouse's notes may have been a last attempt to put the affairs of the Gregorian Society on a proper footing—perhaps to some extent on the model of the Craft, which had possessed "Constitutions" for many years. His notes cover a great deal of ground, and here and there it seems clear that Munkhouse had before him the current Craft Constitutions. In his detailed regulations for the social board, he went much further than was customary in the Craft; perhaps there was, in the Gregorian Society, too much emphasis on the convivial side. It may be that the Craft had struck just the right balance which, in the end, made for its survival.

But on the whole, I think, it is chiefly the absence of determined enthusiasts which finally sealed the fate of Gregorism. The Society threw up no Anderson, no Clare, no Desaguliers, no Dunckerly, and, above all, no Dermott. The writings which remain to us are chiefly the work of Munkhouse; they were never printed or published in his day, and, as we have seen, his attention was divided among many interests, whilst he himself was in poor health. The membership records of the Wakefield Chapter end in 1805, the year in which he suffered his paralytic stroke, and it is probable that Gregorian activity in Wakefield ceased about this time.

It is surprising that so little remains to throw light on the last years of the Society as a whole. Other Chapters must surely still have been in existence about this time, but none of their records seems to have come to light. It may be that minute books and lists of members have found their way into the keeping of old Craft Lodges. If this is so, and if they can be made available for study, they may enable us to formulate some theory about the decay and disappearance of what seems to have been a worthy Society. It may be of value to pursue the matter.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Rylands for his paper, and to Bro. C. W. Long for working the Lantern, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the Acting S.W., Bro. Foscett. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. B. W. Oliver, C. W. Parris, E. Ward, W. Waples, G. Y. Johnson, F. L. Pick and J. C. A. Raison.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS, W.M., said:—

Once more we have a paper from Bro. Rylands which is full of interesting and intriguing facts, a paper on one of those ephemeral eighteenth century Societies which sprang up both in England and on the Continent, such as the Gormogons, Leeches, Bucks, Beef Steaks and others, all indicative of the mania for wining and dining so prevalent in the eighteenth century, and even afterwards—what Laurence Dermott called in his 1778 *Ahiman Rezon* "tippling clubs", of which he gives a large list. They were mainly for convivial purposes (though

probably political in some cases), yet far too little is known about them ; and to assert that they had no connection with Freemasonry, or even *vice versa*, appears to be incapable of proof. True, the Gregorian organisation presents similar characteristics, as is the case with their Seven Constitutional Toasts, Bye-laws, etc., but we are still unable to assess the real purposes which actuated their formation.

It may have been claimed by Dr. Munkhouse, in his sermon on Gregorianism in 1797, that the Order gave perfect loyalty to the King and practised benevolence, but there are only two recorded cases of the latter—one in Norwich in 1762, and the other in Wakefield in 1798. All other claims regarding this Order are still, as formerly, mere vague assertions. To-day, the Gregorians would have been dubbed, as Bro. Rylands so rightly asserts, “quasi-Masonic”. This term, by the way, now appears on the Proposal Form for Initiation.

Bro. Rylands’ assertion that “a century-and-a-half ago no discrimination was in force against such bodies” may be true of Grand Lodge, but it is not true generally, as I have come across some cases of objection in private Lodges to candidates who were Oddfellows, though these objections were ultimately overcome.

Regarding the inception of the Gregorians, Bro. E. L. Hawkins, in his *Concise Cylopædia*, states that “its existence can be traced from 1728 to 1806, but the precise year of its commencement is unknown”. Now we know, from an Engraved List, that a Grand Chapter met at the Half Moon Tavern, in Cheapside, on Wednesday evenings, and this Engraved List shows thirteen subordinate Chapters in London and the Provinces. The fifth on this list is given as meeting at St. Christopher’s Inn, St. Albans, and the extract from the *Daily Journal* of May 8th, 1736, shows that one was constituted at the “Flower de Luce” there. Surely, this is the same Chapter! If so, then there were four others constituted before 1736, thus agreeing with Bro. Hawkins’ opinion that the Order commenced in 1728 or thereabouts.

There is one fascinating piece of evidence in Grand Lodge Museum. It is the Sword of State of the Gregorians, with the inscription, “William Smith, first Vice Grand of the Cheapside Chapter, 1736”. At first one is inclined to say that this proves that the Grand Chapter commenced in 1736, until the extract from the *Daily Journal* is again examined. Here it mentions Vice-Grands as present at the Constitution of the St. Albans Chapter, so that William Smith would have been the first of two or more.

Somehow, somewhere, sometime, something may turn up to give us a greater insight into these fascinating societies, of which we have not heard the complete story. May they not have been the forerunners of to-day’s philosophical societies, remembering that they had also to provide dining facilities in order to attract the gentry of the period?

It is a great delight to me to have the privilege of proposing a warm vote of thanks to Bro. Rylands for another gratifying addition to our *Transactions*.

Bro. B. FOSKETT said:—

As a member of the Correspondence Circle, it is a great honour for me to act as Senior Warden this evening, and to have the privilege of seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Rylands for his most interesting and informative paper. One knew from previous sayings and writings of Bro. Rylands that the information he gives us is the result of careful study and research, and this is confirmed by the paper this evening. He has produced a great deal of useful information about the Gregorians during their active period in the eighteenth century, and particularly about the Wakefield Chapter and of Masons who were Gregorians. We are much indebted to him for the excellent slides he has shown us of their jewels and for his detailed explanation of same. It was obvious that great care and trouble had been taken in designing these elaborate jewels, which were examples of splendid craftsmanship.

I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks, and I am sure all present have, like myself, thoroughly enjoyed the paper and join with me in expressing grateful thanks to Bro. Rylands for all the time and trouble he has taken in preparing the paper and slides, and for giving us the benefit of his research on this subject.

Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER, J.W., said:—

I would like to add my congratulations to W.Bro. J. R. Rylands on the skilful manner in which he has treated the material at his disposal to give us a most interesting paper.

I never had the pleasure of meeting W. H. Rylands, the author of the first paper on this subject in 1908 (*A.Q.C.*, xxi), but if he was as good company as our “J.R.”, no doubt they would have made excellent Gregorians. The author tells us that the present paper is in lighter vein than usual, which tempts me to suggest, in still lighter vein, that the form of the

title "Gregorians" may be due to an early error in orthography, an "a" being displaced by the letter "o"!

The name is certainly interesting, and, more seriously, I would like to see a follow-up of the suggestions made by W. B. Hextall in his comments on W. H. Rylands' paper in 1908. He wrote that:—

"Francis Gregory, D.D. (1625-1707), Divine and schoolmaster, an ardent Royalist, was chosen to preach the thanksgiving sermon for the Restoration, at St. Mary's, Oxford, 27th May, 1660 . . . Here we have a Cleric, distinguished by his loyalty to Charles II . . . preaching and publishing a special sermon . . . to the Society of the Gregories."

This Society was in 1673 (the date of the sermon) confined to the family of—or those bearing the name of—Gregory. The title of the sermon was "The Gregorian Account, or the Spiritual Watch", and Bro. Hextall reminds us that "amongst proper names, to 'Gregory' is given the meaning 'watchman'".

Bro. E. H. Dring supported Hextall's contention, and W. H. Rylands, in his reply, whilst not accepting it, gives the impression that, lacking evidence, he had not given great consideration to this possible source.

A possible fragment of evidence is to be found in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. v, January-June, 1870: "Gregorians were not Jacobites is proved by a M.S. invitation to dinner in the possession of Wm. Pinkerton":—

"The Committee appointed by a Chapter of the ancient and honourable Society of Gregorians request the honour of your company, to celebrate the festival of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, at the Swan Inn, on Wednesday, the 5th day of Novr., 1787. Dinner at 3oc. Tickets 7/6 ea. Wine included."

Such continuity of purpose is significant, and it is to be hoped that further evidence will be forthcoming.

Many other references to the Gregorians are to be found in *Notes and Queries*, and the Proclamation quoted in 2nd Series, V, 125, is presumed to refer to the "Gormagons, Gregorians, Antigallics, Bucks, &c." :—

"At the Court of St. James, the 28th day of April 1721. Present the Kings most excellent Majesty in Council.

"His Majesty having received information . . . (that) certain scandalous Clubs or Societies of young persons, who meet together, and in the most impious and blasphemous manner insult the most sacred principles of our Holy Religion, affront Almighty God himself and corrupt the minds and morals of one another . . .

"His Majesty has thought fit to command the Lord Chancellor, and his Lordship is hereby required to call together his Majesties Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Westminster to take all proper methods for the utter suppression of all such detestable practices."

It would seem improbable that the Gregorians were included, since they survived into the early years of the nineteenth century.

Bro. C. W. PARRIS said:—

I should not venture to offer comment had it not been for Bro. Rylands' kindly reference to my "beginner's luck" in coming across the Wakefield jewels in the Grand Lodge Museum, and no doubt this amateur contribution will be received in the same way.

As regards the pervading "left-handedness", there are what appear to be other instances. The figure representing Time, while holding the scythe in his right hand, would operate left-handed from that position, and the Signs of the Zodiac also, if we except Virgo, are named anti-clockwise or left-handed.

Bro. Rylands' first question, "What does the name signify?" is largely answered by reference to Liddell & Scott's Greek Lexicon, to which the writer was inspired by Bro. Rylands' researches into Latin sources. The name Gregorios (γρηγοριος) comes from γρηγορειν, a late and corrupt form of the verb εγερω, "to wake or watch", and it is from this meaning that "Gregory" is said to imply a watcher or shepherd of souls—hence its use in the Roman Church.

But Liddell & Scott also give other alternative meanings. εγερω is used in New Testament Greek to mean "to raise or erect a building", as in John, chap. 2, v. 19, and "to raise from the dead" (Acts, 26, v. 8). The analogy with the Craft is obvious enough, and while Dr. Munkhouse cannot have been one of the founders, it seems probable that he

himself must have known the alternative meanings of the word "Gregorios"; that the actual founders had acquaintance with New Testament Greek and had ecclesiastical connections also.

There would seem to be little doubt that the Society was quasi-Masonic in origin, and that it perished by absorption.

Bro. J. C. A. RAISON said:—

I hope that a young, inexperienced student may be forgiven for offering these unprepared remarks, prompted by Bro. Rylands' fascinating paper. Perhaps, as a novice, the influence of the writings of Bros. J. S. M. Ward and Castells still weighs more strong than with more skilled Masons, so that I do not find the same difficulty in suggesting some of the substance of Gregorism. Does the key to the problem lie in the motto, "Consemur sanguine longo"?

At the emergence of Gregorism, Dr. Anderson had only recently produced his "history" of Freemasonry, and doubtless there were many Masons conscious that its foundation by King Solomon was a myth. Did the far-seeing Bro. Munkhouse recognise the origins of the legend and allegory of Freemasonry, and, by pointing out the repetition of the old mysteries of Greece and Egypt, claim that the practice of Freemasonry had a far earlier root—a "long blood", in fact? He was, at least, entitled to claim its origin in the Egyptian Sun-worship as competently as Dr. Anderson's hypothesis.

The finely-wrought jewels of the Order are dominated by the Sun, Zodiacal Signs and Pyramid. The globe is the modern interpolation, but the Charter may be considered to stand for the first scroll of knowledge. From the Arms, the possibility of "Time" as the master force of Gregorism has been suggested. Carlile, in his "exposures" long ago, maintained the common origin of "Temple" and "Time" etymologically as symbolically significant. The measurement and prediction of time was an important function of both Egyptian mysticism and legendary Freemasonry.

In the same era the many extensions and side degrees were developing. In particular, did the pre-Solomon legends of the Noachites and Moses also take their place in Gregorism as further links in the long blood? Perhaps the arms remember Noah, with the dove returning over water. Below, the Lodge of Hermes, the messenger of the Greek mysteries, was the "Grand" a representation of Egyptian Priest, Noah, Moses and Greek philosopher in one?

"The Secret" of the Order would surely not be depicted on the jewels. "It is better to receive than to give" shows this. But I wonder whether this remark may also be linked with the left-handedness of Gregorism? In symbolical language, the left side is the feminine or receptive side. The sword, of course, must be held by the right hand. Does it, in the hand of the Grand, point to the sun, indicating that this body has given the Charter to this, the globe, as indicated by the receptive left hand? I am puzzled by the Warden on the left hand of the candidate; his hand is less clearly defined in attitude and seems different from the candidate and Grand. As to the left-handed sign of the other Warden, I can only suggest that it might be considered a copy of the natural position in which a shield is held—perhaps guarding the secret? And finally, progress left-handed, or "widdershins", was always the direction of the dead and the ignorant in darkness.

Apart from the death of its apparent leader in 1805, did Gregorism fade into obscurity because the Craft legend, as well as being supported by larger and better organised numbers, had gained hold amounting almost to sincere beliefs in the origin of Jerusalem? Many ignorant Masons still so believe.

Bro. ERIC WARD said:—

In case it is not immediately obvious, I know nothing of Gregorism, other than from the present paper and the one by the late Bro. W. H. Rylands in *A.Q.C.*, xxi, but it seems to me that the one element in both which consistently appears is that of time.

The proper name "Gregory" means "Watchman", and Bardsley (*Dict. Surnames*) quotes an early writer, Yonge, when speaking of Gregory as: "that greatest and best of papal watchmen to whom the English Church looks back as the original awakener of her faith".

In Francis Gregory's sermon of 1673, to which Hextall referred in *A.Q.C.*, xxi, the title was "The Gregorian Account, or the Spiritual Watch", and the text, from Mark, xiii, 37, was: "And what I say unto you, I say to all: Watch."

All Gregories, then, are nominally watchmen, and, indeed, the greatest of them was responsible for the introduction of the vigils or wakes which, in Christian communities, are still preserved in the form of Watchnight services, and the essence of these functions is time.

We should, therefore, expect any organisation taking the name Gregory to be vigilant and to use the symbols of time to illustrate its precepts. Thus, on the Wakefield summons there is the very figure of Time; the Great Pyramid indicating time immemorial; the Sun marking the passage of time; and the Zodiacal divisions then believed to exercise their timely influence upon the lives of mortals. Even the "Song of the Merry Gregs" ends:—

"Success to every brother,
Let's stand by one another,
Till time shall be no more."

I therefore suggest the possibility that the theme of the eighteenth century Gregorian philosophy was that of watchfulness, for which the unsheathed sword on the closed Bible seems a fitting emblem related to the troubled times, particularly in conjunction with the watchword—"Peace".

The convivial aspect would not contravene this theory, for to refer again to Gregory the first, Hampson, in *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, vol. ii, p. 354, says:—

"When Gregory recommended the festival of the patron saint, he advised the people to erect booths of branches about the church on the day of the festival and to feast and be merry in them with innocence."

Referring back to the late Bro. W. H. Rylands' paper, there is illustrated an engraved list of Gregorian Chapters, of which one is named at Crewkerne in Somerset. It must have been one of the earliest, for I find that in the *Sherborne Mercury* of September 4th, 1744, there was an advertisement which ran as follows:—

"The Brethren of the ancient and honourable order of Gregorians belonging to the Crewkerne Chapter are desired to meet at the Chapter Room on Tuesday, 11th day of this instant September in order to elect a Vice Grand."

Again, on September 18th of the same year, a further advertisement was inserted:—

"On Tuesday the 25th day of this instant September the annual feast of the ancient and honourable order of the Gregorians will be held at their Chapter Room in Crewkerne when and where the Brethren are desired to give their attendance by 10 of the clock in the forenoon in order to proceed from thence to the Church to attend at divine service and to hear a sermon."

Lastly, since Bro. Rylands has referred to his paper as being in lighter vein, I hope he will forgive my rising to the bait and pointing out a misquotation from the current *Book of Constitutions* in the footnote on page 118. The correction assumed, he asks, "Where are the lodges beyond sea from whose Antient Records the Charges of a Free-Mason are extracted?" and the answer is Italy. The wording still used is identical with that of Anderson in the 1723 edition, wherein the G.M., in his approbation, tells us that his predecessor ordered the author to examine several copies of charges, etc., from Italy and Scotland, as well as sundry parts of England. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Bro. Rylands will now extend his researches beyond the sea to Italy, the very seat of so many famous Gregories, and give us another interesting paper on his findings.

I heartily join in the thanks to the author for a witty and exceptionally readable paper, which, for me, has added much to the spice of Masonic life.

Bro. W. WAPLES writes:—

In view of the fact that it is sometimes mentioned that Dr. Richard Munkhouse is said to have been a member of the Phoenix Lodge at Sunderland, I thought it desirable to give an extract from the cash book of the Lodge:—

1789—24th Sept.			
To Bro. Rich ^d . Munkhouse, making, passing and raising	...	£3 18 6	
To Bro. William Munkhouse, passing and raising	...	£1 6 0	
To fines	...	6 0	
To Subscription money	...	15 0	

Both signatures have been cut from the Register of Members.

The Munkhouses resided on Beggar's Bank, later named Russel Street, once the domicile of the elite of the town. They appear to have left Sunderland about 1791.

A search through the Registers of Sunderland Parish Church failed to trace the name Munkhouse as a curate or in any other official capacity.

BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

As one would expect, Bro. J. R. Rylands has given us a very readable paper. He generally gives me some new information—for instance, I did not know that Richard Linnecar was a linen draper, amongst his many other avocations.

There were a great many secret societies, chiefly convivial, in the eighteenth century, and they obviously filled a need. In the Engraved List of Gregorian Chapters (see *A.Q.C.*, xxi, 95) there are fourteen Chapters mentioned, including the Grand Chapter. Amongst these fourteen there were two situated in the country—St. Albans and Crewkerne (Somersetshire). In addition to these, we know that later there were Chapters at Norwich, Pontefract and Wakefield. There may have been others of which I am unaware, but one is driven to the conclusion that the Order, or Society, was almost unknown in the Provinces.

The Rev. Richard Munkhouse, of Wakefield, states in the preamble of his *Constitutional Laws of the Gregorians* that a Grand Committee had been “appointed for the express purpose of reviving, remodelling, & re-enacting, the Constitutional Laws”. He states in these Constitutional Laws that the Anniversary Meeting should take place on a Thursday next following St. John Baptist’s Day.

On looking up the various advertisements of the Pontefract Chapter in the *York Courant*, I find that the meetings advertised for the four years 1767-1770 were all held on a Wednesday, the actual dates being 10th June, 1767; 11th May, 1768; 14th June, 1769; and 13th June, 1770; so it will be seen that these meetings took place, as a rule, early in June and sometimes in May. It appears likely that the Constitution and Rules were drawn up by the Rev. Richard Munkhouse and were solely for the Wakefield Chapter, or, alternately, contained alterations of former procedure.

Like Bro. John Rylands, I should be particularly interested to know whether any further Gregorian Chapters have been traced in other parts of the country.

BRO. FRED L. PICK writes:—

Bro. John Rylands has provided us with a meatier paper than he modestly claims in his opening paragraph. Mackey’s *Encyclopædia* seems to have influenced K. R. H. Mackenzie, who says in his *Royal Masonic Cyclopædia* (1877):—

“GREGORIANS—A society established early in the eighteenth century, in ridicule of the Freemasons. They were still in existence in 1797, but by that time they must have changed their character, as Prince William Frederick of Gloucester was then their chief; and Dr. Munkhouse, the chaplain who preached a sermon in that year, spoke highly of the Order as a useful ally of Freemasonry.”

Our Bro. A. F. A. Woodward, who was evidently not influenced by Mackey, says in his *Kenning’s Masonic Cyclopædia* (1878):—

“The statement commonly made that this was a society formed in opposition to and ridicule of Freemasonry cannot be sustained . . . Most of the rules resemble a contemporary Lodge of Freemasons, and from Freemasonry they borrowed evidently both their outward and inner organization. The Society had its origin at Wakefield. Political subjects were not to be debated after dinner or supper . . .”

Though it has nothing to do with the Gregorians, one may come to the rescue of Bro. Woodward by mentioning that whereas in several English dictionaries the end of letter “L” occurs approximately halfway through the book (excluding appendices), in several Masonic Cyclopædias the point of balance comes much earlier in the book. As the joint compiler of one of the latter works, I can vouch for the fact that in this case at least the authors did not tire of their task, nor were they working to an agreed limit of space.

Wakefield is in that part of England wherein many Masonic (and other) degrees have been worked for many years. Bro. Matthews has described some of those worked at Bottoms, and I quote from the ritual of a degree now worked in all parts of the country: “In its present state there is evidence of this degree having existed for over 200 years, principally in Lancashire and Yorkshire . . .”

I am glad Bro. Rylands refers to Bro. Shum Tuckett’s theory, which has never been satisfactorily explored. Finally, I suggest that the expression, “Merry as a Greg”, was a punning adaptation of the usual “Merry as a Grig”.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS writes in reply:—

The paper has stimulated quite a pleasing display of erudition from the Brethren, though the position still remains that we know little more about the Gregorians than our forbears did fifty years ago.

I thank the W. Master and the Brethren for their kindly remarks; most of their comments are unexceptionable and illuminating. It is perhaps surprising that we hear nothing of the Society in the North-West of England, but I feel sure that if there was anything to be known it would have come to the notice of Bro. Rogers. Bro. Foskett, acting as Senior Warden, is much too flattering, but I thank him for his comments, and in particular for confirming that the illustrations by way of slides were helpful.

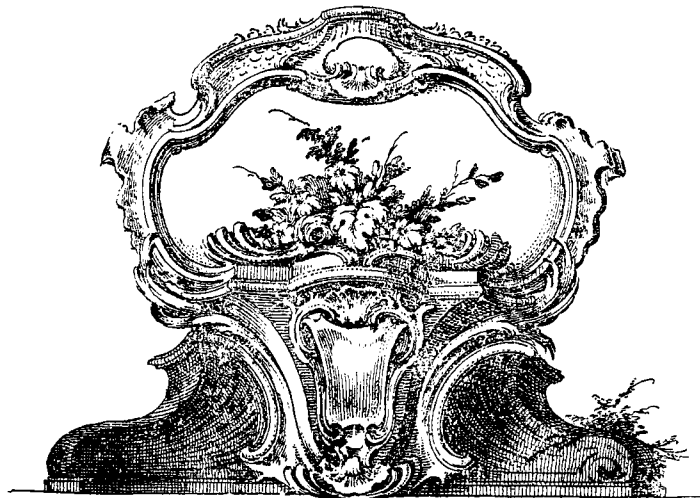
Bro. Oliver's cheerful contribution is very welcome, but I still feel reluctant to accept Hextall's suggestion. The Gregories seem to have been quite another organisation, eponymy being perhaps their only bond of union. Bro. Oliver reminds us, as do Bro. Parris and one or two others, of the "watchman" connotation, but there seems no very obvious association between that and the other facts we have about the Gregorians. The alternative interpretations suggested by Bro. Parris are certainly intriguing, but that is perhaps the most one can say. I wish he could extend what he modestly calls his "beginner's luck" to other finds about the Wakefield Chapter!

I feel a little diffident about accepting Bro. Raison's suggestions, ingenious though they are. In the absence of an explanation of the Gregorian system based on authentic data, they must, of course, be borne in mind. Nevertheless, I think it cannot be too often stressed that, whilst there may be points of similarity between certain Masonic rites and some of those practised in the ancient mysteries, few, if any, Masonic scholars of to-day would regard this as evidence of derivation. The speculations of J. S. M. Ward and F. de P. Castells undoubtedly attract a number of our Brethren, but, having referred adequately to this subject on a former occasion, it need not be further developed here.

I thank Bro. Eric Ward for his useful comments, especially on the theme of "watchfulness". His point about the "misquotation" (omitting the hyphen from "free-mason") is noted. I think I shall blame the printer! But I must confess that I had completely forgotten about Italy as the source of the "Antient" Records beyond sea, mentioned in the Duke of Wharton's *Approbation*. If the Gregorians went (perhaps) to Juvenal for their motto, why, indeed, should not Anderson have drawn his beloved "Augustan Stile" from Palladio!

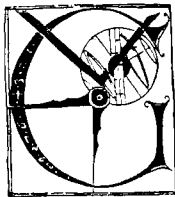
The information about Dr. Munkhouse, given by Bro. Waples, adds a useful item to our knowledge of this interesting Masonic character. Perhaps one day some Brother will favour us with a full-length paper about him. I join with Bro. Gilbert Johnson, to whom I am always in debt for guidance, help and useful facts, in hoping that other Gregorian data will some day come to light.

In regard to Bro. Pick's comments, for which I am grateful, I would take only one for further remark. Any Brother seeking a Masonic subject for exploration might well consider Bro. Shum Tuckett's theories and suggestions. It is now many years since the matter was first raised, and a modern treatment of it might give surprising results.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREEMASONRY IN ENGLAND AND WALES

AS DEPICTED BY GRAPHS FROM PARTICULARS IN LANE'S
MASONIC RECORDS (2nd Ed.)



GRAPHS or graphical methods, in a restricted sense, mean methods which are applied in science and economics ; they can be used to show, at a glance, the general manner in which the progress of Freemasonry was influenced by political, social or economic changes. Thus, if we mark off along a horizontal line a series of points at equal intervals to represent successive years and then measure along the vertical line through each point a length representing the number of Lodges nominally in existence, we obtain, on drawing a continuous line through the ends of the measured lengths, a graphical representation of the yearly fluctuations in the number of existing Lodges.

While it must not be forgotten that graphical representation is generally not so accurate as the figures upon which it is based, that so many historical, political and economic changes can thus be pin-pointed suggests that this method does assist us to visualise Masonic history from 1717 to the end of the nineteenth century. While so doing it should be remembered that the dates given for the loss of Lodges is less accurate than those of their formation, as the notification of lapsed Lodges is, especially in Provincial Lodges, in some cases accompanied by some such expression as "has not met for years".

A casual glance through Lane's *Masonic Records*, which gives the date of the formation and erasure of Lodges, where such has taken place, would give the reader unacquainted with Masonic history the impression that, from the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, the growth of Freemasonry in England and Wales had been continuous, although the rate had at times varied. There have been periods during which little progress was made in England and Wales, but as, during these periods, numbers of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England were being formed in the colonies and abroad, the number of Lodges gradually increased and a reduction of Lodges in any one district would not be noticed ; in other words, what was being lost on the roundabouts was being made up on the swings ! It is sometimes possible to find the cause of changes by comparing the graph of one province with those of others in distant provinces. The depression which occurs in graphs of coastal provinces in the South of England at the end of the Napoleonic wars is not to be found in graphs of Provinces in the North-West.

The Grand Lodge of England was formed by the four "Time Immemorial Lodges" in 1717, and its jurisdiction was at first limited to the City of London and Westminster, or the district embraced by what was called the "Bills of Mortality" in the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*. London, in the eighteenth century, occupied a more prominent position than it does even to-day, as our large towns and cities had not at that time started to grow ; our oldest Lodges, a large portion of which were situated in London, were therefore more susceptible to political and social changes, and the graph of our London Lodges illustrates this.

From the diary and commonplace book of Dr. Stukeley we learn that he was made a Mason in 1721, and he says, "I was the first person to be made a Mason for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately after that it took a run and ran itself out of breath through the folly of its members." In 1723, fifteen new Lodges were formed, and when the first *Book of Constitutions* appeared it was found to involve great changes from the Old Charges. The purely Christian character of Masonry was abolished in the new *Book of Constitutions* and it was placed on a Deistic basis, and although it is now recognised that otherwise Masonry would never have become the universal institution that it now is, yet great dissatisfaction was caused and many Masons looked on the innovation in much the same way as the removal of all religious formulæ from

the ceremonies of the Grand Orient of France in 1877. Dr. Stukeley was ordained in 1729, from which date he appears to have ceased all Masonic activities.

There were, moreover, other causes for trouble. In 1723 a so-called exposure, *A Mason's Examination*, was printed in three issues of *The Flying Post and Postman*, and in 1730 the first exposure in book form, *Masonry Dissected*, by Samuel Prichard, appeared. At the present time, with two-and-a-quarter centuries of the periodical publishing of such exposures behind us, it is difficult to imagine the stir caused by these early efforts. The Premier Grand Lodge was going through a very difficult period and even the initiation of the Prince of Wales in 1737 failed to stem the depression which had commenced in 1740. There were many contributing causes; Freemasons were persecuted in various Continental countries from 1735-1745; moreover, in 1738 a formidable Bull against Freemasons was issued by the Pope which, like the *Mason's Examination*, being the first of a series, was doubtless more effective than those which followed.

In England the Craft was falling into disfavour, for mock processions by the "Scald Miserables" appear to have taken place in 1741, 1742, 1744 and 1745. The well-known engraving by Alexander Benoit suggests that these burlesques, upon which much labour and expense must have been expended, had something more in view than the amusement of the organisers and spectators.

The loss of twenty London Lodges in 1745, the year of the Jacobite rebellion, with the rapid recovery shown by the graph, marks the unstable condition of the country as a major cause of the 1740-1750 depression.

In 1747 Lord Byron was elected Grand Master, but he did not attend Grand Lodge again until 1752, and during these five years the Grand Lodge Officers were not changed. Freemasonry under the Premier Grand Lodge was going through a difficult period and discontent was rife among the members of the Craft.

In 1751 the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" was formed, the graph of which will be considered later. Whether or no competition with the rival Grand Lodge helped in the revival of Freemasonry which followed, the graph of the London Lodges under the Premier Grand Lodge sweeps upwards without further depression until the early 1770's.

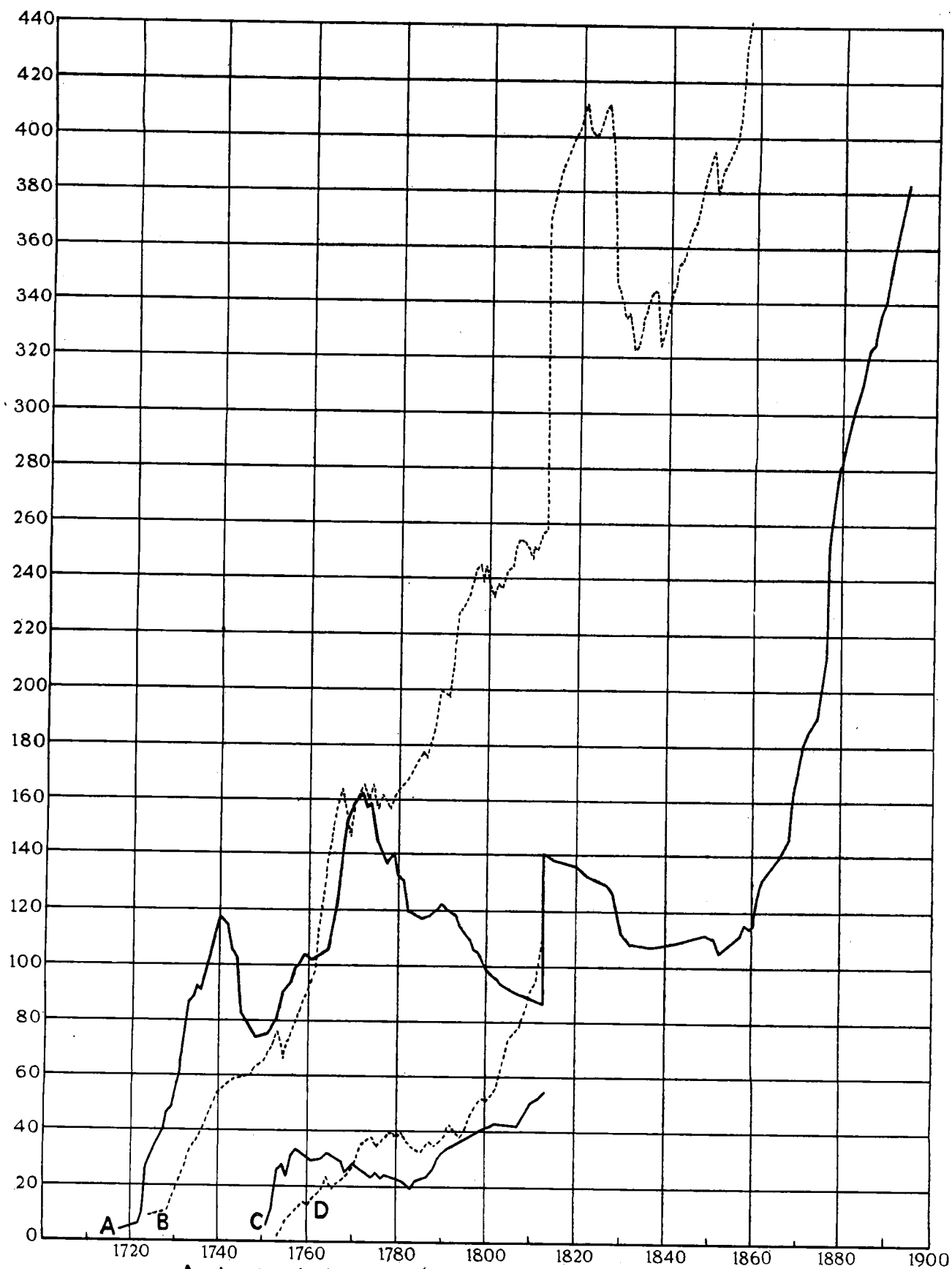
From 1772, the year that William Preston held his gala meeting, the number of "Modern" Lodges in London declined. In 1777 there was the dispute among members of the Lodge of Antiquity over a procession in Masonic regalia without permission of the Grand Lodge, and in 1779 Wm. Preston and ten others were expelled the Craft. As we now know, the matter was afterwards adjusted, but further trouble was ahead. "In 1780 the London mob surrounded the Houses of Parliament, took drunken control of the capital for four days and burnt a tenth of it down". Nine years after followed the French Revolution, which, apart from its political and economic aspects, was not without its repercussions upon Freemasonry. In 1793 France declared war upon England, and the downward trend of the graph continues; at this time there was no industrial expansion in London to offset the losses such as will be noted when the Provincial Lodges graph is being considered, and the downward trend continues until 1813.

Let us now consider the graph of the Provincial Lodges under the Premier Grand Lodge, which shows what appear to be depressions from 1753-1754 and from 1767-1769; when, however, these are considered in conjunction with the table from which they are drawn, they are seen to have been the result of the closing up and alteration of the Lodge numbers in 1755 and 1770. In the graphs of the London Lodges, these losses are shown in the year they actually occurred. Communication between provincial Lodges and the Grand Lodge at this time was not good, and it was not until enquiries were being made for the alteration of the Lodge numbers that the loss of many of these Lodges was recorded, an example being the St. John's Lodge, Chichester, formed in 1724 and erased in 1769, where we find the note, "No Lodge here for 20 years".

Bro. Lepper computed that in 1755, of the 271 Lodges nominally in existence, only 199 were carried forward at the closing up and alteration of Lodge numbers in 1756, so apparently more than a quarter of the private Lodges adhering to the Premier Grand Lodge had died. Our graph shows that, of the 103 provincial Lodges formed from 1724-1756, the number lost was 25, which agrees with the figures of Bro. Lepper for the whole of the Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns").

By 1772 the losses shown by the 1770 renumeration are made good, and for the next ten years the graph fluctuates and flattens, which period coincides with that of the trouble with our American Colonies.

The graph of provincial Lodges from now until the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813 differs from that of their London Lodges, showing the development now taking place in industrial areas where the larger towns are growing. The graph of the Lancashire Lodges is in one direction only, upward, from 1727-1816; it then flattens until 1853, when it resumes



- A. London Lodges (Moderns and U.G.L.)
 B. Provincial Lodges (Moderns and U.G.L.)
 C. London Lodges (Antients)
 D. Provincial Lodges (Antients)

its upward climb. The following table shows the relative low percentage of lost Lodges in Lancashire, as compared with London, the Provinces of England and Wales, and with neighbouring Provinces:—

District	Period	Lodges Formed	Lodges Lost	Percentage Lost Lodges
London - - -	1724-1813	372	260	70
Provinces of England and Wales - -	1724-1813	683	311	45
Cheshire - - -	1724-1813	32	18	56
Yorkshire - - -	1729-1813	60	21	35
Lancashire - - -	1727-1813	74	19	26

From 1782 the graph of the provincial Lodges rose steadily until from 1797-1798, when financial trouble at home and the naval mutiny at Spithead and the Nore caused a depression, after which there was another at the beginning of the Napoleonic War in 1783.

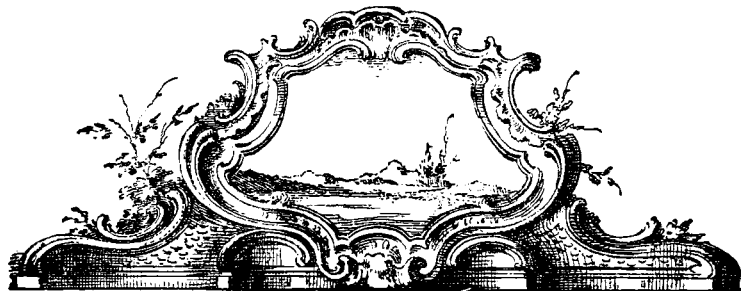
After the Union in 1813, the graph (of the now United Grand Lodge of England) rises until 1820, when the slump which followed the war caused a drop. The greatest depression of all, that caused by our own industrial revolution, was still ahead, and from 1827-1832 some 82 Lodges were lost. The effect of the hungry forties is to be noted, after which we come to the last depression in the graph, which, curiously enough, was caused by prosperity! It occurred from 1850-1851, the year of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. Our industrialists were so busy showing the world what they could do that Freemasonry, like other cultural activities, had, for the time, to wait. From 1751 the upward trend of the graph continues.

We now return to the graph of the London Lodges under the United Grand Lodge of England from 1813. The depression noted in the graph of the "Moderns" is not halted by the Union, and it continues until from 1827-1832 the industrial revolution causes it to increase. During those years the percentage loss of London Lodges was 17, as compared with 21 in the provincial Lodges. Freemasonry in London had by now almost touched bottom, and after 1813 no new Lodge was warranted in London until 1839. The "Exhibition" depression noted in the graph of the provincial Lodges occurs a year later, 1851-1852, after which the graph rises steeply.

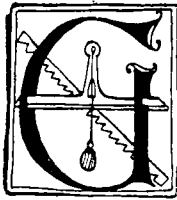
"On Jan. 6th, 1874, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, K.G. (afterwards King Edward VII) was installed Master of the Prince of Wales Lodge No. 259 by the Earl of Limerick, who had been invited to preside on the occasion." On the back of his Past Master's jewel, now in the Museum of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent, is engraved: "H.R.H. Prince of Wales, installed M.W.G.M., 28th April, 1875." During that year 16 Lodges were warranted in London, in 1876 there were 25, and in 1877 the number was 26. The upward sweep of the graph, which has never yet ceased, continues.

To read the history of our Country and Empire from 1717 until the end of the nineteenth century with these graphs in one's hand is most interesting, for many of the outstanding events which occurred during that period can be pin-pointed by their effect upon the progress of the Craft. Freemasonry, however, carries out its object, not by working as an institution, but by influencing the character of its individual members, and, therefore, its effect upon the progress of what has since become the British Commonwealth of Nations must be left to speculation.

S. POPE.



NOTE



GEOMETRY.—The Grand Lodge Library and Museum has recently acquired a tapestry panel showing the figure of Geometry (Plate 1). It must once have belonged to a set of seven showing the Liberal Arts. Tapestry panels from sets of the Liberal Arts, and dating from the later fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are known, but they are exceedingly rare. Only six panels with these subjects, of which this is one, are recorded from the early period (late fifteenth - early sixteenth century), and there are not many of the later (late sixteenth - seventeenth), but there is one extant set of cartoons of the later type, by Cornelius Schutt. Mention of sets or single tapestry panels of the Seven Liberal Arts in the inventories of the great collections are not common, and are not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. This is, by any standards, an important acquisition.

The importance of Geometry to Masonry needs no stressing, and the whole group of the Seven Liberal Arts, too, is referred to in our Ritual. In the Second Degree the Fellowcraft Freemason is told that he is expected to make the Liberal Arts and Sciences his future study. These are defined in the fourth section of the Second Lecture, where the following passage occurs; its setting is the question, "Why do seven or more make a perfect Lodge?"

Q. They have a further allusion?

A. To the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences, viz., Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy.

The idea contained in this passage antedated by a great number of years the period when we can suppose it to have been written. The tradition of the existence of Seven Liberal Arts (always these seven) seems to have been consolidated during the earlier Roman Empire, and remained a commonplace for twelve hundred years or more. The earliest book preserved today that includes it is the *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus*, or "Of the Marriage of Philology and Mercury and of the Seven Liberal Arts", written in the fifth century A.D. by a Roman African named Martianus Capella. The existence of seven liberal arts, and the fiction of the female personification of each is essential to this book, which is a compendium of the knowledge of the time. Geometry occupies Book VI, and consists very largely of geography. The personifying figure is assimilated to the goddess Pallas Athene, the Roman Minerva. Martianus Capella's book was known and popular throughout the Middle Ages, and the idea of human knowledge as resting on the framework of these seven liberal arts was common until the effects of the Renaissance of knowledge began to be felt. After about the fifteenth century it lingered on more and more as a pleasing fiction, and it is as such that it appears in our Second Degree Ritual. Today it is nothing more than this. To us, who no longer share the encyclopædic vision which gave birth to the idea in the first place, the Seven Liberal Arts appear completely separated from each other.

This tapestry measures 9ft. 7½ins. by 5ft. 4½ins. It has no trace of the later ornamented border, and, apart from a blank inch or so, the scene is continued to the outer edge. In the centre is a large female personification of Geometry. She is seen seated, holding up compasses in her right hand and a square in her left. Above her is a sort of tent, with a strip of velvet behind her head bearing the Latin name GEOMETRIA. Around are scenes illustrating the art of which she is the patroness, and the stress on building is noticeable throughout. On the left is, at the top, a mason with a mallet, balanced at the bottom by two masons, one of them with a square, setting a brick or stone in mortar. Between these scenes is one of the unidentifiable features of the tapestry—a man setting out small squares or tokens, each marked with either three or four dots. In his left hand he holds a large roll of parchment, the black marks on which may well be intended for lines of writing. There was a mediæval symbolism of the numbers three and four, but it was not in any way connected with Geometry, and the scene may have a quite different meaning. Directly above this figure is a winged angel, of a type seen on both sides of the main figure here, on other tapestries of a like nature and design, and on many other works of art of about this period, both sacred and profane.

To the right, at the top, is a scene of two figures of men with a column between them, on which one or both seem to be working, against a background of a city and towers. The scale of these two figures is very small, and in this and their appearance they are unlike any others on the tapestry. It does appear that they are intended for living people, but the scene



Photograph of a Tapestry Panel, showing " Geometria "

Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes of Grand Lodge

is incomplete. This strange column appears to have been one of two supporting the arch, of which the left-hand part is seen. What the rest of the scene contained and what its meaning originally was, we cannot now ascertain. It must be assumed that the complete scene was included in the cartoon from which this tapestry was woven. At the bottom on this side, below the winged angel, is a large figure connected with and on the same scale as that of Geometry. It is a rather oriental-looking person with a one-word inscription behind the head. This must be a name for the figure, such as is legible behind the figure of Ptolemy on Plate 2. It has not yet been possible, however, to read the inscription or identify the figure with any certainty. The former consists of the abbreviated word (or the five single letters) PIETA. This has no obvious meaning here, and the figure must at present be explained independently of it. We may be sure that it is a prominent Geometrician; in view of a parallel case mentioned below, it may perhaps be Euclid.

The last feature is the inscription below this figure, in Gothic lettering in Latin, and consisting of one full and three abbreviated words. The first of these is indistinct, but it may be read "et sit Proportio Rerum", or literally "and let the proportion of the things be . . ."—a phrase used as typical of the prominent Geometrician above.

The attribution and dating of the tapestry is more simple than the identification of all its features. The earliest representation of the Liberal Arts as female personifications, each accompanied by an important practitioner of the Art itself, is in the Spanish Chapel of the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. The frescoes in that chapel were carried out by the painter known as Andrea da Firenze, probably in the years following 1365. On one wall is an allegory of which the main figure is St. Thomas Aquinas. Below the chief body of the scene—it shows the Saint accompanied by angels, Old and New Testament figures, Fathers of the Church and others—are fourteen female personifications sitting in choir stalls and each accompanied by a practitioner of the subject personified. The right hand seven are the Liberal Arts. Ranging from the centre they are as follows: Arithmetic with Pythagoras; Geometry with Euclid (neither figure has any resemblance in detail to this tapestry; all we can say is that Euclid is again an oriental-looking person); Astronomy with Zoroaster; Music with Tubal Cain; Dialectic with Aristotle; Rhetoric with Cicero; Grammar with Priscian (the author of a commonly used mediæval Latin grammar).

The earliest Liberal Arts tapestries are all of this type. The closest in design to the Grand Lodge panel is in the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester in New York State, and shows the two figures of Arithmetic and Astronomy; this is reproduced here by kind permission of the Art Gallery (Plate 2). The general lay-out, the figure type, and many of the details can be seen at once to be very close. The two figures below are Ptolemy, identified by an inscribed and incomplete name, below Astronomy, and an unidentified person, either Pythagoras—on the analogy of the Florence figure—or Boethius, below Arithmetic. The dating of this tapestry is not exact. The type of narrow floral border it shows came into fashion in the years before and around 1500, and remained in use during most of the first half of the sixteenth century. The style of the figures seems of the fifteenth, and the tapestry can hardly be earlier than 1475 or later than 1525. Another of the same date is in the Cluny Museum in Paris, and also shows Arithmetic, a similar figure, with a longish Latin inscription like that on the Rochester tapestry. The later tapestries are different in figures and setting, and especially in the absence of the "Practitioner of the Art" figure.

The style of the Grand Lodge panel is at once recognisable as that associated with North-East France and Flanders in the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries. The details of the design and type of figure both point clearly to this; the absence of any border suggests an early rather than a late date. It seems best, however, to adopt the formula "Franco-Flemish, about 1500", as the attribution. The Rochester piece can hardly have been from the same set, because of the border (that the Geometry panel should have had a border which has been removed is technically impossible), and apart from this there are slight differences in detail. We may, however, be right in suggesting that the same cartoons were used in each case, but that the tapestries were woven at different times, and possibly at different places also. The Rochester panel has many marks of the Tournai style, and is in fact attributed to that centre: in the Grand Lodge panel they are less to the fore.

GERARD BRETT.



REVIEW

PAUL REVERE'S ENGRAVINGS - By Clarence S. Brigham

(American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts)
1954



THE name of Paul Revere is apt to conjure up a vision of the midnight ride commemorated by Henry W. Longfellow in *The Landlord's Tale* in "Tales of a Wayside Inn". Few familiar with that poem are likely to be aware of the remarkable versatility of this horseman. Yet it is fact that the hero of this ride became a skilled craftsman in many varied fields. Born at Boston in 1735, and trained as a gold and silver-smith, Revere became an engraver of renown, a printer of paper currency, a manufacturer of cannon, gunpowder and church bells, and the proprietor of a hardware store as a side-line to his profitable brass and copper foundry. At the time of the American Revolution, Revere was one of the leading patriots. A distinguished soldier, Revere also attained distinction in Freemasonry, holding office from 1794 to 1797 as Grand Master of the then newly-formed Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

The American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, has recently published a work by Clarence S. Brigham on Paul Revere's engravings, profusely illustrated, at the pre-publication price of fifteen dollars. This quarto volume, which runs to some two hundred pages, contains one chapter devoted solely to Revere's Masonic engravings, with seven plates (Plates 59-65) giving examples of his Masonic work.

Glancing at the certificates reproduced on Plates 61 and 65, an English Masonic student familiar with the pre-Union Grand Lodge certificates issued by the "Ancients" and the "Moderns" might well be excused for momentarily identifying these two certificates as examples of "The Three Graces" design issued by the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns"; and yet these two certificates are not Grand Lodge certificates at all, but private Lodge certificates based upon "The Three Graces" design and issued by private Lodges located on the western shores of the North Atlantic Ocean.

Plates 62 and 64 portray smaller private Lodge certificates, with the relative positions of the main features of "The Three Graces" design reversed, and with other features added. Plates 59 and 63 represent private Lodge summonses, the wording of which in each case is enclosed within an ornamental frame of Chippendale style, surrounded by Masonic emblems. Plate 60 portrays another specimen of summons with fewer Masonic emblems and with a slightly different style of frame.

According to the author of this work, the seven Masonic documents there illustrated were all engraved by Paul Revere between 1772 and 1796; but extracts from Revere's Day Books quoted by the author lead to the inference that Revere was engraving Lodge summonses as early as 1762, *e.g.*:—

22nd March, 1762

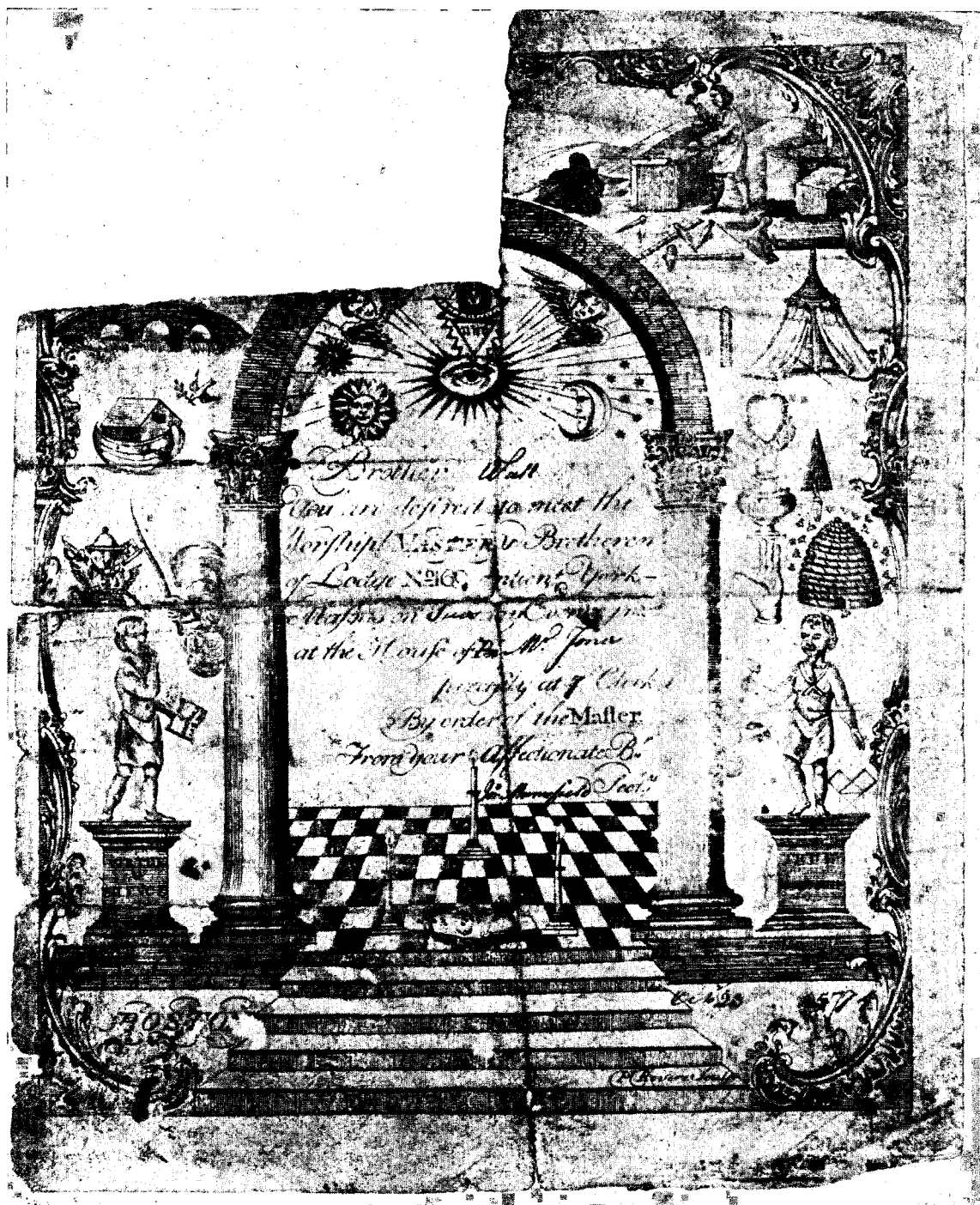
"Mr. John Pulling Junr Dr To Cutting
a Copper Plate for Notifications 1-4-0
To 2 Hundred Notifications at 6s P Hundd
0-12-0".

The meaning to be attributed to the word "Notifications" in this context is made clear by a subsequent entry which reads:—

14th November, 1766

"Capt Caleb Hopkins Dr To Engraving
a Copper Plate for Notifications for a
Masons Lodge in Surinam 3-6-8 To 500
Prints from it at 6/8 pr Hudd 1-13-4".

"The Three Graces" design—the earliest design of Grand Lodge certificate in the world—was first issued in England in 1756. Revere was then only 21 years of age, and had not yet been initiated into Freemasonry, an event which took place at Boston in St. Andrew's



Lodge Summons, engraved by Paul Revere
Reproduced by permission of the Board of General Purposes

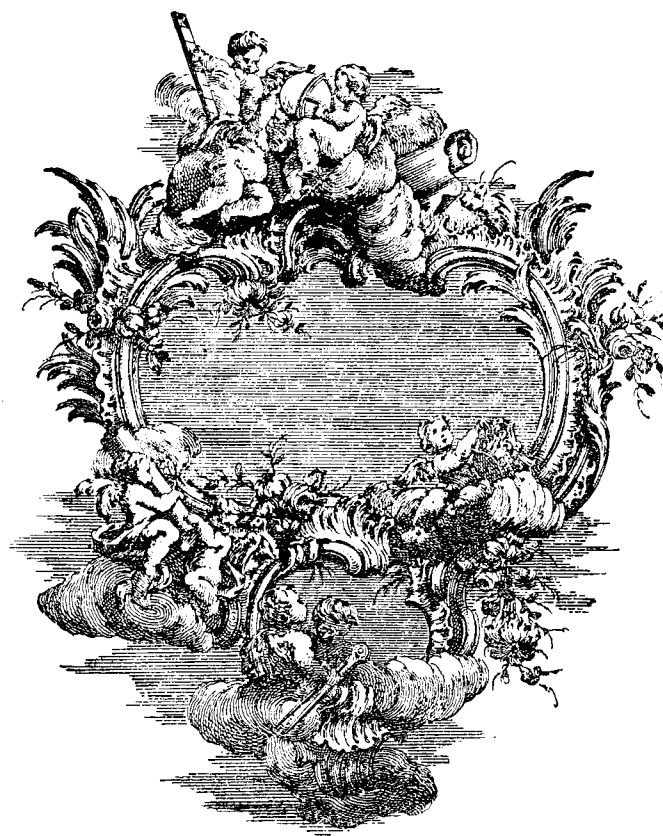
Lodge No. 169 (A.) four years later in 1760. Accordingly it is manifest that the design incorporated by Revere in his earliest Masonic engravings had crossed the Atlantic Ocean from east to west, and not in the reverse direction.

That the Masonic engravings described by Clarence Brigham do not represent the whole of Paul Revere's output in this field of engraving is clear from the possession by the Grand Lodge of England of a Masonic engraving by Revere of a design entirely unlike any of those illustrated in this work. By courtesy of the Board of General Purposes a reproduction of this engraving accompanies this review. From the illustration it will be seen that the document in question, which in its perfect state would have measured $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches, is a Lodge summons lacking the top left-hand corner. This summons was issued at Boston on 23rd October, 1774, on behalf of the Master of "Lodge No. 169, Antient York Masons", the "Ancient" Lodge to which at that time Paul Revere belonged. The design of this Lodge summons resembles closely the Carrickfergus Masonic certificate illustrated between pages 304 and 305 of Lepper and Crossle's *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (Volume I). The missing features in the top left-hand corner of Paul Revere's engraving may be conjectured from the details of the Carrickfergus certificate. By reason of its date, this mutilated document can hardly be a specimen of the Lodge summons referred to on page 11 of the present work, where mention is made of a Day Book entry in 1784 charging St. Andrew's Lodge with the cost of a copper-plate for such a summons. It would, therefore, seem that a surviving specimen of yet another Lodge summons engraved by Paul Revere still awaits discovery.

In this brief review, intended for the pages of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, it would be inappropriate to dwell upon those sections of this work which have no Masonic bearing; but Masonic influence will be noticed in the decorative features of a Trade Card reproduced on Plate 54, and a Masonic allusion will be found on page 121. The production of this notable volume leaves nothing to be desired; the book is a pleasure to handle and a pleasure to read.

May, 1955.

IVOR GRANTHAM.



OBITUARY



Tis with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Appleyard, Cyril Stanley Norman, of Moortown, Leeds, on 10th July, 1954. Bro. Appleyard was a member of the Lodge of Integrity No. 380, and of the Chapter of the same name. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in June, 1931.

Bain, Norman Kerr, of Batantiga, Malacca, on 4th February, 1955. Bro. Bain was a Past Master of Lodge Elliott No. 3557, Malacca, and a member of Kinta Chapter No. 3212, Ipoh. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1951.

Boudin, Francis Albert, of Les Landes, St. Ouens, Jersey, on 23rd January, 1955. Bro. Boudin was a member of Lodge La Cesaree No. 590 and of the Duke of Normandy Chapter, both at St. Helier, Jersey. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1947.

Chamberlain, Major John Alfred, of Dulwich, on 21st December, 1954. Bro. Chamberlain was a member of Bowyer Lodge and Chapter No. 1036, Chipping Norton, and joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1920.

Chatterton, Francis, of Bramdean, Alresford, Hants., on 29th December, 1954. Bro. Chatterton belonged to Perfect Unanimity Lodge, and School of Plato Chapter No. 150, Madras. He held rank in the District Grand Lodge of Madras, and was for many years, until his retirement, our Local Secretary for the Presidency. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for nearly 50 years.

Chubb, John William Henry, of Balham, in March, 1955. Bro. Chubb had received the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since January, 1947.

Clark, Milbourne Edward, of Doncaster, on 11th May, 1955. Bro. Clark was a Past Master of Don Valley Lodge No. 3890, and a Past Principal of the attached Chapter. He had been Provincial Grand Master and Grand Superintendent of Yorkshire, West Riding, since 1948. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1933.

Cobham, Alick Hubert, of Buenos Aires, in December, 1954. Bro. Cobham was a member of Silver River Lodge No. 3339. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1918.

Collison, Frederick William, of Hull, on 31st July, 1955. Bro. Collison was a member of Lord Bolton Lodge No. 3263, Hull, and was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1954.

Cotton, Edward, of Hanley, Staffs., on 13th January, 1955. Bro. Cotton had held the rank of Past Provincial Grand Warden of Staffordshire, and had joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1938.

Croft, Thomas Wilson, of Eaglescliffe, Durham, on 21st January, 1955. Bro. Croft was a Past Master of the Lodge of Philanthropy No. 940. He was a Past Provincial Grand Warden of Durham and a Past Grand Deacon. He had been Chairman of the Durham Committee of Benevolence. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1936, and was for many years our Local Secretary for Durham South.

Davar, Sohrab Pestonji, of Malabar Hill, Bombay, on 23rd June, 1954. Bro. Davar had received the rank of Past District Grand Deacon (Bombay), and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since January, 1947.

Day, William Morgan, of Fordingbridge, Hants., in May, 1955. Bro. Day was a member of the New Century Lodge No. 2860, and joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1934.

Day, William Reginald, of Sydney, New South Wales, on 25th May, 1954. Bro. Day was a Past Deputy Grand Master of New South Wales, and a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined 44 years ago, in October, 1911.

Deans, James Morrison, of Beaumont, Texas, on 12th May, 1955. Bro. Deans was a member of Tolerance Lodge, No. 1165 on the Texas Register, and of Capital City Chapter, No. 13 on the Canadian Register. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1954.

Deighton, Major Harold, of Heaton Norris, Lancs., on 6th March, 1955. Bro. Deighton joined the Correspondence Circle as a Life Member in October, 1920, while serving in Meerut, C.P., India.

Denham, George, of Taunton, Somerset, in February, 1955. Bro. Denham was a member of Lodge St. George No. 3158, Taunton, and was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1949.

De Silva, Stephen, of Colombo, Ceylon, on 14th July, 1954. Bro. de Silva was a Past Master of Grant Lodge, Galle, No. 2862, and a Past Principal of the attached Ruhuna Chapter. He held the rank of Past District Assistant Grand Secretary (Ceylon), and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since January, 1949.

Dewey, Joseph Owen, Medical Officer, formerly of Ambala, Punjab. Bro. Dewey was a Past District Grand Warden of the Punjab. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1920, and had been a Life Member for 25 years.

Dick, Robert Peter, of Preston, Victoria, Australia, on 10th July, 1955. Bro. Dick was a member of the Portland Lodge No. 6, V.C., and a Past Deputy Grand Master of Victoria. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1948.

Dixon, William Robert, of Eaglescliffe, Durham, in September, 1955. Bro. Dixon was a member of Vulcan Lodge No. 4510 and of the Marwood Chapter No. 602, both in Middlesbrough. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1941.

Dobbs, Stuart P., of Ogden, Utah, on 30th August, 1955, in his 69th year. Bro. Dobbs was a Past Grand Master of Utah. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

Donaldson, Robert, of Cinder Hall, Saffron Walden, in March, 1955. He was a member of Ionic Lodge No. 227 and of Jordan Chapter No. 201, both in London. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

Dunn, William Henry, of Wimbledon, on 20th July, 1955. Bro. Dunn was a Past Master of Hiram Lodge No. 2416, and a Past Principal of the Chapter bearing the same number. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1944.

Ellis, William Simons, of Syerston, Newark, in December, 1954, in his 94th year. Bro. Ellis was a Past Master of Lodge Rufford No. 2553, Nottingham. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle for over fifty years, having been elected in May, 1904.

Finch, William C., of Sutton Coldfield, on 30th January, 1955. Bro. Finch was a Past Master of the Lodge of Integrity No. 4563, Erdington. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1945.

Ford, Frank Godfrey Garland, of Buenos Aires, on 15th February, 1955. Bro. Ford was a member of Victory Lodge No. 3926 and Connaught Chapter No. 1025. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1920.

Frohock, Sidney Herbert, on 21st March, 1955. Bro. Frohock was a Past Master of the Kenelm Lodge No. 5158 and of the William Preston Chapter No. 766. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1946.

Gage, Asahel W., of Evanston, Illinois, on 5th September, 1954. Bro. Gage was a Past Master of Evans Lodge No. 554 (Ill.), and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1945.

Gambles, George William, of Christchurch, New Zealand, on 28th July, 1955, in his 67th year. Bro. Gambles was a Past Master of St. Alban's Lodge No. 2592 on the English Register. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1928.

Haggas, William, of Keighley, Yorkshire, on 27th April, 1954. Bro. Haggas was a Past Master of the Lodge of the Three Graces No. 408, Howarth, and of the Brunswick Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for 34 years, having been elected in June, 1920.

Hilfiker, Hans Rudolf, of Zurich, in September, 1955. Bro. Hilfiker was a Past Master of Lodge Libertas et Fraternitas, and held high office in Grand Lodge Alpina, Switzerland. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since May, 1948, and an Article from his pen appears in this volume of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*.

Hillman, S/Ldr. John Thomas Cook, of Elms Road, Clapham Common, in August, 1955. Bro. Hillman was a member of the Lord Kitchener Lodge No. 3402 and of St. Aubyn Chapter No. 954. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

Hutt, Geoffrey Granger, of Verwood, Dorset, formerly of Sao Paulo, Brazil, in December, 1954. Bro. Hutt was a member of Union Waterloo Lodge No. 13, Woolwich. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1929.

Kay, Sidney Cleworth, of Mirfield, Yorks., in November, 1954. Bro. Kay was a member of the Lodge of Sincerity No. 1019, Wakefield, and had held the rank of Past Provincial Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies (Yorkshire, W.R.). He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

Langdon, Horace William, of the Constitutional Club, London, in December, 1954. Bro. Langdon had received Grand Rank as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1948. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since October, 1943.

Lewis, William Henry, of Dar-es-Salaam, in January, 1955. Bro. Lewis was a Past Master of the Royal Arthur Lodge No. 4385, and Past Principal of the Haven of Peace Chapter attached thereto, Dar-es-Salaam. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

Lowe, Leonard Edmund, of Thatcham, Newbury, Berks., in 1955. Bro. Lowe was a Past Master of Hungerford Lodge No. 4738 and a member of Portland Chapter No. 1037. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1944.

Lowick, Baldwyn, of Singapore, in August, 1955. Bro. Lowick was a member of the Lodge of St. George No. 1152, and was District Grand Master and Grand Superintendent of the Eastern Archipelago from 1946 to 1954. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1952.

Matthews, David, of Worthing, formerly of Monmouthshire, in August, 1955. Bro. Matthews was a Past Master of St. David's Lodge No. 2226, and a Past Principal of the Prince of Wales Chapter No. 1098. He had received Grand Rank as Standard Bearer, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle for forty-eight years, having been elected in January, 1907.

Matthews, Sir Trevor Jocelyn, of Parliament Street, London, in November, 1954. Bro. Matthews was a member of the Middlesex Lodge No. 143 and of the attached Mount Moriah Chapter. He had received the rank of Past Grand Warden in 1951, and had been President of the Board of Benevolence since 1944. At the time of his death he was M.P.S.G.C. of the Supreme Council, 33°. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1945.

Mellors, Archibald Gollend, of Nottingham, on 4th September, 1955. Bro. Mellors was Grand Treasurer from 1932 to 1934, and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in 1932.

Mohr, Karl J., of Rockford, Illinois, on 4th May, 1955. Bro. Mohr was a member of Star in the East Lodge No. 166 (Ill.), and was a Past Grand Master of that State. He was Secretary of the Grand Masters' Conference of N. America and Canada. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1953.

Moore, Walter, of The Ridgeway, Finchley, on 16th July, 1955. Bro. Moore was a Past Master of the Lodge of St. James No. 765 and a Past Principal of the attached Chapter. He held London Grand Rank, and was admitted to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1954.

Murray, Ebb, of Quorn, Leicestershire, in February, 1955. Bro. Murray was a member of St. Martin's Lodge No. 3431, and Past Provincial Grand Warden of Leicestershire. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1951.

Oliver, David Leonard, of New Square, Lincoln's Inn, on 26th September, 1955. Bro. Oliver was a Past Master of Chaucer Lodge No. 1540 and a Past Principal of the attached Chapter. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for over 21 years, having been elected in June, 1934.

Oxburgh, Lt.-Col. George Stanley, M.B.E., of Wimbledon, on 19th January, 1955. Bro. Oxburgh held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer, and became a member of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1946.

Payne, Sidney William, of Northampton, in December, 1954. Bro. Payne was a member of St. John's Lodge No. 3972 and of the attached Chapter. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1951.

Rayner, Archibald Walter, of Beccles, Suffolk, in November, 1954. Bro. Rayner was a Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1932.

Roberts, Percy James, of London Road, Worcester, on 14th May, 1954. Bro. Roberts was a Past Master of Page Lodge, Worcester, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1930.

Robertson, Dr. David, of Saltford, near Bristol, on 13th October, 1954. Bro. Robertson was a Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1930.

Ross, Earl Raymond, of California, U.S.A., in August, 1955. Bro. Ross was a Past Master of No. 216 Doric Lodge, San Francisco, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1953.

Seakins, Joseph Henry, of Maidenhead, Berkshire, on 16th September, 1955. Bro. Seakins was a member of Lodge No. 1681, Londesborough, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1916, and a Life Member since 1920.

Sell, Charles Henry, of Ferring-by-Sea, Sussex, in July, 1955. Bro. Sell was a Master Mason of Lodge No. 1962, The London Rifle Brigade, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1952.

Shadwell, Gilbert Colville, of Long Island, New York, U.S.A., in September, 1955. Bro. Shadwell was a member of Lodge No. 2140 (E.C.), Huguenot, and of Lodge No. 302, N.Y., Norwich. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, having joined in May, 1919.

Sharp, Ernest Edward, of Newlands, Cape Town, South Africa, on the 13th December, 1954. Bro. Sharp was a member of Kelvin Lodge No. 3736, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1915, latterly as a Life Member.

Siebert, Dr. Jacob, of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., on 27th October, 1953. Bro. Siebert was a Past Master of No. 388 Lodge, Forest City, Ohio, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1948.

Soar, John Joseph, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, on 12th October, 1955. Bro. Soar was Worshipful Master of Santo Amaro Lodge No. 7250, and had been our Local Secretary for South Brazil since May, 1955.

Spence, William Ritchie, of Bath, on 21st May, 1955. Bro. Spence was a Past Master of Lodge No. 41, Royal Cumberland, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1929.

Staley, Robert, of Treeton, near Rotherham, in December, 1954. Bro. Staley was a Past Provincial Grand Warden and a member of Lodge No. 3397, Hope Valley. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1949.

Stansfield, Arthur Roland, of Corner Brook, Newfoundland, on 1st August, 1954. Bro. Stansfield was Past Master of Corner Brook Lodge No. 4832 (Newfoundland) and was a Past District Grand Deacon. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1954, and was our Local Secretary in Newfoundland.

Stephenson, W. A., of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, U.S.A., on 19th January, 1955. Bro. Stephenson was a Past Master of Lodge No. 397, Mississippi, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1953.

Stewart, Archibald Booth, of Nottingham, on 15th November, 1954. Bro. Stewart was a Past Master of the Semper Fratres Lodge, and was a Provincial Grand Deacon; he was also a member of the Dame Agnes Mellers Lodge and the Notts' Installed Masters. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1935.

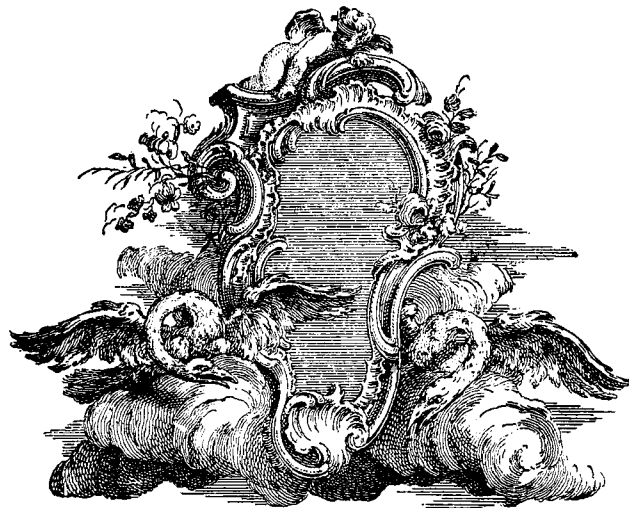
Tweedale, Sutcliffe, of Lytham, Lancs., in April, 1955. Bro. Tweedale was a member of the Rochdale Lodges Nos. 1129, St. Chad's, and 298, Unity. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1920.

Wagner, Ernest Algot, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A., on 20th June, 1953. Bro. Wagner was a Past Master of Lodge No. 317, Lynnhurst, Minnesota, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1953.

Watson, James Colvin, of Cullercoats, Northumberland, in February, 1955. Bro. Watson was a Provincial Grand Master (Mark) of Northumberland, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle, as a Life Member, since October, 1909.

White, James, of Herne Hill, London, S.E.14, in February, 1954. Bro. White was a Past Master of Lodge No. 4137, Ruskin Park. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1950.

Wibby, Reverend William E., of Walsall, Staffs., on 14th October, 1954. Bro. Wibby was a Provincial Grand Chaplain (Staffs.) and a member of Vernon Chapter No. 439, Walsall. He had also been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1925.



ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1954/55:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

The District Grand Lodge of Gibraltar
 Wineslai Lodge No. 2435
 The Navy Lodge No. 2612
 King Edward VII Lodge 3252
 Norths and Hunts Masters' Lodge No. 3422
 Negri Sembilan Lodge No. 3552
 Old Lancing Lodge No. 4660
 Rift Valley Lodge No. 4788
 Clapham Park Lodge No. 5446
 The Manor of Bexley Lodge No. 5977
 Essa Lodge No. 6278
 Alcuin Lodge No. 6300
 The Wiltshire Masters' Lodge No. 6731
 Sandyford Lodge No. 6934
 The Dover Castle Lodge No. 7202
 Santo Amaro Lodge No. 7250
 Boadicea Lodge of Instruction No. 3147
 United Lodge of Instruction No. 5577
 Loge "Liberte," Switzerland
 Northern California Research Lodge
 Mount Sinai Lodge, Massachusetts
 Masters' and Wardens' Association of South Australia
 Masonic Study Group for Perthshire East, Scotland
 Library, Grand Lodge of Sweden

BRETHREN

Edwin H. Adam
 Solomon Louis Addleman
 Gunnar Johannes Albin Adell
 Francis Henry Anderson
 George Herbert Anderson
 Panagiotis Michael Angelos
 William Frederick Maurice Appleby
 Watson Osgood Bailey
 William Edgar Bare
 Willard Alton Barney
 Reginald Harry Barton
 Joseph Batty
 Gottfried A. Baumann
 Arthur James Victor Beaumont
 Aaron Joseph Benjamin
 Harry Bentley
 Israel Bloch
 Robert Lee Booth
 William Bottrall
 Ernest Gustave A. Brack
 Edmund George R. V. Bramble
 Reginald Brandon
 Ronald Alfred Brinkman

Arthur Stuart Brown
 Ronald Brown
 Cyril Victor Buckenara
 William Edward Hugh Bull
 Charles Burniston
 Wallace Everett Caldwell
 William Gordon Campbell
 Peter Ranulphus W. Carthew
 Bert W. Casselman
 Major Frederick William Catchpole, *R.E.*
 Eric Seymour Clarke
 Stanley Walter Clarke
 Donald Clift
 Mark Louis Cohen
 A. Colledge
 Raymond Bennett Collins
 Herbert George Collyer
 Emmanuel Colocotronis
 Edward Alwyn Conradie
 Eric Sidney Cook
 Frederick Charles Cook
 Lt. Jack Le Roy Cook, *U.S.N.*
 Reginald Arthur Cooney

Kenneth McHamilton G. Cooper
 Douglas Clarence Corbel
 Neil Albert Corbett
 Gershon Coren
 Melvin Clyde Cottom
 Herbert Cowburn
 Archibald Craig
 Robert W. Cretney
 John Criticos
 Peter Carver Cullen

Almon J. Damon
 William Reginald Datson
 John William Davis
 Aaron R. Davison
 Rene Louis de Schryver
 John Forgie Dobbie
 G. H. Dracoulis
 Ronald Arthur Dyer

Oran Wilson Edwards
 Carlos E. Ellerbrook
 Maurice Reginald Ellinger
 John Gilbert Elliot
 Joe Elman
 Simeon Emanuel, *O.B.E.*
 Montague Reginald England
 Patrick Francis Evans-Watt

Alvan William Fairnington
 Ian Gerald Fakes
 William Findlay
 Thomas Vickers Fitzpatrick
 David Fluke
 Edward Albert Forrester
 Walter Watson Forsyth
 Eric Malcolm Fraser, *C.B.F.*
 George Thomas French

Richard Watson Gano
 Abraham Gardner
 R. Giles
 Benjamin Gochros
 Alfred Spencer Goddard
 Charles Matthias Goethe
 David I. Goldberg
 Jack Goldman
 Archie Lloyd Good
 William Robert Goodman

L. L. Haliburton
 Francis Gawin Hamilton
 Peter Joseph Harris
 Roger Edward Harris
 Henry William Harrison
 George Regnander Hasselhuhn
 Willis Haycock
 John Frederick Heap
 Chester Clair Heizer
 Runar Hemdal
 Jackson Gordon Henderson
 Karl Heuer
 George Ernest Hider
 Dennis Harry Hobden
 Arthur Benjamin Hodgson
 Albin O. V. Hoffman

Clifford Holliday
 Edward Jackson Hollister
 Edward Hooton
 Harold Holt Howard
 James Shepard Hughes
 Sydney Atkinson Hughes
 William E. Hughes
 Gordon Hunt
 Robert John Cochrane Hunt
 Harry Hutchinson
 Obert Robert Hyde
 Robert Hyland
 Reginald Cowper Hyslop

Lt.-Col. Philip George Idle

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen
 William Glidden Johnson
 J. T. Joice
 Claude Bevan Jolley
 Frederick W. Jones
 James Alan Jowett

Ernest C. Kegley
 Robert Kelly
 John Kennedy
 John Riley S. Kenwright
 John Kershaw
 Willem Anthanie Klaver
 James William Henry Knott
 Ralph Joel Kremer
 Haakon Smartrik Kurtze

Edward Loxley Land
 Karl-Johan Lenander
 Sydney C. Leslie
 Frank Levine
 Norman Berry Lindsay
 George Frederick Linstead
 Allen W. Lloyd
 Thomas Anthony Lock
 Albert Logette
 Edmund Neville London
 Percy Lord
 Eric Francis Luckes
 Ira C. Lutes
 Bruce Alan Lydbury

Francis McCormick
Sqn. Ldr. John D. de Salis McElwain
 Alan Gordon McKanna
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