Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL

BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS., 18,851
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

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

VOLUME LXIX

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W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE & SITTINGBOURNE

1957

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 resea

3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fell by means of papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of 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 throughc the World.

6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by tra lations (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 an 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 ar 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 nearly 3,800 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.

Giuseppe Cades. dis. Pietro Bombelli inc.

SS. QUATTRO CORONATI MM.

Quadro di Michelangelo da Caravaggio
esistente in Roma nella V. Chiesa de SS. Andrea e Leonardo
della Compagnia de Scarpellini a Tor di specchi

Alessandro Cattoni Console e Governatore
M.DCC.XCIII

FRONTISPIECE

The print of the Quatuor Coronati, which forms our frontispiece, was handed to me by the Executor of our late Bro. *Dr.* James Johnstone, but I have no information where Bro. Johnstone discovered it. The translation of the caption is as follows:—

Saints the Four Crowned Martyrs
Picture by Michelangelo of Caravaggio
to be found in Rome in the ancient Church of Saints Andrew & Leonard
of the Company of Stonecutters at Tor di Specchi
Alessandro Cartoni Consul and Governor
1793

This Michelangelo lived some 100 years later than the famous Michelangelo Buonarotti; his full name was Michelangelo Merisi, and he was born on 28th September, 1573, at Caravaggio, near Milan; his father was a Master Builder. He was apprenticed at the age of 10½ to a Painter, Simone Peterzano. After completing his apprenticeship he went to Rome, where he worked for various Painters, and was fortunate enough to gain the patronage of Cardinal Francesco del Monte. He led a very dissipated and disorderly life, and in 1606 he killed a comrade in a quarrel over the score at tennis and had to fly from Rome. After wandering about Italy and Sicily for some time, he went to Malta, where he was at first in high favour with the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, by whom he was made a Knight of Grace on 14th July, 1608; but he assaulted a Cavalier di Giustizia, was deprived of his knighthood and flung into a dungeon; he managed to scale the prison wall and escaped to Syracuse; pursued by the Agents of the Grand Master, he only just escaped wounded. Efforts were made in Rome to obtain his pardon for the original murder, and he began to make his way back towards Rome; but at Porto Ercole he was arrested in mistake for someone else, and by the time he was released his baggage had disappeared; in his rage he rushed out in the hot sun and was stricken down by fever, and died on 18th July, 1610, at the age of 36. Five days later his pardon arrived from Rome.

From a Guide to Rome we learn:—

> "In the Via di Tor de' Specchi is the little Church of St. Andra[1] in Vincis (Osiers), belonging to the Scarpellini, or stone-cutters. The name [in Vincis] is derived from the mats and ropes of withy once made in the neighbourhood. Festa 8 Nov."

Pietro Leone Bombelli was a Painter and Engraver, born in Rome in 1737 and still alive there in 1804.

Giuseppe Cades was a Sculptor, Painter and Engraver, born in Rome in 1750 and died there in 1799.

[1] There is no mention of St. Leonard.

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VOLUME LXIX

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE & SITTINGBOURNE

1957

MEMBERS OF THE LODGE

March, 1957

IVOR GRANTHAM, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer, Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.

Col. C. C. ADAMS, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., 20, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.

B. IVANOFF, P.M. (Languages Division), U.N.E.S.C.O., 19, Avenue Kleber, Paris 16me, France.

LEWIS EDWARDS, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C., 182, Oakwood Court, London, W.14.

J. A. GRANTHAM, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby), Mellor Knowl, Wincle, nr. Macclesfield, Cheshire.

F. L. PICK, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 209, Windsor Road, Oldham, Lancs.

G. Y. JOHNSON, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., 308, Tadcaster Road, York.

F. R. RADICE, L.G.R., P.M., U.P.U., Berne, Switzerland.

R. E. PARKINSON, *B.Sc.*, P.G.D. (I.C.), Ard-na-Geeha, Downpatrick, Co. Down, N. Ireland.

Lt.-Col. H. C. BRUCE WILSON, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M., West Stratton House, Winchester, Hants.

H. C. BOOTH, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Glenside, Ulverston, Lancs.

C. D. ROTCH, P.G.D., P.M., 8a, Inverness Gardens, Kensington, London, W.8.

J. R. RYLANDS, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Milnthorpe Green, Sandal, Wakefield, Yorks.

S. POPE, P.G.St.B., P.M., 82, Whitstable Road, Canterbury, Kent.

NORMAN ROGERS, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 39, Fourth Avenue, Heaton, Bolton, Lancs.

J. R. DASHWOOD, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary, 27, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.

W. WAPLES, P.G.St.B., 177, Cleveland Road, Sunderland, Durham.

A. J. B. MILBORNE, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal), P.O. Box 248, Knowlton, P.Q., Canada.

R. J. MEEKREN, P.G.D. (Quebec), Stanstead, Quebec, Canada.

B. W. OLIVER, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., Queen Anne's Chambers, Barnstaple, Devon.

N. B. SPENCER, P.G.D., S.D., 21, Swanson Street, Auckland, N.Z.

G. S. DRAFFEN, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W., The Cottage, Longforgan, Dundee, Scotland.

H. CARR, L.G.R., J.W., 14, Inver Court, London, W.2.

BERNARD E. JONES, P.A.G.D.C., J.D., Little Orchard, Bolney, Sussex.

ARTHUR SHARP, *M.A.*, P.G.D., I.G., 6, Aytoun Street, Manchester.

F. BERNHART, L.G.R., Stwd., 5, Vandon Court, Petty France, London, S.W.1.

Lt.-Col. E. WARD, *T.D.*, Woodside, Court Farm Road, Willsbridge, nr. Bristol.

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BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076

VOLUME LXIX

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

TUESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 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.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as 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 as I.G.; and *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. R. Walker, H. Fraser, K.-J. Lenander, O. A. Forster, F. E. Gould, E. L. Thompson, A. E. Smith, E. A. Jeater, G. D. Elvidge, P. J. Watt, C. W. England, G. E. Cohen, R. C. W. Hunter, J. S. Ferguson, J. H. Palmer, M. Ellinger, W. Smalley, D. K. Fenton, H. R. Wright, A. F. Hatten, F. L. Bradshaw, E. Winterburg, D. M. Penrose, J. Criticos, A. J. Beecher-Stow, K. K. Kcamaris, A. R. Jole, A. M. Nathan, R. St.J. Brice, H. E. Cohen, C. F. Mumford, W. S. Jones, A. P. Cawadias, E. W. Wells, A. I. Sharp, R. A. N. Petrie, R. W. Reynolds-Davies, W. L. Harnett, H. R. Allen, T. A. Samson, J. D. de S. McElwain, R. Gold, B. Jacobs, G. H. Rooke, L. Bedford, P. F. Hope, T. M. Jaeger, A. F. Ford and C. R. Manasseh.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. S. Wodeman, Lodge 3556; J. W. Stubbs, Lodge 10; P. S. Edwards, Lodge 2851; L. G. Heathcote, Lodge 350 N.Z.; S. A. Gallant, Lodge 7017; H. Evans, Lodge 4932; G. L. Slim, Lodge 255; W. T. Cooper, Lodge 2956; F. Howard, Lodge 7068; and G. Simpson, Lodge 1553.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. B. Ivanoff, P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*, 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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.D.

Five Lodges and fifty-three Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. John Rawdon Dashwood, P.G.D., 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.	B. W. Oliver	S.W.
„	G. S. Draffen	J.W.
„	Ivor Grantham	(elected) Treasurer
„	S. Pope	Secretary
„	Lewis Edwards	D.C.
„	H. Carr	S.D.
„	N. B. Spencer	J.D.
„	Bernard E. Jones	I.G.
„	Arthur Sharp	Steward

The Master proposed, and it was seconded by the S.W. and carried:—"That Bro. Norman Rogers, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, 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

THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE

LTHOUGH our Lodge is barely seventy years old, an examination of its early records reveals an unexpected wealth of interesting material; even confining myself to the first thirty years, the task of selection has not been easy.

In Volume ii of our *Transactions,* Bro. Simpson gave an account of a forerunner of the Lodge, called the Masonic Archæological Institute, founded about 1871. The Institute lasted only a year or two, and I cannot find that any of its Transactions ever achieved publication. There is little doubt that the failure of the Institute was mainly due to the supineness of its Secretaries (for during the brief period of its existence it had two), of whom one was Walter Besant, afterwards our Treasurer for the first fifteen years, during which he attended Lodge three times; indeed, one wonders whether Bro. Besant had any real knowledge of Freemasonry, for in his Autobiography his reference to the Craft is brief and contains the following curious statement: "The Freemason has friends everywhere . . . brethren of the same fraternity are bound by vow to assist him. Every Lodge is a benefit club."

Our founders, evidently, liked to preserve an old-world flavour in their proceedings, for in September, 1886, Besant is recorded to have been re-elected "Boxmaster of the Lodge", while during the nineties the circulars suggesting the names of candidates for full membership were accustomed to state the names of his "Intenders", and to mention the particular work which was put forward as his "masterpiece" justifying election.

It was probably the complete failure of the Masonic Archæological Institute that made one of our founders—W. J. Hughan—so doubtful of the success of a Lodge of a similar nature that he tells us that he signed the Petition "almost against his better judgment". Nor can we doubt that the Lodge must quickly have come to grief had it not fallen into the hands of one of the ablest and most hard-working of men, who gave his life to, and one might almost say *for,* the Lodge; for I think there can be no doubt that Bro. Speth's untimely death from heart failure was hastened by the way he overworked himself for the Lodge.

The Petition, as copied into our first Minute Book, is undated, but must have been signed about the middle of 1884; the officers designate were Col. Charles Warren, R.E., Master, and W. H. Rylands and R. F. Gould, Wardens. The Warrant was dated 28th November, 1884, but it was not until fifteen months later, on 12th January, 1886, that the consecration could be held, owing to the absence of the Master-designate "on a diplomatic and military command in Bechuanaland". Only five of the nine petitioners were present at the consecration.

Both the Petition and the Warrant provide for the Lodge to meet twelve times a year, on the first Wednesday of every month; but, actually, from the first it met only five times a year, later increased to the present six meetings.

The early Summonses of the Lodge bore a representation of the Founders' Jewel, which was a five-pointed star, with five crowns in the angles, and in the centre a nonagon, surrounding a blue-enamelled circle, on which are four more crowns. On the sides of the nonagon are the names of the nine Martyrs, who are commemorated under the title of the "Four Crowned Ones", and who consisted, as you will remember, of five Masons and four Soldiers. About June, 1887, the Lodge adopted a new emblem, which has since appeared on all our publications and stationery; this was the picture of the Quatuor Coronati taken from the Isabella Missal in the British Museum; in it the Martyrs are depicted holding respectively a trowel, a square, a plumb-rule, and a mallet and chisels, but their names are not given. On the other hand, on the Dutch beaker of 1633, bought by Grand Lodge a year or two ago, the Martyrs are both depicted and named: Severus bearing the trowel, Severianus the compasses, Carpophorus the square, and Victorinus a scroll, although these are, of course, the names of the Soldiers, and not of the Masons.

At the second meeting of the Lodge it was only the presence of a visitor that made up the quorum enabling the Lodge to be held, and this poor out-turn of members continued to

be an embarrassment; the members were widely scattered, and, although nine joining members were elected in the first year, attendance continued to be bad. Among the founders who were prevented from attending by their public avocations was the first Master, who was out of England during a large part of his nine months of office; he was therefore re-elected for a second term, and is the only Brother who has had the honour of being elected to the chair twice. Bro. Speth, in recommending his re-election, reveals the fact that it was Sir Charles who financed the foundation of the Lodge, paying 18 guineas for the Charter and Registrations.

Most of the equipment of the Lodge was also provided by the generosity of individuals; two presentations are specially noteworthy—a cushion, square and compasses for the Bible were given by early members of the Correspondence Circle, and the rough and perfect ashlars, with the tripod, by Bro. Freeman, the Tyler, who had made them himself.

The By-laws envisaged the possibility of initiation within the Lodge, but so far no such ceremony has ever been performed, nor does such an occasion seem likely ever to arise.

Among the first joining members, elected at the second meeting, was Bro. E. L. Hawkins, who resigned after only five months of membership, but was again elected twenty years later, and is thus the only Brother to have been twice elected to membership of the Lodge.

It must soon have become clear that, on the basis of so restricted a membership, the Lodge could never hope to carry on useful work, if indeed, it could continue to exist; and, before the end of 1886, Bro. Speth had already put forward the suggestion to form "a Literary Society under the guidance and protection of the Lodge". By March, 1887, this had taken firm shape as the Correspondence Circle, and already had 37 members awaiting election.

Throughout the early years the energy and drive of the Secretary are manifest, and the amount of clerical work he must have put in is astounding, especially when you remember that he had no typewriter or addressing machine. By the end of 1888 the Correspondence Circle numbered 470, and it became clear to the Committee that for some time past the affairs of the Lodge had occupied every working hour of Bro. Speth's day, not to mention those of his daughter, who undertook the accountancy. This was recognised first by a present of £20, and then by a vote of £100 per annum; neither of these sounds very profuse, but it has to be remembered that the Lodge was but lately formed and the funds were slender. In addition to his other qualifications, Speth was a linguist, a musician and an artist. Early volumes of the *Transactions* bore the intimation that correspondence might be addressed to the Secretary in French, German or Spanish; the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Lodge's foundation consisted of a Mozart cantata, played and sung by members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle; and some hundreds of sketches of regalia and jewels in the first twenty volumes of *A.Q.C.* bear witness to the artistic ability, as well as the enormous industry, of Bro. Speth. By 1894 he had so endeared himself to his Brethren that a private subscription was raised to present him, on November 8th, with a gold watch and chain. In person, his photograph shows him a man with a generous expanse of forehead and a particularly benignant and kindly expression, which seem to accord well with the description of him, given by Bro. Rylands, as "the kindest of friends, and a just and upright man and Mason; every action of his life was guided by his honesty of purpose, and of evil-doing he was incapable". I have somewhat laboured the debt that we owe to Bro. Speth, but one of his successors, Bro. Songhurst, known to and admired by many of us, may, in the perspective of time, have tended to dwarf Speth's stature; it is, however, impossible to handle our early records without realising that, but for Bro. Speth, this Lodge could never have attained its unique place in the Masonic world, if, indeed, it could have continued to exist.

Another famous name among the founders is R. F. Gould; he had retired from the Army on a small pension and had to supplement his income by his pen, and, while the Masonic Press was eager to pay for his books and articles, the Lodge felt that he must not be allowed to be out of pocket in respect of his contributions to our publications; he seems to have been a man of difficult temper, possibly embittered by financial anxiety. In one matter he suffered a grievous and undeserved disappointment; in 1888 a Belgian philanthropist offered a prize for the most meritorious Masonic work anywhere published during ten years ending in March, 1889. Our Lodge unanimously agreed to put forward Gould's History for the prize, and, I imagine, there can have been few who did not consider it a foregone conclusion that it would easily take first place; indeed, Albert Pike wrote from Washington, "I take it for granted that you will prefer your claim to this honorarium. I do not say will compete for it". But when, in 1890, the award of the jury was announced, it was found that they had allocated prizes to six very mediocre works, which have long passed into oblivion, and none to Gould. The jury admitted that "of all these works, the most important, without doubt, is the grand *History of Freemasonry* by R. F. Gould", but considered that it was not "of the class of works which (the donor of the prize) had in view". Twenty years later this prize *was* awarded to Bro. Gould, for in 1910 we find a

record of the Lodge congratulating him on winning the first prize (4,000 francs) for Masonic Literature from the Grand Orient of Belgium ; it is not stated which of his works was the subject of the award.

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE

By the end of 1889 the Circle numbered 726, and the 1,000 was reached early in 1891, 2,000 in 1895, and 3,000 in 1906. The first World War brought only a slight set-back, and thereafter our numbers rose steadily again until our peak number was reached with 3,577 in 1930 ; this was followed by a steep drop to 1,700 in 1942, since when we have once more gradually recovered and again passed the peak, but I regret to tell you that during 1955 we have lost 249 by death, resignation or erasure, and to-day have approximately 3,570, or seven less than our peak number.

Since Bro. Speth thought of the Correspondence Circle, his idea has been copied by many Research Lodges in many Constitutions ; but it may not be generally known that at one time we actually " warranted " a daughter Circle, when, on 3rd October, 1890, an actual document was signed in open Lodge sanctioning a body to be styled " The Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle Local Centre, Kimberley ". The appointment of Local Secretaries was first suggested by a member of the Circle in 1888 and was immediately adopted, four such Secretaries being sanctioned forthwith. Since then these honorary officers have been invaluable in making our work known in their respective districts and bringing in fresh recruits ; we have now over eighty Secretaries all over the world, and to them the Lodge owes its present successful condition.

The origin of the Circle Jewel is interesting ; when, in 1887, the Library Committee advised on the necessity for taking premises in Town, they envisaged the inclusion of reading and writing rooms, and it was decided that in order to have an easy and quick proof of membership, " something in the nature of a certificate of membership would become indispensable ", and that it " might well assume the form of a special jewel or medal, to be worn on the breast or watch-guard". The medal was struck in June, 1888, and the cost of it was 4s. in bronze or 5s. in silver—it now costs 30s. in metal-gilt!

Since the Correspondence Circle came into existence in 1887, over 18,000 Brethren have become members ; by comparison, only 121 Brethren have received the honour of admission to full membership, inclusive of the founders.

CURIOSITIES

In 1888 a proposal was made that all papers should be read in the third degree, but the suggestion was strongly opposed by Bro. Speth, and was defeated.

About the same time, an appeal was received on behalf of the widow of " Bro. Warren, the last Prestonian Lecturer, and Proprietor of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* in 1853 ". Henry George Warren was appointed Prestonian Lecturer for 1862, but I am informed that he did not, in fact, deliver the lecture ; the last lecture delivered before the cessation was in 1858. In the case of Mrs. Warren, our Lodge decided to endorse her petition to the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution, and she was duly elected in 1890.

It is amusing to read of the cool manner in which our early Brethren evaded the law. In January, 1892, the regular meeting fell due on New Year's Day, which, apparently, did not suit the Brethren, so Speth sent out a summons stating that no business of any kind would be transacted, and, as it was not expected that a quorum would be present, an emergency meeting would be held on January 8th, at which the ordinary business of the Lodge would be transacted and a paper would be read, thus saving half-a-guinea for a dispensation—an evasion which Grand Lodge has now been wily enough to circumvent. The same subterfuge continued to be used at intervals right up to 1897, but in this century we have become more law-abiding.

In 1892 the Committee seems to have visualised the possibility that a Master, in view of his right to appoint the Secretary, might claim to interfere in the editing of the *Transactions* ; they therefore passed a resolution that the Editor of the *Transactions* " shall be elected by the Permanent Committee, hold his office during its pleasure, and be under its control ". Whether a test case threatened, or if it was merely a precautionary measure, I do not know.

During the first ten years of the Lodge's life, the Masters received no souvenir on quitting office ; in 1896 it was decided to present a Past Master's Jewel, and to make it retrospective so far as that was possible ; an unusual and striking design was adopted, and a year later we have the first record of the illuminated vote of thanks which still accompanies the jewel.

On November 8th, 1897, the Lodge voted one guinea " towards the sum required to endow a Freemasons' Cot in Guy's Hospital " ; I have frequently, in Lodge minutes about the turn of the century, come across allusions to " Our Brothers' Bed Fund ", which must, presumably, have been the same thing ; but I have been unable to discover who originated this precursor of the R.M. Hospital, or what was the ultimate fate of the fund.

A curious exercise was suggested in 1898, when the Local Secretary for Newcastle wrote proposing that the Lodge should sponsor a " cruise to the East and Egypt ". By October the Master, the Treasurer, the first Master, and Bros. Chetwode-Crawley, Goldney, Macbean and Speth, together with their wives, had agreed to take part in the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Egypt ; the Treasurer, Sir Walter Besant, was the Hon. Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Sir Charles Warren had carried out excavations on the site of King Solomon's Temple. I can, however, find no evidence that the proposed pilgrimage ever came off ; probably the requisite numbers to make it a paying proposition could not be guaranteed.

In 1911 a very interesting list of thirty-three " possible " candidates for full membership was drawn up, including, amongst others, Rudyard Kipling ; one wonders if he was ever approached on the subject. Only five of the thirty-three were ever, in fact, elected to membership.

In 1912 two more very odd suggestions were made to the Lodge—first, that it should participate in an expedition to explore Easter Island, and, secondly, that it should invest in some unspecified purchase in connection with the Island of Comacina. In both cases the Lodge decided that no funds were available for such purposes.

Another purchase which the Lodge unfortunately had to decline in this same year, for lack of funds, was Crowe's collection of Certificates, offered to the Lodge for £1,500 ; the collection was then offered to Grand Lodge for £2,000, and the Grand Secretary invited the Lodge to contribute towards the purchase, but again the Lodge had to refuse for lack of funds.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Under Speth's guidance, and with the co-operation of the Grand Secretary, Col. Shadwell Clarke, the Lodge acquired an unique status ; it became a semi-official link with Masonry in other countries ; invitations were received to send deputations abroad, of which it was only possible to accept very few. In 1888, at the request of the Grand Lodge of Holland, our Master and Secretary went to The Hague to attend a special meeting of the Grand Orient on June 17th, and six days later went on to a Masonic Festival at Brussels. Bros. Gould and Speth had to get up at 6.30 a.m. into full evening dress in order to reach The Hague in time for the meeting ; the Grand Orient met at 10 a.m. and remained in session, except for a short pause for lunch, until 5 p.m., and this was followed by a banquet lasting until nearly midnight.

Eight years later, four Lodges in Antwerp sent four of their Brethren to attend a meeting of our Lodge to request the appointment of a deputation of three to go to Belgium on 20th November for a " conjoint Lodge of Sorrow " for deceased members ; only two were able to go, namely, Speth and the Rev. C. E. L. Wright, of the Correspondence Circle. The following year brought another invitation to a " Sceance d'Adoption ", but this time no delegates could be arranged. In 1900, yet another invitation came from Belgium for the consecration of a new temple, and the Secretary was deputed to represent the Lodge, " if Grand Lodge does not object " ; but it is not clear whether he was ultimately able to go. A question which naturally comes to mind is, " When did Grand Lodge withdraw recognition from Belgium ? " It would appear doubtful if recognition was ever *formally* withdrawn ; perhaps Belgium was allowed to slip gently into non-recognition about the end of 1908. I have already mentioned Gould's receipt of the Belgian Prize in 1910, and it is even more intriguing that Count Goblet d'Alviella, who was Grand Master of Belgium in 1885-7, and joined the Correspondence Circle in 1890, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in March, 1909, a few months *after* Belgium had ceased to be recognised. He remained a member until his death in 1925.

The 4th September, 1890, was another international occasion, when an emergency meeting of the Lodge was held to welcome the Grand Masters of Pennsylvania, Canada and Louisiana ; the first-named, who was a member of the Correspondence Circle, read a paper on Freemasonry in America. In July of the following year, since it was not possible to call a meeting at such short notice, the Master, with his daughters and as many Lodge members as could be quickly collected, held a conversazione at the Holborn Restaurant to welcome a number of leading American Masons and their ladies, who were passing through London on their way to the Continent ; bouquets were presented to the ladies, and the party was regaled with tea, fruit and ices ; addresses were delivered by the Master, by Bros. Gould and Speth, and replied to by five of the visitors, concluding with " an eloquent oration by Dr. B. Ward Richardson, F.R.S."

In 1908 the suggestion was made and approved that the Lodge should hold a special meeting to welcome the many Church dignitaries who were to be in London from all parts of the world for the Pan-Anglican Congress in the following summer. The Grand Master, the Duke of Connaught, signified his wish to be present, and accordingly, on 14th July, 1909, a gathering of nearly 250 assembled at Freemasons' Hall, when the Grand Master was accompanied by both the Pro. Grand Master and the Deputy, as well as all the principal officials of Grand Lodge. Eleven overseas Bishops were present and were personally introduced to the Grand Master in open Lodge.

PREMISES

When the Lodge originally stated its main objects, No. 8 was " to acquire permanent premises and form a Library ". In the early days, although the meetings of the Lodge were held at Freemasons' Hall, its Secretarial and Editorial work was carried on from Speth's residence at Margate. The Library was started by the presentation of volumes by the members of the Lodge, and quite soon began to be of considerable value ; it was, however, felt that the existence of the Library under these conditions was precarious, and that intending donors might be restrained by this consideration from making more valuable gifts. Accordingly, an agreement was made with Grand Lodge, and a deed of trust drawn up and signed on November 8th, 1888 (and it is signed, so far as is practicable, by every member on joining the Lodge), whereby, in the event of the Lodge being forced to cease work, the Library becomes vested in the United Grand Lodge of England. Donations now came pouring in, and Speth's home must have been strained to the utmost to house the collection ; indeed, the Lodge began to pay £40 a year for the space occupied. Moreover, it was obvious that the only proper location for the Library, if it was to be available for consultation by students, must be in Town ; but suitable premises were hard to find, and finance difficult. In July, 1892, the Library, " still in the custody of the Secretary ", was ordered to be insured, and a committee was set up to attempt to find premises in Town and to work out a scheme for financing them ; but though on more than one occasion the committee advised the Lodge to rent certain premises, the Lodge were unable to agree, and more forthright tenants got in first.

Early in 1898 it was reported that a member of the Correspondence Circle had approached Bro. Passmore Edwards with the suggestion that he should provide a building for the Lodge, pointing out that such a building would be " the centre of intellectual Freemasonry of the world ". Bro. Edwards was reported to be favourably inclined, but evidently further consideration brought other counsel, and nothing came of it. Nothing further had been done by February, 1900, when the Secretary sent out a circular showing what the requirements were and how the plan might be financed ; but at the next meeting it was all shelved again, much to the disgust of the Secretary, who minutes " the total inability of the Brethren to decide what they really do want ". Bro. Hamon Le Strange wrote, " If the question is shelved, some of us will never live to see the Quatuor Coronati in quarters of their own." Alas, this prophecy was only too quickly fulfilled, for Speth died on 19th April, 1901. This made the removal of the Library even more urgent, but it was not until October, 1902, that a committee was given power to take immediate action ; four months later they were able to report that they had secured rooms at 61, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and by March, 1903, the Library had been installed there and an Assistant Secretary (W. J. Songhurst) had been appointed to look after it. This location lasted for only five years, and in May, 1909, we moved to the upper floors of 52, Great Queen Street. There we stayed for eight years, and then a 14-year lease of our present house was obtained. In 1927, with four years of the lease still to run, an opportunity arose to purchase Nos. 27 and 29 together for £7,000. At first the idea was that the Lodge should buy both houses, and that Grand Lodge should be offered No. 29 for half the price. Grand Lodge, however, wished to become the owner of the entire property, and agreed to lease No. 27 to the Lodge at a specified annual rental.

CHARITY

Although it is hardly part of the Lodge's primary function, we have not been unrepresented at the Festivals of the Charities ; Bro. Macbean represented the Lodge at the Festival of the Old People in 1892, Sir Charles Warren at that of the Girls in 1895, and Bro. Klein took up a list for the Boys in 1898. During the South African War the Lodge supported the various War Relief Funds—in November, 1899, a collection was taken in Lodge while Bro. Rev. C. H. Malden recited Kipling's " Absent-minded Beggar ", and a couple of months later another collection was made at dinner for the Transvaal Masons' Relief Fund, to which the Lodge also made a vote from its general funds.

TRANSACTIONS

While Volume I of the *Transactions* was in the press, the Correspondence Circle leaped into being and raced up to a membership of nearly 500, so that the first printing of 250 copies was already inadequate before it came from the printer, and a second printing of 500 copies followed quickly ; the first printing cost £51, and the second £47. Comparing those costs with the present day, 3,500 copies would then have cost less than £300, as compared with Volume LXIII, which cost £2,050!

REPRINTS

Even before the advent of the Correspondence Circle it had been decided to issue a volume of Reprints, of which the main item was to be a facsimile and transcript of the

Regius MS. Bro. H. J. Whymper, who had started on a similar project, generously made all his blocks available to the Lodge, and in consequence the main part of the book was quickly ready, but publication was held up owing to delay in the completion of Gould's Commentary on the MS. The volume was eventually issued about the end of May, 1889, and the commentary was hailed as a masterpiece ; again the edition proved far too small, and by the end of 1890 the Secretary was advertising that he was prepared to buy back copies of *Q.C.A.* I " at a large profit to the holders ". Volumes II to VI, all containing versions of the Old Charges, were issued respectively in 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894 and 1895 ; Volume VII, Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*, was issued in the same year as Volume II ; and Volume VIII, Ramsden Riley's Masonic Certificates, in the same year as Volume VI. Then there came a pause of five years before Volume IX, the Minute Book of the Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas, appeared in 1900 ; while Volume X, the first of the Grand Lodge Minutes, did not come out until 1913. No further volumes have been issued, partly due to lack of funds, but also, I think, owing to the meagre interest shown by the Craft, for it is saddening to know that, of 1,000 copies of No. X printed, only about 350 have been taken up in 42 years!

SUMMONSES

A full set of Summonses has been preserved from the beginning. Originally they were printed on a quarto sheet, then on a double-quarto sheet printed only on the inner folio, and on them we learn that " The W.M. will be pleased to dine with the Brethren after the Lodge is closed at the Freemasons' Tavern "—which dinner cost 3s. 6d., exclusive of wine. From 1890 the Lodge dined at the Holborn Restaurant, and a Dispensation was obtained for every meeting to enable the Brethren to dine in Masonic clothing. In 1910 the Lodge returned to the Connaught Rooms, " newly opened ". From January, 1898, the Summonses bore the names of the Founders, Past Masters and Officers of the Lodge ; this continued until June, 1918, when the size of the summons was reduced to octavo, probably for reasons of economy.

SUMMER OUTINGS

The first Summer Outing was held on 20th July, 1889, at St. Albans, and from then until 1916 (with the exception of 1901, when Speth died) they were a most popular feature of the Lodge's activities ; resumed in 1920, they continued until 1939, when the Second World War put an end to them.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Our first Honorary Member was our Consecrating Officer, Bro. Shadwell Clerke, Grand Secretary ; he died on Christmas Day, 1892. At the beginning of 1901, Prince Leopold of Prussia expressed a wish to become a member of the Correspondence Circle ; instead, he was elected an Honorary Member of the Lodge. He continued to take an interest in the Lodge for some years, and was one of those who wrote a letter of condolence when Speth died. Since then we have had only three Honorary Members—the Earl of Harewood, the Duke of Devonshire, and our present Grand Master.

Speth's death came as a shattering blow to the Lodge. In the emergency, Bro. W. H. Rylands was appointed to undertake temporarily the duties of Secretary " until a permanent Secretary should be chosen ". This temporary appointment lasted for five years ; on more than one occasion Bro. Rylands asked to be relieved, but no one else could be found to undertake the work. The office of the Lodge remained at Bromley, whither Speth and his family had migrated from Margate in 1896 in order to be nearer London ; and there Miss Speth continued to carry on the accountancy of the Lodge, and, I suspect, all the routine office work as well. The Lodge inaugurated a fund to raise a memorial to Speth, and contributions came in from all over the world, so that, after paying for the funeral and a tombstone in Bromley Churchyard, there remained a sum of £245 ; this the Lodge made up to £300, and divided in the proportion of £150 to Miss Speth and £75 each to her mother and sister.

Meanwhile, the Library had been moved to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Bro. Songhurst had been appointed Assistant Secretary-Librarian ; but it comes as something of a shock to those who remember Bro. Songhurst as the shining centre round which the Lodge revolved to realise that at this time he was not even a member of the Lodge. For three years he served as Assistant in London, while much of the work was done from Bromley, and then Miss Speth advised the Lodge that her mother intended to leave Bromley and she would have to give up her work for the Lodge. Bro. Rylands renewed his agitation to be relieved of the Secretaryship, and so Bro. Songhurst was elected a member of the Lodge in March, 1906, and appointed Secretary in May—a post which he, like Speth, adorned with so much dignity and honour, and in which he served the Lodge for no less than twenty-two years, and even after his retirement continued to give the Lodge the benefit of his experience for a further eleven years until his lamented death in 1939.

Early in 1908 our first recommendation for London Rank was given in favour of Bro. S. T. Klein ; nowadays we receive no requests to nominate for London Grand Rank, probably because it is assumed that our members usually possess a higher rank before they attain our Chair.

Twice within six years the Lodge suffered the misfortune of losing its Master by death during his year of office. Bro. Henry Sadler died almost at the end of his term, when his successor had already been elected, though not installed ; but Bro. F. W. Levander died only about six weeks after his installation and before he had held one meeting.

The First World War was responsible for preventing the issue of several Lodge publications. In 1913 it had definitely been decided to publish an official index to the first 25 volumes of *A.Q.C.* ; ultimately, this had to be replaced by Baxter's brief index to the first 30 volumes. It had also been decided to publish a translation of Dr. Begemann's *History of Freemasonry in England,* for which Bro. Vibert undertook the translation ; but a year later, " although the translation is nearly completed ", the work had to be cancelled. The copyright was eventually purchased from Bro. Vibert by Messrs. Bernard Quarritch, but they have never issued the book.

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

THE TOAST OF THE WORSHIPFUL MASTER

Our newly-installed Master, W.Bro. John Rawdon Dashwood, was born at Greenwich on 12th April, 1889. Educated at Oxford—first at St. Edward's School, and later at Christ Church—Bro. Dashwood left his native land in 1910 for Ceylon, where for many years his main interest lay in tea ; but from 1935 until his departure from that Colony in 1946, Bro. Dashwood also discharged the duties of a Justice of the Peace.

Our Master first saw the light of Freemasonry in Kandy in the year 1914, when, at the age of 25, he was initiated in St. John's Lodge of Colombo No. 454. Joining Adam's Peak Lodge No. 2656 in the following year, he became its Master in 1917, and was re-elected to the chair of that Lodge in 1918 and again in 1932. In the District Grand Lodge of Ceylon he was appointed Past District Grand Warden in 1924, having originated in 1918 *The Ceylon Masonic Handbook,* which he edited during its first ten years of publication.

Progress in the Royal Arch followed closely on the heels of advancement in the Craft. Our Master was exalted in the Duke of Connaught Chapter No. 2940 in 1916, and a year later helped to resuscitate Campbell Chapter No. 2656, of which he twice became First Principal (in 1920 and in 1929). Bro. Dashwood was the founding First Principal of Uva Chapter No. 3429, and the founding Third Principal of the District Grand Chapter of Ceylon.

In England, Bro. Dashwood's Masonic honours and distinctions have been many. He has been a Founder and Master of Old St. Edward's Lodge No. 5162, Founder and first Secretary of Ceylon Lodge No. 6436, and Master of Apollo University Lodge No. 357, which he joined in 1947, when for a short time again resident in Oxford. With this record of Masonic activity to his credit, it is not surprising to learn that Bro. Dashwood was appointed Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in the Craft and Past Grand Standard Bearer in the Royal Arch in 1932, promoted to Past Grand Deacon in the Craft and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner in the Royal Arch in 1945, and that similar honours have been conferred upon him in other Masonic bodies to which some of us belong. In the Mark Degree, Bro. Dashwood wears the apron of a Past District Grand Warden of Bombay (Ceylon lying within the territory of that Mark District), in Knight Templary the robes of a Past Provincial Grand Standard Bearer (Ceylon), and in the Ancient and Accepted Rite the insignia of a holder of the 32°.

No mention has yet been made of Bro. Dashwood's association with our own Lodge. Joining the Correspondence Circle in 1917, our Master was elected to full membership in 1949, and two years later assumed the onerous duties of Secretary to the Lodge and Editor of our *Transactions.* His Masonic publications comprise :—

An Outline of Freemasonry.
Notes on Freemasonry in Ceylon (*A.Q.C.*, lix).
Union Lodge of Colombo (*A.Q.C.*, lx).
Phœnix Lodge at Paris (*A.Q.C.*, lxi and lxiii).
Notes on the first Minute Book of the Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter (*A.Q.C.*, lxii).
Falsification of the Royal Arch " Charter of Compact " (*A.Q.C.*, lxiv).
Sphinx Lodge No. 107, I.C. (*A.Q.C.*, lxv), and
History of Adam's Peak Rose Croix Chapter No. 133.

Some time ago, through the good offices of Bro. George S. Draffen, the Grand Librarian of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the two earliest minute books of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel No. 1, Edinburgh, were photographed and complete film records were presented to our Lodge ; but this valuable acquisition had only a limited use, because it was impossible to read the pictures without the elaborate process of film projection on to an enlarged screen, and even then many of the earliest minutes were almost illegible. In collaboration with Bro. H. Carr, Bro. Dashwood undertook the task of transcribing the contents of those two volumes, and those precious documents are now preserved for us, in typescript pages easily legible and accessible, covering the whole vital period in Scottish Masonic history from 1599-1745. Except for a few words which are hopelessly faded, every detail of those hundreds of pages has been meticulously copied, down to the signatures on the minutes and the various masons' marks. This work is a monument of patient industry and enthusiasm, and for it the Lodge is deeply indebted to him.

Since assuming the duties of Secretary, Bro. Dashwood has become a familiar figure in Great Queen Street, and is often to be seen crossing the road between our own Lodge Library and the Grand Lodge Library at Freemasons' Hall, where he is equally at home. In either building, our Master is ever ready to guide and to assist the inexperienced student.

In drinking this time-honoured toast to our Worshipful Master, we pay tribute to a Masonic student of wide experience and to a man of sterling worth.

With reference to our Frontispiece, Bro. P. C. GILBERTSON *writes*:—

Or San Michele, Florence, sometimes known as San Michele in Orto (St. Michael in the Garden), is noted for a miraculous picture of the Madonna, which was destroyed by fire in the fourteenth century and faithfully restored by Bernardo Daddi, and now contained in a shrine by Orcagna. This Church belonged to the Order founded on 10th August, 1291, now called the " Misericordia ", but it is surrounded on its outer walls by the shrines containing the statues of the patron Saints of the major and minor Arts and Crafts, fourteen in all. That of the stonemasons (a minor art, including sculptors, bricklayers, carpenters and masons) is by Nanni di Banco, and represents the Quattro Incoronati. In 1404 the Signoria decreed that within ten years from that date the Arts that had secured their pilasters should have their statues in position, on pain of losing the right, but this does not seem to have been rigidly enforced. When Nanni came to put his group in position, he found it was too large for the niche. At night, his lifelong friend, Donatello, came to his assistance. By knocking off a portion they got the group into position, when Donatello replaced the broken portion so skilfully that the join could not be seen.

The Church is in the Via Calzaioli, the Street of the Stockingmakers, and in this street, at No. 17, Donatello and Michelozzo had their studio. Dante lived in an obscure little street near the Church.

Bro. Speth states that the Church of the Quatuor Coronati at Rome was built in the year A.D. 605. The *Guide Bleu to Rome*, Holy Year 1950 edition, states that it " was built in the fourth century, and destroyed by the Normans in 1084. The present Church rebuilt on a smaller scale by Paschal II in 1111 and restored in 1914 ". In 1926 it was forlorn and neglected, one of the courts being used as a garage, and the ancient abbey being used as a hostel for deaf mutes. By 1932 the cloisters had been restored, and when I visited it this year the inner courts had been cleaned out and were very bare. I noted the children playing in front of the building were making no noise—it is still being used by deaf mutes.

I had great difficulty in finding the Church. I passed through one court after going through the big arched door, then into another court which was the nave of the old Church, and finally into the Church itself. The walls were adorned with frescoes or mosaics, one representing the story of the Quattro Coronati and the Glory of All the Saints, by Giovanni da San Giovanni (1630). I went down into the crypt, where the tomb of the martyrs is under the altar, made my way up the other side of the Church and found a door into a beautiful cloister, the work of Roman sculptors (*c.* 1220). I walked round this place, a real oasis. The *Blue Guide* says, " Small arches supported by delicate, graceful coupled columns, the capitals decorated with water-lilies (known as Benedictines), perhaps the first specimens of this kind. In the centre is the Labrum, or fountain basin, of the time of Paschal II. Various fragments and remains of a chapel of the ninth century are scattered around." There are many interesting things to see in this Church, and the campanile is the only one of its kind in Rome.

Or San Michele in Florence is unique, because it is the only Gothic Church without a campanile. Well up above the group of the Quattro Coronati is " an ornate and beautiful medallion " containing the Arms of the Guild, by Lucca del Robbia.

FRIDAY, 6th JANUARY, 1956

HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.D., *as* Secretary; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Steward; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. D. J. Carpenter, E. L. Thompson, J. H. Spilman, G. Norman Knight, M. Ellinger, W. R. Hornby Steer, M. R. Wagner, A. I. Sharp, G. S. Wodeman, A. P. Cawadias, H. W. G. Triggs, A. J. Faver, H. Jenkins, A. H. Slade, W. L. Harnett, F. D. Lane, A. H. Berman, F. M. Shaw, R. Gold, A. Parker Smith, J. H. R. Freeborn, E. Ward, H. S. Buffery, W. S. Blofield, H. Hoffmann, C. R. Manasseh, R. W. Reynolds-Davies, O. J. Hunter, J. Weislitzer, L. Bedford, A. R. Jole, C. W. Parris, A. M. Nathan, C. Lawson-Reece, F. J. R. Heath, C. Wales, B. Jacobs, J. H. J. Dewey, E. B. Powell, T. M. Jaeger, C. W. F. Mumford, C. MacKechnie-Davis, E. F. Bonnefin, W. J. Kirkham, E. Newton, A. J. Beecher-Stow, A. H. Green, A. F. Cross, H. W. Piper, F. Barnett, G. W. Skinner, A. J. Rowe, F. E. Gould, J. Winterburg, E. Philpot, K. K. Kcamaris, G. Coren, R. A. N. Petrie, H. Barnett and H. M. Yeatman.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. H. Day, Lodge 2885; J. S. Baldwin, Lodge 5162; R. J. Crisp, Lodge 7189; H. G. Dilley, Lodge 227; P. Winterton, Lodge 3178; R. W. Cantlay, Lodge 3824; A. Kipps; W. E. Peckett; J. E. Suter, Lodge 715; H. A. Cawthorn, Lodge 2190; J. A. Tomes, Lodge 3522; R. A. Turner, Lodge 1929; R. McKenna, Lodge 6089; L. J. Friend, Lodge 5409; G. T. Stiassey, Lodge 554; L. A. Tunnard, Lodge 4411; L. H. Cooper, Lodge 5004; L. J. H. Rayner, Lodge 4271; J. E. Tomlinson, Lodge 3048; F. A. Dunn, Lodge 3842; P. L. Bowlett, Lodge 2408; G. S. Slim, Lodge 255; E. Bradbury, Lodge 2881; S. Manton, Lodge 2881; W. J. May, Lodge 4784; G. L. Parsons, Lodge 3574; A. H. Goode, Lodge 1259; C. Wallis, Lodge 165; J. S. Platt, Lodge 165; A. M. McCauslane, Lodge 165; and E. S. Blundell, Lodge 3549.

Apologies for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Ivanoff, P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*, 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), P.M., Secretary; 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., J.D.; and G. Brett, P.M. 1494.

Five Lodges and fifty-one 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, 6th January, 1956.

Present:— Bro. J. R. Dashwood, in the Chair, with Bros. Ivor Grantham, G. Y. Johnson, Norman Rogers, B. W. Oliver, G. S. Draffen, with Bros. Gordon S. Kerr, Auditor, and G. S. Wodeman by invitation.

The Secretary produced his Books, with the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditors, and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1955.

BRETHREN,

In November, 1954, we had the pleasure of welcoming Bro. Arthur Sharp as a member of the Lodge, and the total membership now stands at 28.

The Correspondence Circle shows eight former members reinstated and 311 new members joined, but against this we have to record the loss of 68 members by death, 109 by resignation and 67 by erasure, giving a net increase of only 75, and a total membership of 3,576, as at October 31st. This is one short of our former peak number reached in 1930.

Our Local Secretaries have again given us splendid service, and for the third consecutive year Bro. Alexander Horne, of California, tops the list, with 27 new members introduced; Bro. H. C. B. Hewett, of South Australia, and Bro. Frank Levine, of New England, are bracketed second with 11 each, and Bro. E. U. Peel, of Kenya, is a close third with 10. We greatly regret having to record the death of Bro. J. J. Soar, of South Brazil, who had only recently undertaken that Secretaryship, but had already shown great keenness and enthusiasm.

A.Q.C., Volume LXVII, containing our *Transactions* up to 31st October, 1954, was issued on 25th March, and many letters of appreciation of the four-page inset, *The Rise of Freemasonry*, by Bro. F. L. Pick, have been received; it is hoped that Volume LXVIII will be ready by about the same time next year, and it will contain a similar inset, by Bro. N. Rogers, on *The Union*.

The Accounts again show satisfactory results, and we have increased our credit balance to something over £760, but again we have to deplore an increase in outstanding subscriptions, there being £367 owing for 1955 subscriptions, and £130 for earlier years. The sum of £1,000 has been invested in 3½% Defence Bonds.

Some concern was felt during the year when it was learned that No. 27, Great Queen Street might be sold, but this danger has, temporarily at least, been averted.

For the Committee,
J. R. DASHWOOD,
In the Chair.

A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to R.W. Bro. G. S. Wodeman, for his unremitting assiduity and care of the Lodge finances.

BALANCE SHEET, 31st OCTOBER, 1955

LIABILITIES

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions Paid in advance—		
1956	664 7 9	
1957	64 12 0	
1958	20 11 6	
1959	12 15 0	
1960-63	6 6 0	
Binding	19 10 0	
		788 2 3
Sundry Creditors for Receipts unallocated		170 1 7
Reserve for Publications (1955) ...		1500 0 0
Suspense Account, being outstanding subscriptions, contra, subject to realisation		497 5 4
Furniture Reserve Account—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet	129 11 10	
Add: Sundry Receipts	25 1 3	
	154 13 1	
Less: Expenditure ...	2 10 0	
		152 3 1
Repairs Reserve—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	186 12 7	
Add: Rent received ...	40 0 0	
	226 12 7	
Less: Expenditure ...	12 2 6	
		214 10 1
Lodge Account—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	281 1 4	
Add: Receipts ...	60 18 0	
	341 19 4	
Less: Payments ...	56 12 3	
		285 7 1
Income and Expenditure Account—		
Balance thereon at date		763 18 11
		4371 8 4
Trustee Account—		
Staff Contingency Sinking Fund		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	902 12 6	
Add: Interest on Post Office Savings Bank Account	2 5 4	
Interest on 3½% Defence Bonds ...	28 6 1	
	933 3 11	
Less: Withdrawn By Sale of 3½% Defence Bonds	200 0 0	
By Cash from Post Office Bank ...	8 0 0	
By Cash for Income Tax	14 17 0	
		710 6 11
		£5,081 15 3

ASSETS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cash at Bank and in hand—		
On Deposit Account ...	2000 0 0	
On Current Account ...	673 19 3	
In hand	16 4 9	
		2690 4 0
Stock of various publications—		
Bound Volumes ...	18 14 0	
Pamphlet No. 1 ...	27 3 6	
Mason and Burgh ...	129 4 0	
		175 1 6
Sundry Debtors—		
Binding	8 17 6	
Subscriptions in arrear, 1954	129 13 2	
Ditto—1955	367 12 2	
		506 2 10
Investment—		
£1,000—3½% Defence Bonds at cost ...		1000 0 0
		4371 8 4
Trustee Account—		
Investments		
£600—3½% Defence Bonds at cost ...	600 0 0	
Post Office Savings Bank Account ...	110 6 11	
		710 6 11
		£5,081 15 3

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

For the Year Ending 31st October, 1955

EXPENDITURE

	£	s.	d.
Salaries, Rent and Rates	1476	0	0
Lighting and Heating	107	7	7
Stationery	127	13	10
Postages	257	6	9
Office Cleaning, etc.	36	6	9
Insurance—Fire and Burglary ...	15	15	7
Ditto—National	49	10	0
Telephone	17	13	3
Carriage and Sundries	99	14	10
Local Expenses	9	3	10
Library	102	3	4
Income Tax on Investment Income and Corporation Duty	58	4	5
Bank Charges	2	10	1
Propaganda	10	12	0
	2370	2	3
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year to date carried forward	349	4	2
	£2,719	6	5
Balance carried to Balance Sheet ...	763	18	11
	£763	18	11

INCOME

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Correspondence Circle— Being Subscriptions collected (less Reserves):						
1955	1711	16	3			
1954	236	13	4			
1953	47	7	0			
1952	11	12	0			
				2007	8	7
Back Transactions ...				167	5	0
Lodge Publications, etc.—						
Bound Volumes ...	40	2	0			
Pamphlets and Songs ...	1	15	3			
Medals	35	12	0			
				77	9	3
Various Publications ...				14	5	10
Joining Fees				340	4	0
Publication Fund ...				45	12	0
Interest—						
Deposit Interest ...	35	10	0			
Defence Bond Interest	27	7	6			
				62	17	6
Difference on Exchange				4	4	3
				£2,719	6	5
Excess of Income over Expenditure brought forward				349	4	2
Accumulated Excess of Income over Expenditure as at 1st November, 1954				414	14	9
				£763	18	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 from the Westminster Bank, New Oxford Street, their Certificate certifying the Investment held on behalf of the Lodge and also the Bank Balances held on behalf of the Lodge.

GEDGE, ILOTT & McLEOD,

Incorporated Accountants,

35, Great James Street,

5th December, 1955. London, W.C.1.

EXHIBITS

Attention was called to a number of books of Mozart's Masonic Music kindly lent from the Library of Grand Lodge, and to Kronauer's Liber Amicorum from the Lodge Library.

Bro. A. SHARP, P.G.D., read an interesting paper, entitled *Mozart's Masonic Music,* which was illustrated by a Quartet of Singers, accompanied by W.Bro. Sidney Hibbs, P.Dep.G.O.

MOZART'S MASONIC MUSIC

BY BRO. ARTHUR SHARP, P.G.D.

USIC has always played an important part in Masonic symbolism. For us the approaching bi-centenary of Mozart's birth marks an occasion when we may contemplate in wonder and amazement the miracle of his musical inspiration and reflect on the beauties of his Masonic compositions.

" Mozart was born at Salzburg on the 27th January, 1756, the son of Leopold Mozart, an excellent musician. He was a prodigy almost from the cradle. At the age of six he appeared as a performer on the clavier at the different courts of Germany. Between the ages of seven and seventeen he was constantly travelling over Europe, studying wherever a lengthened stay was made. In 1776 he returned to Salzburg ; in 1781 he went to Vienna, where he died at the early age of 35 in 1791."

This is a short account of Mozart's life in a compilation offered last century to students. Perhaps more so than any of the other great composers, we have almost complete information of him from his earliest days until that day in December, 1791, when his short life ended. There are his own letters to his father, his mother, his sister and his wife Constance, which cover practically the whole of his life, except for several short intervals, of which the year 1789 in Vienna is an important omission ; there are the biographies of Jahn, Edward Holmes, Nissen, Abert, Schurik, Alfred Einstein, Eric Blom, Paumgartner, and, recently, a critical study restricted to the Salzburg years by Max Kenyon, wherein his various biographers have recounted time and again the now familiar incidents of his life. In addition, there is a wealth of information from contemporaries bearing on his thoughts and actions which amply illustrate the character of this great genius, who was ever moving from town to town or, even when settled in Vienna, from apartment to apartment, as if he needed perpetual motion to stimulate his genius. Admired for his delicacy and tunefulness, yet there was a long period when he was generally considered a slight composer in comparison with Beethoven ; but there is really no possible comparison between two utterly different masters like Mozart and Beethoven, for one, as it were, bubbles over like a crystal spring without interruption, whereas the other would never compose unless it was to convey a new emotion or deep-felt urge.

Mozart's love of Freemasonry and the earnestness with which he regarded its doctrines are demonstrated in a number of compositions which were evolved in the Masonic environment of his Vienna days. The evidence of Mozart's seven years in Masonry appears in few records, for it was not customary to write about it, but his compositions are generally available, so that interest in Mozart's Masonic music is immense, and many of our Masonic Brethren have felt drawn to investigate for themselves the nature of these compositions and their history.

For a better understanding of our subject it seems desirable to supplement the meagre facts given in the " sketch " at the commencement of this paper, although at the present date it is scarcely necessary to repeat what has been said over and over again.

Mozart was given the names of Johannes Chrysostomus Wolfgang Theophilus, but in later life he liked to be known as Wolfgang Amadeus—Amadeus being the Latin form of Theophilus. His father, Leopold, was a composer with a high reputation as a violinist and was sub-director of the Chapel in the service of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. In the year of Wolfgang's birth he had published a treatise on the violin which formed the basis of violin-playing in Germany during the whole of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Wolfgang and his sister, Maria Anna (" Nannerl " of the letters) were the only two surviving children of seven born to their parents. His sister had astonishing musical ability, and when three years old Wolfgang began to take an interest in the music lessons given to his sister by the father. From that age he never stopped. His father, who had begun to teach him in fun, soon realised his genius and, finding that he had two prodigies, decided to take them on a little tour. In the summer of 1762 they went to Munich, and later in the same year to Vienna. In the latter city they played before the Emperor and astonished the Court with

their performances. In the next year they played before the French Court and were the sensation of the day, Wolfgang's organ playing being especially admired.

In April, 1764, they came to England and repeated their success before George III and the English Court. Wolfgang astonished the Royal Family with his playing at sight, and he accompanied Queen Charlotte in a song. Whilst in England he composed a symphony, published a third set of sonatas dedicated to the Queen, and wrote a short anthem, " God is Our Refuge ", for presentation to the British Museum before the party left for the Hague in September, 1766. Two years more were spent in concert tours, and then the family returned to Salzburg. As it was necessary for the completion of his knowledge and the full formation of his taste that he should proceed to Italy, his father took him there early in December, 1769. In Milan he received a commission to write an opera (" Mitridate " K.87) for the following Christmas, which was produced there under his direction on December 26th, shortly before his fourteenth birthday.

In Rome he heard Allegri's " Miserere " at the Papal Chapel (a composition forbidden to be copied) and performed the astonishing feat of writing it down from memory. Dr. Busby, in recounting this in his *History of Music,* published in 1819, writes: " All Rome was amazed ; but only musicians could know the real magnitude of the exploit ", and he adds in a footnote, " This story contains one of two wonders: either a miraculous truth, or a marvellous falsehood."

During the absence of Wolfgang and his father, the Archbishop of Salzburg died, and in 1772 a successor was elected in Hieronymus Colloredo, for whom no one seems to have a good word—in fact, his character has been sedulously blackened for at least a century by writers on music who do not seem to have judged him from the standpoint of his own time and place. The new ruler succeeded an easy-going Archbishop, and neither Leopold nor his young son could accept discipline. The Mozarts tried to obtain leave to undertake another tour. The Archbishop refused point-blank to let them go and insisted that they must perform their duties. Leopold sent a petition, and they were both dismissed and told they might seek their fortune where they liked. However, Leopold was reinstated, but he had to stay at Salzburg. Wolfgang, accompanied by his mother, set off on 23rd September, 1777, for Munich, eventually reaching Paris. There his mother died, and he left Paris on 26th September, 1778, following pressure from his father, whose appointment as Kapellmeister at Salzburg was made conditional on Wolfgang's acceptance of the organist's post. His father commanded him to hurry, and he reached Salzburg at last in the middle of January, 1779. The following two years were unsatisfactory and not very fruitful. The conditions of his employment were, to say the least, extremely irksome to Wolfgang. The Archbishop had no love of masses. In 1776, Mozart, writing to Padre Martini, says:—

> " Our church music is very different from that of Italy, since a mass with the whole Kyrie, the Gloria, the Credo, the Epistle-Sonata, the Offertory or Motet, the Sanctus and the Agnus-Dei must not last longer than three-quarters of an hour. This applies even to the most solemn mass said by the Archbishop himself."

Increasing ill-will on the part of the Archbishop only heightened Mozart's sense of his wrongs, and finally caused him to break with the Archbishop, for the prospect of returning to Salzburg to eat with the servants led to a heated argument which left Mozart in a fever of indignation. As everyone knows, he had been summoned to Vienna in 1781 to perform his duties in the Archbishop's household, and left Colloredo's service after he had been speeded out of the room by a kick from Count Karl Arco, a son of the Court Chamberlain, Count Anton Arco.

On the 7th May he wrote to his father that he was no longer in the service of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and " to-day is a happy day for me ".

On August 4th, 1782, Wolfgang married Constance Weber (aged 19), and Leopold gave his belated blessing and consent to the marriage. Financial worries seem to have commenced very early, although Wolfgang continued to make a little money by subscription concerts, but until the day of his death he was always in difficulties for lack of money. In spite of all that biographers have written about Constance, one must recognise that six children in nine years would be a problem in any family. She appeared to be of a happy-go-lucky disposition, although it must be admitted that after Wolfgang's death she developed an uncommonly good business sense.

One of the best contemporary pen portraits of Mozart that has been preserved is contained in Michael Kelly's attractive Reminiscences. Kelly was Basilico in Mozart's opera, " Marriage of Figaro ", and seems to have been on particularly close terms of friendship with Wolfgang. He writes:—

> " He was a remarkably small man, very thin and pale, with a profusion of fine fair hair, of which he was rather vain. He gave me a cordial invitation to his house, of which I availed myself, and passed a great part of my time there. He always

received me with kindness and hospitality. He was remarkably fond of punch, of which beverage I have seen him take copious draughts. He was also fond of billiards and had an excellent billiard table in his house.

"He was kind-hearted, and always ready to oblige; but so very particular, when he played, that if the slightest noise were made, he instantly left off."

On settling in Vienna, Mozart had become a member of the coterie of Baron Gottfried van Swieten, a patron and friend of music who organised private concerts in his house. A string trio formed the basis, being occasionally extended to a quartet by the attendance of Haydn or another composer. The group found in Mozart a clavier player and score reader. But, apart from his musical friends, he gradually acquired a wider circle of acquaintances in Vienna, and many of the intellectuals in whose company he constantly found himself were Freemasons.

Wolfgang himself was a good orthodox Catholic. The Mozart household was a sincerely Catholic one. The year before he was married he can write to his father that he attends Mass every Sunday and every holy day, and "If I can manage it, on week-days also". It has been a matter for surprise that a Roman Catholic could openly at this time become a member of a Masonic Lodge in a Catholic country, in view of the known antagonism of the Roman Church to Freemasonry as expressed in the Papal Bulls of 1738 and 1751. Yet the Lodges in Vienna and in other cities in Europe at this period included a number of clerics, and also comprised the leading figures in literature, science and art. The Emperor Joseph II was not a Freemason, but was benevolently disposed towards the order. The publication of a Papal Bull always depended upon the civil authorities, and it only became obligatory in a particular State after it had been regularly published there; consequently, the Roman Catholic subjects of that State did not consider themselves bound to obey as long as this legal element was lacking.

Between 1780 and 1785 there were eight Lodges in Vienna, which at that time contained just over 300,000 inhabitants. Mozart joined the "Benevolence" Lodge (Zur Wohlthatigkeit) on the 14th December of 1784, this Lodge having been founded in the previous year. He frequently visited "The Crowned Hope" Lodge, and was also a regular guest of the Brethren of "The True Harmony" Lodge, founded 16th March, 1780, which met in the same building and was the most influential Lodge in Vienna in the 1780's.

It is important to understand the position of Freemasonry in Austria at this time, and an extract from the biography of Mozart by the Director of the Salzburg Mozarteum, Dr. Bernhard Paumgartner, throws light on the subject. He writes:—

> "The benevolent and liberal efforts of Freemasonry, its fight against superstition and narrow-mindedness, the idealistic principles of mutual assistance and fraternal equality of rights, undoubtedly had a strong effect on Mozart's sensitive disposition. His inclination for cheerful society, the necessity which he felt for more profound conversation amongst intimates, and his mind (which was open to all humanitarian ideas, and which, in spite of genuine faith, was always sub-consciously striving to rid itself of all which is strictly dogmatic in matters of faith and ethics), all these things must have made him appreciate the fraternity of Freemasonry as a revelation after the repressing narrowness of his Salzburg environment. The mysterious ceremonial of the Order and the important part played by solemn music at all their festivities and ceremonies completed the hold of Freemasonry on Mozart's artistic imagination."

On December 11th, 1785, the Emperor issued an edict which compelled all the Vienna Lodges to amalgamate into two only. The names of the two new Lodges were "Truth" and "New Crowned Hope". The "Truth" Lodge consisted of members of the former "Palm Tree", "Three Eagles" and "True Harmony" Lodges. The "New Crowned Hope" Lodge was created from members of the "Crowned Hope", "Benevolence" and the "Three Fires" Lodges. Members of the "Perseverance" and "Holy Joseph" Lodges closed their Lodges, although a few members joined the two newly-formed Lodges. (From the *Journal für Freymaurer,* Vienna, 1785.)

MASONIC COMPOSITIONS

Let us now consider the works composed by Mozart for Masonic occasions. These are:—

Cantata: "Dir, Seele des Weltalls" (K.429).
Song: "Gesellenreise" (K.468).
Cantata: "Die Maurerfreude" (K.471).
Masonic Funeral Music (K.477).
Opening and closing pieces for a Lodge (K.483 and K.484).

Cantata: " Die ihr des unermesslichen Weltalls " (K.619).
Cantata: " Laut verkünde unsre Freude " (K.623) (" The Praise of Friendship ").

And, in addition, we shall deal briefly with his

Opera: " The Magic Flute " (K.620).

Of the above number, the items K.468, K.477, K.483, K.484 and the closing song to K.623 may be considered as Masonic " ritual " music.

(Wherever Mozart's music is mentioned in print, the letter " K " and a number appears after it. It is the " K " of the surname Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, 1800-1877, who, after immense research, compiled a chronological and thematic catalogue of Mozart's works.)

The Masonic Cantata K.429

The first evidence of Mozart's growing interest in Freemasonry is the Masonic cantata, " Dir, Seele des Weltalls " (" To Thee, Soul of the Universe "), K.429. Jahn says that it " was probably intended for some Masonic purpose ". The date 1783 on the original autograph score is not Mozart's, but it is thought that the cantata was written for Baron Otto von Gemmingen (1755-1836), a poet of eminence and Ambassador from Baden to Vienna, whilst he was Master of the Benevolence Lodge. He had sponsored Mozart in Mannheim in 1778, and had taken up residence in Vienna in 1782. We know very little about this cantata ; only within the past twenty years has new material come to light through the investigations (of Dr. Henry George Farmer and Herbert Smith) of the Mozart relics in the Zavertal Collection at the University of Glasgow, where there exists one half of the score for soprano, alto, tenor and bass, the other half being in the Mozarteum at Salzburg. This S.A.T.B. arrangement was evidently made in Mozart's lifetime for some outside performance, as the original work, being intended for a Masonic Lodge, would be for male voices. Mozart's widow, in a letter to André dated February 27th, 1800, states how she would like the cantata described. She writes: —

> " A German cantata: Dir, Seele des Weltalls, O Sonne for two tenors and a bass. The first chorus in E flat major is quite complete. It begins with a magnificent unison, and there prevails throughout it a noble, simple, pleasant melody. In the words ' Von dir kommt Fruchtbarkeit, Wärme, Licht ' (' From Thee cometh fruitfulness, warmth, light '), the word ' Licht ' is particularly prominent through a surprising forte on the chord of the seventh, and would doubtless make a strong impression on listeners if the accompaniment were set to the prescribed instruments—flutes, oboe, clarinets, bassoons and so on. After this chorus comes a tenor aria in B flat full of the tenderest melody and with a wonderful accompaniment for the contra-bass. But here also is lacking the accompaniments of the other instruments. Lastly follows a second tenor aria in F of which only seventeen bars remain."

Breitkopf and Hartel, Leipzig, have published the first chorus and the solo for soprano. The incomplete third movement in F is not included, and in place of this it is indicated that the first movement should be repeated.

A translation of the words reads: —

> To Thee, Soul of the Universe, O Sun, to-day be dedicated the first of the festive Songs! Oh mighty one, without Thee we should not live ; from Thee only comes fruitfulness, warmth and light.
>
> We owe to you the joy of seeing the earth again in Spring raiment, of warm breezes blowing to us the scent of sweet flower chains. To you we owe it that kind nature bestows all treasures and lavishes every charm, that every pleasure awakens and everything skips and laughs on blessed meadows.

" O heiliges Band "

There is a short song of Mozart's, " O heiliges Band " (K.148), said by Köchel to have been composed in 1772, but placed by Johann E. V. Engel as dating from 1785, the text of which may be interpreted in a Masonic sense. It is a slow minuet to the words: —

> O holy bond of friendship of true brothers,
> Like perfect happiness or Eden's bliss ;
> Friend of the faith, never its foe ;
> Known to the world yet rich in mystery,
> Yes, known and yet rich in mystery.

It must be admitted that both compositions have only ideological connections with Masonry. They are included in Breitkopf and Hartel's *Mozart's Kompositionen für*

Freimaurer (popular edition No. 1357), but the two German church songs for one voice (K.343), written in 1780 or shortly before, are omitted, although Jahn suggests they are connected with the Masonic ritual.

" Gesellenreise " (K.468)

On the 7th January, 1785, Mozart had passed to the second degree, and on the 26th March, 1785, he composed the " Gesellenreise ", or " Fellowcraft's Way ", for voice with organ or pianoforte accompaniment. Franz Joseph Ratschky was the author of the poem, and he was a member of the " True Harmony " Lodge, whilst Mozart was in the Lodge of " Benevolence ". After December, 1785, these two Lodges lost their identity. Ratschky became a member of the " Truth " Lodge, and Mozart a member of the " New-Crowned Hope " Lodge, the two new Lodges taking the place of the eight of 1785, as mentioned earlier.

A free translation of the song is as follows:—

You who are approaching a new degree of enlightenment
Keep steadily to your path!
For, behold, it is the path of Wisdom.
Only a man unperturbed
Reaches the source of light.

2. Take with you, Oh Pilgrims,
The blessings of your brothers,
May prudence always be at your side.
May eagerness for learning lead each step!
Reflect and never succumb to the folly of idle blindness.

3. Though life's journey may be rough,
Sweet is the prize
Awaiting the wanderer who knows how to use his travels wisely.
More than happy is the man
Who can boast of having found the Light.

This song (K.468) contains three verses and serves to greet the Brethren upon their being passed to the second degree. It is said to have been specially written for the passing of his father to the second degree, but it is more likely that having heard the words to a setting already by Johann Holzer at " True Harmony " Lodge (the music of which appears in the first quarterly number of the *Journal für Freymaurer* of 1785, published in Vienna), he decided to produce a new tune for his own Lodge, " Benevolence ". Mozart created his own musical symbolism for his Masonic compositions. Here we have the slurring of two notes, symbolising the ties of friendship, in the very first work Mozart wrote for his Lodge. These slurred notes occur time and again. As " ritual " music it is probable that it was intended to be sung in the Lodge during the perambulations in the second degree.

" Die Maurerfreude " (" The Mason's Rejoicing ")

The cantata " Maurerfreude " (K.471) was composed on the 20th April, 1785, for a meeting on the 24th of that month of the " Crowned Hope " Lodge, held to honour Ignaz von Born (1742-1791) and to celebrate his discovery of working ores by amalgamation, which was an improvement on mining methods resulting in better conditions for the miners and saving of fuel. The Emperor Joseph decreed on April 14th, 1785, that this method should be applied in his States and had conferred knighthood on Born. At this gathering Mozart's father and Haydn were present, the latter having been initiated on February 11th, 1785. Leopold Mozart had been staying with his son for nine or ten weeks, and during that time Haydn had made his celebrated avowal of Mozart's genius. It was through his son that Leopold had become a Mason on 6th April, 1785, and his stay was prolonged in order to attend this special meeting, for he returned to Salzburg the next day.

Von Born was the leading authority of the time on mining, and he had been summoned to Vienna in order to arrange and catalogue the Emperor's natural history collection. He had formerly been very active as a Freemason in Prague. The intellectual centre of Austrian Freemasonry under Joseph II was the " True Harmony " Lodge (" Zur wahren Eintracht "), numbering some 200 members, which included the most eminent men of Vienna. It had sprung from the " Crowned Hope " Lodge, the oldest Lodge in Vienna, with much the same membership, and was intended to be a Masonic " Society of Science, and Academy for the furtherance of Freedom of Conscience and Thought ", being openly approved of by the Emperor Joseph II. Freemasonry was to be given such a form that it would become useful in the strictest and noblest sense of the word. Lennhoff says " that really did come to pass ". The first men in Science, Literature and Art were soon numbered amongst the members of the " True Harmony " Lodge. Born was its second Master, and in 1784 he was able to say:—

> " We are still working according to our original plan. One clever young man after another joins our circle ; to secure harmony amongst the clear-thinking minds and good writers of Vienna is still our aim, and the dissemination of enlightenment our work. Who can estimate the good which such an affiliation of thinkers must bring about when so many well-prepared men and youths, thirsting for the light, require but a gleam in order to find, for themselves, the way out of the dark regions of superstition and intellectual slavery . . ."

Born has been described as " One of the most outstanding, active and worthy men of imperishable memory of the time of Joseph, appreciated, distinguished and treated as a friend by the Emperor ".

The cantata " The Mason's Rejoicing " (" Maurerfreude ") (solo, male chorus and orchestra) was composed to celebrate Born. The words (which are stated to be by Franz Petran, the chaplain to the Masonic Count Thun), aided by the music, graphically describe the occasion. They commence with a reference to the discovery, " the Mason " being Von Born himself. Then the flow of the aria is suddenly stopped at: " Look! how Wisdom and Virtue . . . saying ". As one writer says, " We can without any stretch of the imagination see a deputation advancing to the seat of honour, the leader carrying a laurel wreath, ' Take, beloved, this crown '." At the words " from Joseph's hand ", the music is suddenly quickened and the wreath placed on Von Born's head—" Then sing and rejoice now, ye brethren ".

A literal translation is:—

> Look, how nature slowly uncovers her face to the steady eye of the scientist ;
> How with high wisdom she fills his thoughts and his heart with virtue.
> This is mason's joy, true mason's joy.
>
> Look, how wisdom and virtue kindly turn to the mason their pupil, saying, " Take, beloved, this crown from the hands of our highest, Joseph."
> This is the jubilee of the masons—their triumph.
> So sing, brothers.
>
> Let the jubilation of our songs reach the innermost halls of the temple, let it reach the clouds.
> Sing, Joseph, the wise has bound laurels together,
> He has crowned the temple of the wise Mason.

The score of the cantata was published by Pasquale Artaria, a member of the Lodge, and a preface was written by another member—Wenzel Tobias Epstein—as follows:—

> " Deeply ingratiated by the kindness which the most wise and most just sovereign Joseph II has done to one of our brethren and elated at the expected honour of this noble man, this profound scientist, this meritorious member, the assembly of brethren called ' Crowned Hope ' in Vienna have decided to express their feelings on the occasion of a friendly banquet held in brotherly concord and in happiness with the help of poetry and music. The present cantata is the prominent part of the songs presented at this celebration. The brethren of the aforementioned Lodge believe that they can best give expression to the desires of their sovereign, the aspirations of their honourable guest and the feelings of their own hearts by publishing this cantata and devoting the profits to the benefit of their fellow men's need."

Masonic Funeral Music

Einstein says that the two most beautiful Masonic compositions of Mozart are instrumental works. These are the Masonic Funeral Music (K.477) and the Adagio in B flat major (K.411), the latter a gentle, mysterious piece for two clarinets and three basset horns, the Funeral Music being written for strings, two oboes, one clarinet, three basset horns and contra-bassoon, an orchestra very similar to that employed for some of the solemn numbers in the " Magic Flute ". Einstein has also said that one could call clarinets and basset horns the appropriate Masonic instruments, and that with regard to the Adagio it " is evidently intended for a solemn entrance procession of the members of the Lodge ". Certainly, the Masonic knocking theme is indicated softly. He considers that the piece (K.411) is probably an introduction to a complete instrumental Lodge ritual to which belong also an Allegro (K.Anh.93) and a wonderful Adagio (K.Anh.93), both unfinished, as well as an Adagio for two basset horns and bassoon (K.410) published as a Canon. A basset horn is a tenor clarinet with more extensive compass than a clarinet, and its tone is fuller and more reedy. Mozart is the composer who has written most for this instrument, and he has also used it in the " Requiem " with great effect in the opening of the " Recordare ".

Whether this Adagio was actually composed for a Masonic Lodge has not been established, but we are on surer ground with the Masonic Funeral Music which was intended for

the Lodge " Crowned Hope ". According to Mozart's own thematic catalogue, it was composed at Vienna in July, 1785 (but this date has been corrected), on the death of two distinguished Freemasons, Duke George August of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Prince Franz Esterhazy, who are noted in Mozart's autograph catalogue as " Brothers Mecklenburg and Esterhazy ". Mecklenburg died on the 5th and Esterhazy on the 7th November, and Mozart's work was possibly written on the 10th and performed on the 17th November, 1785.

This Funeral piece ranks amongst Mozart's greatest numbers. Though not a church work, it is a religious composition. " If one wished, one could find all the symbols of Masonry in the 69 bars: the parallel thirds and sixths, the slurs and the knocking rhythm." It is in C minor and is grounded after a short introduction on a Gregorian Psalm-tone (first tone-fourth ending) which may possibly have had some special significance to Freemasons at that time, and it ends with a major third. This effect is pleasant, and is described by one writer " as of a bright ray breaking through the clouds as the sun sinks ". This use of a major *tierce de Picardie* at the end was common among composers then and earlier, and one has only to recall the fondness of Bach for this as the concluding chord of a minor passage.

" Mozart has written nothing to surpass this short Funeral Adagio ", says his biographer, Jahn, " for the beauty of its technical treatment, and the perfection of sound, or its depth of feeling and of psychological truth. It is the musical expression of that manly calm which gives sorrow its due in the presence of death, without exaggeration or unreality."

It expresses what Mozart wrote to his father shortly before the latter's death in 1787: —

> " As Death (strictly speaking) is the ultimate destiny of our lives, I have, in the last few years, made myself so well acquainted with this, the best friend of mankind, this his picture not only holds nothing terrifying for me, but much that is soothing and consoling, and I thank God that He has granted me the good fortune to make for myself an opportunity (you understand me) of getting to know Him as the key to our true happiness."

What Mozart hints at in this passage is taught by Freemasonry in the symbolism of its most beautiful degree. Lennhoff, in referring to the above letter, adds that, to the Freemason, Death is not destruction, but the dawn of Eternal Life. " He leaves the narrow confines of this corporeal life in order to take up the spiritual. The brilliant light of the ' eternal East ' guides him across the darkness of the grave."

Pieces for opening and closing of the Lodge

The two numbers (K.483 and K.484) for the opening and closing of a Lodge were written for the first meeting of the newly-inaugurated Lodge, " The New Crowned Hope ", on January 14th, 1786, one of the two Lodges allowed to remain in Vienna after Joseph II had restricted the number following his edict of December 11th, 1785, and both pieces were sung on the same evening. The text is by " Brother Sch——g ", that is, " Schittlersberg ".

In translating the words of these two items, no attempt has been made to convert the lines into English verse. It will be noted that there is a reference in the first verse to the " New Crowned Hope ".

Opening hymn (K.483)

Beloved brothers, raise your voices
In songs of praise and gratitude ;
In our breasts a threefold fire,
By Joseph's beneficence,
Kindled there and burning bright,
Hope is re-born and *crowned anew*.
Then let us all with hearts and voices
Sing songs of praise to father Joseph ;
Binding all so close together,
Charity is the greatest virtue ;
He has seen it by brethren shown,
And blesses us with loving hand.

The ninth line obviously alludes to the new decree of 1785 which merged " Benevolence ", " Crowned Hope " and the " Three Fires " Lodges into the " New Crowned Hope " Lodge, which had voluntarily set itself a maximum of 180 members.

Closing hymn (K.484)

To you, our new leaders, we give thanks for your fidelity. Lead us on the path of Virtue, so that each of us will gladly join the chain which binds us to better people and sweetens our cup of life.

Lift us on the wings of truth to the throne of wisdom that we may reach it and be worthy of its crown, being kind even to the envy of others.

The " new leaders " referred to are the Master (Tobias Philip, Baron von Gebler) and the officers of the new Lodge. Von Gebler was a patron of Mozart's, and had commissioned him in 1773 to write new music for his play, " King Thamos ", an Egyptian drama, additional incidental music being written for this for Schikaneder in 1780 (K.345).

Both compositions are set to music for a solo voice with chorus and accompaniment of organ or pianoforte, and are marked to be sung andante. Again in both pieces we have the slurring of two notes symbolising the ties of friendship as in the " Gesellenreise ".

Cantata K.619

The next cantata, " Die ihr des unermesslichen Weltalls Schöpfer " (" You who Honour the Creator of the Immeasurable Universe "), known as K.619, is called " A little German cantata ", and should really be numbered among Mozart's songs, as it is written for a solo voice with pianoforte accompaniment. It has only ideological connections with Masonry, and was composed in 1791 for a Regensburg Mason named Franz Heinrich Ziegenhagen (1753-1806) and the text is attributed to him. His " Theory of the Right Proportions of the Works of Creation " (Hamburg, 1792) appeared for the first time after Mozart's death and was intended for the congregations of a colony of " Friends of Nature " (O. E. Deutsch, 1932).

It commences andante maestoso, and after ten bars there is a recitative, followed by a pleasing andante movement which extends to 51 bars, when the pace quickens. Two further sections of andante music follow, joined by a short recitative, and the cantata or song concludes with a brisk movement. The text is:—

> You who honour the creator of the immeasurable universe call him Jehovah or God, call him Fu or Brama. Hear! Hear words from the trumpet of the Almighty! Its eternal sound rings through worlds, moons, suns, hear it too, mankind! Love me in my works. Love order, symmetry, and harmony. Love yourselves and your brethren. Strength and beauty be your ornament; clearness of mind your nobility. Extend to each other the brother's hand of eternal friendship of which only folly, never truth, deprived you! Break the bonds of this folly, tear the veil of this prejudice, reveal yourselves from the cloak which clothes mankind in dissension! Forge into a ploughshare the iron which till now sheds the blood of men and brothers! Explode rocks with the black dust which often sped murderous lead into a brother's heart! Think not that true misfortune is on my earth! It is only instruction which does good when it spurs you to better deeds, which mankind, you change into misfortune. When foolishly blind you strike backwards on the goad which should drive you forwards. Be wise, be strong and be brothers! Then my whole pleasure rests on you, then only tears of joy moisten the cheeks; then your complaints become rejoicings, then you create Eden's valleys out of waste land; then all in nature laughs; then, then it is attained—the true happiness of life.

" *Eine kleine Freimaurer Cantate* " (K.623)

This short Masonic Cantata is for two tenors, bass, chorus and orchestra. In the early summer of 1791, Mozart was at work on his opera, " The Magic Flute ". In November a new Masonic Temple was to be dedicated, and Mozart turned from the solemn subject of the Requiem upon which he was engaged to the joyful one of composing a cantata for his Brethren to perform at the ceremony, for which he also wrote a Closing song which appears to be a later addition to the cantata. The words themselves illustrate this and connect the cantata with the " New Crowned Hope " Lodge. The cantata is a joyous song for tenor and bass voices with orchestra, and includes a first chorus (repeated at the end), two arias and a duo. The text is by Bro. Emanuel Schikaneder. In the autumn the composer's health began to fail, but the intense depression from which he was suffering is never reflected in this work. He conducted the performance, and the joy his friends showed on seeing him again amongst them greatly revived his spirits. On reaching home he exclaimed to his wife, " How madly they have gone on about my cantata. If I did not know that I had written better things, I should have thought that my best composition." This was, however, his final appearance in public; he was shortly afterwards on his last bed, ever anxiously at work on the Requiem. He died on December 5th, leaving the Requiem unfinished, so that this cantata is the last finished composition of the master, and the ceremony at which it was performed was probably the last notable event in Austrian Freemasonry before the extinction of all Lodges in that country in 1795.

The first performance of this cantata in England is said to have taken place at Lewes on 5th February, 1902. The edition used then was provided with English words by Bro. Dusart, and we are singing these words this evening.

The Closing Hymn, " Let us with our hands fast holding ", is published as an appendix to the cantata and seems to be a later addition. It would be sung at the end of the evening's

function. The reference to the chain of hands will be familiar to many Brethren in other degrees. A translation made with a view to reproducing as exactly as possible the sentiment and character of the original without versification is:--

1. Brothers let us end this work with songs of jubilation. Let us link our hands and may this embrace this holy place as well as the whole world.
2. Let us give thanks to our Creator, whose omnipotence we delight in. Look, the consecration is ended, if only we had also finished our work, to which our hearts are dedicated.
3. Our first duty be to honour humanity and virtue, to teach love to oneself and others. Then, not only in the East, then not only in the West, but also in the North and South the light will shine.

In October, 1946, it was announced that the Austrian Government had decided to discard the tune hitherto used for the National Anthem of that country and known as the Austrian Hymn, composed by Haydn in 1797 (our own hymn tune to " Glorious things of Thee are spoken "), in favour of one of Mozart's tunes forming part of K.623. New words were sought from Austrian poets suitable for the national purpose. Several substitutes were tried before K.623 was selected. It is now the Austrian National Anthem (" Osterreichische Bundeshymne "), with a text by Paula Preradovic.

Four Masonic Songs by Mozart

Among the MSS. in the British Museum is a volume (additional 32596) containing a collection of 66 Freemasons' songs in German with pianoforte accompaniment. An allusion to the Emperor Joseph in the last song in the book fixes the date before 1790, the year of his death. The songs are by twenty different composers, Mozart's name being attached to four, *viz.*:—

No. 51—" To a Visiting Brother ".
No. 55—" Charity ".
No. 65—" Contentment ".
No. 66—" My Wishes ".

There are two editions in the Grand Lodge Library, one published in Berlin in 1789, collected and edited by F. M. Boheim. The same gentleman published in 1793 (in Berlin)), with J. Ambrosch, a volume of Freemasons' songs with melodies, which includes three songs with the music ascribed to Mozart. The music is, in fact, from " The Magic Flute ", being " Within this Hallowed Dwelling ", to the same words ; the trio No. 16, " Yet once again we come to greet ye " ; and No. 20, Papageno's aria, " A maiden fair and slender ".

" The Magic Flute "

The greatest work which can be attributed to Masonic influence is the Masonic opera of Mozart, " The Magic Flute ". Its ideological connection with Masonry has been referred to in many writings. Schikaneder, the librettist of " The Magic Flute ", and Giesecke, who is said to have assisted him, both belonged to the same Lodge as Mozart. Probably they had the original intention of writing one of the then popular fairy operas, but the result of their efforts was something quite different. Tovey says " that in ' The Magic Flute ', Mozart is in a Masonic Lodge of a degree higher than is known on earth. Though his head was in the heavens, it is said that his feet were very firmly planted on the stage, and he and Schikaneder understood each other perfectly and united to achieve something unique in opera, combining the gorgeousness of a pantomime with the solemnity of a ritual and the contemporary interest of a political satire ".

The story is well known, and is based on circumstances connected with the mysterious worship of Isis, the deity of the ancient Egyptians. Its action is a consequence of Sarastro, the high priest of the Temple of Isis, having borne away Pamina, the daughter of the wicked Queen of the Night, from her mother in order she may be trained in the paths of purity and goodness. Tamino, a handsome Egyptian prince, is saved from a monstrous serpent by the Queen's servants. They show him a portrait of Pamina and he falls in love with the unknown original. He is told the story of her having been stolen by Sarastro, and he vows to rescue her. Before starting he is presented with a magic flute, by which he is enabled to give alarm and invoke assistance in cases of peril ; while Papageno, the comic bird-catcher who accompanies him, is furnished with certain musical instruments which, when played, transform anger into mirth and provoke a desire for dancing. Developments need not be detailed. It is only necessary to say that Tamino, instead of bringing back Pamina, becomes a novitiate in the Temple ; meets Pamina there ; goes through, like her, a severe testing probation ; is ultimately proved worthy and marries Pamina ; while his companion, Papageno, also finds a mate.

The hand of the master is as clearly discernible in the tinkle of Papageno's *glockenspiel* as in the grandest contrapuntal triumph of the last finale. Beethoven is said to have considered this as Mozart's greatest opera, because in it were to be found nearly every species of music from the *lied* to the chorale and fugue.

The opera was first produced on 30th September, 1791, and by 12th October, 1795, had been performed no fewer than two hundred times and before 1800 had been produced in 58 towns in Central Europe. When produced in public for the first time, Austrian Freemasonry was no longer what it had been ten years earlier. After the death of Joseph II in 1790, the Catholic clergy under Leopold II became antagonistic and the leaders of the Austrian States forthwith regarded Freemasonry adversely. Leopold II died in March, 1792, and was succeeded by Francis II, a definite opponent of the Craft, who proposed its suppression throughout the German Empire at the Reichstag at Regensburg in 1794, and in 1795 prohibited it in his dominions, when all Austrian Lodges were closed.

Ferdinand David has said that no one who was not a Freemason could thoroughly appreciate the opera, and he instanced the grand chords played by the trombones at the end of the first part of the overture and in the first scene in the second act, "a symbol which no Freemason could possibly fail to understand". After the March of the Priests, Sarastro (Born), in announcing the arrival of Tamino, is asked: "Is he virtuous?" "Can he be silent?" "Is he charitable?" and then come the three chords thrice played by the horns. The rhythm is that of our M.M. knocks—the three knocks of the first degree in Austria. The air and chorus No. 10 in the opera, which follows, is really the prayer for the candidate:—

> O Isis and Osiris, lead ye in wisdom's path this faithful pair! Your blest protection now concede ye, strengthen their hearts when danger's near. Grant that they bravely bear the trial and to their prayers give not denial—Oh grant them life beyond the tomb.

No. 15 is the famous aria, "Within this hallowed dwelling", sung by Sarastro:—

> Within this hallowed dwelling revenge and sorrow cease, here troubled doubts dispelling, the weary heart hath peace. If thou hast stray'd a brother's hand shall guide thee t'ward the better land. This hallow'd fane protects thee from falsehood, guile, and a brother's love directs thee; to him thy woes are dear, fear. Whose soul abides in earthly strife doth not deserve the gift of life.

Later we have in the second finale the F.C. knocks, followed by the chorale, an ancient hymn tune sung by the two men in armour:—

> He who would wander on this path of tears and toiling needs water, fire and earth for his assoiling. If he can overcome the fear of grievous death, He shall be Lord of all that lives beneath. A ray of light divine shall flood his soul, To him is granted in this life to reach the goal.

"Ave Verum" (K.618)

The "Ave Verum" for four voices and strings, K.618, is one of the two last church works of Mozart, the other being the Requiem. It is small and complete, and has become one of Mozart's best-known works. Musically, it falls into the category of Mozart's Masonic music rather than of his church compositions proper. The perfection of modulation and voice-leading and the mastery with which it is fashioned will be apparent to all. In Vienna he wrote only three works of this kind—the Requiem (to order), the C Mass (to fulfil a vow), and this motet, "Ave Verum" (K.618)—although he had produced some sixty church works for the Salzburg services. When he left the Archbishop's service the hour had struck when he was to assume responsibility for his own life. His one passionate desire was to be free to write operas, and in the ten years that lay before him he wrote six. Likewise, in his Masonic music, he felt himself free from the restrictions imposed upon him by the Church—there were no pre-established requirements to be taken into account—so that his religious feelings emerge less in the charming, almost operatic music which he wrote for the Catholic Church than in the Masonic compositions of his later life.

The musical illustrations were by a quartet of Brethren, and the programme comprised the following:—

1. Song "Gesellenreise" K.468.
2. Masonic Funeral Music. K.477.
3. Opening and Closing pieces for a Lodge. K.483 and K.484.
4. Cantata "The Praise of Friendship". K.623 and closing ode.

5. Extracts from " The Magic Flute ". K.620.
   (*a*) " O Isis and Osiris ".
   (*b*) Within this hallowed dwelling ".
6. Motet: Ave Verum. K.618.

Vocal Quartet:

Bro. Eric Barnes (St. Paul's Cathedral).
W.Bro. Arthur Richards.
Bro. Roland Robson (St. Paul's Cathedral).
Bro. Denis Weatherley (B.B.C.).

Accompanist—W. Bro. Sidney Hibbs, *P.D.G.O.*

At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Sharp and to the Musicians, on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. G. S. Draffen and R. Gold.

THE W.M. said:—

Not many of us, I imagine, are qualified to offer comments from the Musician's point of view, but all of us can say to Bro. Sharp, " Thank you for a very delightful evening of enjoyment ". And with Bro. Sharp, we would wish to couple our thanks to the Accompanist and to the Brethren who have so kindly illustrated the paper with their delightful voices.

During his lamentably short life, our Bro. Mozart laid the world under perhaps an even greater debt than any other Composer who ever lived, and we are proud indeed to acclaim him as a Brother, and to join in celebrating the Bi-centenary of his birth.

I have much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Sharp for his paper, and to the Musicians who have given us so much enjoyment.

Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER said:—

It is my pleasant duty to second the vote of thanks to W.Bro. Sharp for his excellent and informative paper on Bro. Mozart. Thanks to his efforts we have all made advancement in our knowledge of this great Musician and fine Mason. As a most lowly musician—I have performed on the Contra-Bass, and on occasions conducted a country orchestra—I have enjoyed the manner in which Bro. Sharp has given us a picture of the wonder child, the grown man, and of his Music and of his devotion to Freemasonry, of his great successes and, at times, his great privations.

In Mozart we see the distinguishing characteristic of a Mason, that of " being happy and communicating happiness to others ". At times he was " reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty and distress ", and was duly given assistance by his brethren ; yet we glean the impression of a man who was happy and communicated that happiness to others, and is still, through his music, doing so 160 years after his death.

This joy shines forth, particularly in his instrumentation, that I wish Bro. Sharp had been able to let us hear a record of the exquisite Overture to " The Magic Flute ", or a portion of his great Symphony in C, the profound and vigorous " Jupiter ", but we are grateful for the beautiful illustrations given by the vocalists, and in seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Sharp we also extend it to the singers, who have greatly added to our pleasure.

Bro. DRAFFEN said:—

The only other composer who is at all well-known to the Craft—by virtue of his compositions—is Jan Sibelius, who is fortunately still with us and is a member of a Lodge under the Grand Lodge of Finland.

It has been said of Mozart that he always constructed a little building—a house in fact in which one could see all the rooms at one time—and those examples of his compositions which we have heard to-day bear this out.

Bro. Sharp has mentioned Mozart's " O Heilege Band der Freundschaft " (K.148) though he does not give this in his list of masonic compositions. Otto Jahn is also of the opinion that two of his Church Songs (K.343) could well be included in his masonic compositions.

"*Gesellenreise*" (K.468). Dr. Paul Nettl, Professor of Music at Indiana University, U.S.A., states in his *Music and Masonry* (Music and Record Publishing Co., New York, 1951) that this song "was composed on the occasion of the promotion of Mozart's *father* to the second degree, etc.". Dr. Nettl also states that Mozart was initiated in Lodge "The True Harmony" and later joined Lodge "Charity" and, later still, joined Lodge "The Crowned Hope". In his work, Dr. Nettl states that he has examined the minutes of the lodges concerned. I am sorry to have to bring up this point but, since accuracy is a bye-word in the *Transactions* of this lodge, I am hopeful that Bro. Sharp can resolve the differences. As a side-issue Mozart was present (states Dr. Nettl) at the initiation of Haydn on 11th February, 1785, in Mozart's Lodge.

The only recordings of Mozart's Masonic Music (excluding "The Magic Flute") which I can trace as being available in this country are to be found on a record issued by Philips (ABL3022). This record—it is a long-playing record—contains the three Cantatas and the Masonic Funeral Music (K.429, K.471, K.477, K.623). Some two years ago the School of Music at Indiana University published an album containing two long-playing records of Mozart's Masonic Music. The items recorded are: K.483, K.484, K.623, K.148, K.468, K.477, K.619, K.471, K.343, and four items ("The March of the Priests", "O Isis and Osiris", "Within these Holy Portals", "The Song of the Armoured Men") from "The Magic Flute" (K.620).

These records are published by The Music and Record Publishing Company, 60 East Forty Second Street, New York 17. Brethren who are in the happy position of being able to purchase this Album will be able to replay at their leisure seven of the items which have been so excellently rendered for us to-day.

Bro. ROBERT GOLD said:—

Bro. Sharp mentions that the Emperor Joseph II was not a Freemason. This is, of course, quite correct, but it is interesting to remember that he was a "Lewis". His mother was the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, who was hostile to the order—she is thought to be depicted in Mozart's opera, "The Magic Flute", as the Queen of the Night—but his father was the German Emperor Francis I, commonly known as Francis of Lorraine, who was initiated into Freemasonry in 1731 in the Hague by a delegation sent there for this purpose by the Grand Lodge of England, headed by Dr. Desaguliers, the third Grand Master of England.

Another matter of interest in connection with Bro. Sharp's paper is that the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was one of the two brethren commemorated on the occasion for which Mozart wrote the Masonic Funeral Music was the youngest brother of Queen Charlotte of England, the consort of George III; the Duke had joined the Austrian army and reached the rank of Major-General, and he was Provincial Grand Master of Bohemia.

There are three minor points on which I must quarrel with statements made by Bro. Sharp:—

(1) He is wrong in translating "Gesellenreise" as "Companions' Way". "Geselle" is the German word for "Fellow Craft", and the title of the song should be translated as "Fellow Craft's Journey", the word "journey" signifying the perambulation in the passing ceremony.

(2) The holding of hands referred to in the Closing Hymn published as an Appendix to the "Little Masonic Cantata" has no relation to any higher degrees. In German and Austrian Craft Lodges all Brethren stand holding hands in one large circle at the closing of the Lodge (referred to as "the chain of hands"). The same ceremony is observed in Pilgrim Lodge No. 238, the Lodge which, under the United Grand Lodge of England, works its own old German ritual. These ceremonies were described by Bro. Frank Bernhart, L.G.R., in a paper which he read before this Lodge in 1953.

(3) I beg leave to doubt Bro. Sharp's statement that Emanuel Schikaneder, the librettist of "The Magic Flute", was a member of the same Lodge as Mozart. I know this has been asserted several times, but to my knowledge there is no evidence whatsoever to support this statement. It is known that Schikaneder was initiated into Freemasonry at Regensburg in Germany, but there is no evidence whatsoever that he ever belonged to a Lodge in Vienna.

I should like to mention that some authorities have expressed doubts as to whether Mozart was really the composer of the Closing Hymn which appears as the appendix to the "Little Masonic Cantata". This hymn does not organically belong to the cantata, which is a self-contained work, and it is not mentioned in Mozart's own catalogue of his compositions. It has been suggested that the composer of this hymn might be Michael Haydn, the younger brother of Joseph Haydn.

After dinner, Bro. E. WINTERBURG kindly showed slides illustrating Mozart's life and surroundings, and gave the following discourse, which was greatly appreciated:—

We have met to-day to celebrate the bicentenary of the birth of a man who is very dear to mankind the world over because he was a great composer and musician whose genius gave the world priceless gifts. But to us Freemasons he is even dearer, because he was a devoted member of our craft. He was the originator of a new kind of music, the melodies of which we have listened to and admired to-day. We have listened to W.Bro. Sharp's paper with great interest, and we are all profoundly struck by the abundance of works the immortal master and brother created during his short life. For comparison with all that you have heard and enjoyed already, my contribution to the programme is a modest one, but I believe the pictures I am going to show you will give something to all of you—also to the uninitiated in music. You will catch a glimpse of Mozart's appearance at different periods of his life, of the members of his family, of the persons and personalities who surrounded him, of the places where he stayed and worked, and of his work itself.

Mozart's place of birth was Salzburg, in Austria, near the Bavarian border, still to-day the famous town of the festivals, but in the eighteenth century a renowned centre of culture, when the Mozart family lived there. There it was that father Leopold Mozart, court musician at the palace of the Prince Archbishop Sigismund and a composer himself, taught his little son Wolfgang music, where the latter met for the first time Emmanuel Schikaneder, a principal of a travelling theatre, who became one of Mozart's best friends, and later on played an important part as the librettist of the famous opera, " The Magic Flute ". It was here that he had his various disputes with the Prince Archbishop Hieronymus, of Salzburg, and where finally the première of his first opera, " Finta Semplice " (" The Disguised Simplicity "), took place (1769). The house in which Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born on the 27th January, 1756, was the " Hagenauer House ", in the Getreidegasse. It was bought in 1713 by the Hagenauer family, in whose possession it was until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1917 it became the property of the International Foundation Mozarteum. A museum was installed there and it exists as such to-day. In 1762, little Wolfgang, aged six, together with his sister Maria Anna, called Nannerl, was taken by his father to Vienna, where they gave a concert at the Imperial Court. Mozart's sister was an accomplished singer, sharing her brother's laurels as prodigy No. 2.

The successes in Vienna encouraged father Leopold to set out in 1763 on a long tour to Germany, France, Holland and England. The well-known water-colour by Carmontelle shows little Wolfgang playing the piano, his sister Nannerl singing, and father Leopold playing the violin at a Court concert in Versailles. In 1764 the family came to England and played at the Court of St. James with great success, as Bro. Sharp mentioned in more detail. In London the scientist, Daines Barrington, made a thorough investigation of Wolfgang's abilities and published the astonishing results in the Transactions of the Royal Society (1770). Three years were spent in concert tours before the family returned to Salzburg in 1767. The child prodigy was gradually developing into a real artist. At the age of twelve he had already travelled through many lands and composed symphonies, concertos and sonatas. A famous oil painting by Thadaeus Helbling shows him at this age sitting at the piano (1767). At the age of fourteen he set out on his first tour to Italy after he had become a Court concert conductor in Salzburg. This journey, as well as the two following ones, were successes from start to finish. Among other honours, he was made a member of the Academia Philarmonica in Bologna and got the title Compositore. He was also appointed an archiepiscopal concert master in Salzburg with a salary of 150 florins per year (1772).

The successor to the kind and indulgent Prince Archbishop Sigismund was Hieronymus (Ct. Colloredo), who was neither kind nor indulgent, but, on the other hand, he was not such a cruel tyrant as some writers like to depict him. It is quite clear that the Archbishop was not very fond of his Court conductor, who was very often absent and, therefore, not of much use to him, so the relations between employer and employee grew more and more strained. The composer Joseph Haydn, who lived in Vienna, attracted Mozart very much, and every opportunity was taken to go to Vienna, much to the anger of the Prince Archbishop Hieronymus. So things came to a head—father and son Mozart were dismissed. The former was reinstated, but he was not allowed to leave Salzburg any more. So Wolfgang's mother accompanied him to Munich and Paris, where she fell ill and died (1777), and the unhappy Mozart was compelled to return home to console his father.

One of the best contemporary portraits of Mozart is the oil painting by his brother-in-law, J. Lange, unfortunately unfinished. After Mozart's return from Paris, a travelling theatre settled down in Salzburg near Mozart's house, and the principal of this theatre was, as I have already mentioned, Emmanuel Schikaneder, a very clever theatricalist who knew the taste of his audience very well. His passion was the pantomime or the fairy opera, with the lavish use of machinery. Mozart became more and more friendly with him, and, trying to make himself useful to him, he composed three choral items to the drama, " Thamos, King of Egypt ", by

Gebler, which contain similarities to the later " Magic Flute ". An oil painting by de la Croce shows the family of Mozart, father Leopold, Wolfgang and Nannerl, with the picture of the deceased Madame Mozart on the wall. On March 16th, 1781, Mozart was summoned to Vienna, where the Prince Archbishop Hieronymus stayed at that time, showing a pageant competing with the Imperial Court itself. There, in the " German House " in the Singerstrasse, the well-known vehement disputes took place, and finally the complete break with the Prince Archbishop occurred, a fact which was of decisive importance to Mozart's career. He was now free and independent, and his talents showed themselves in every musical sphere. He decided to settle down for good in his beloved Vienna, the splendid capital of the Emperor Joseph II, commonly called the People's Emperor (1741-1790). Joseph II was a man of liberal and progressive ideas, determined to improve fundamentally the living conditions of his subjects. The taste of the Emperor for German opera with German libretto gave Mozart a new chance, and his first prospects in Vienna appeared rosy ; his pupils and several triumphs as composer and pianist supplied him with a comfortable income during his first years in the city.

In 1782 he married Konstanze Weber, aged nineteen, who had little in common with her husband except a poor sense of money matters. She was musical, but never fully understood Mozart's genius. Leopold Mozart never liked the match, and relations between father and son, already cooled by the clash with the Archbishop, became still more distant. Mozart, in Vienna, had a wide circle of friends of all classes—nobility, bourgeoisie and artists. Of his aristocratic friends, Baron Gottfried van Swieten is the best known. He was an Austrian diplomat and prefect of the Court Library (1734-1803) in Vienna. He was not only an inspired and devoted friend of music, but also the centre of the rich musical life of Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century. His Sunday morning musical performances, which Mozart always attended, soon became very famous. In the great cupola hall of the Court Library and in the palace of Prince Schwarzenberg, van Swieten arranged performances of the oratorios of Bach and Handel, and the text of " The Creation ", written in English, was translated by him into German. He was also one of the first patrons of Beethoven, and a devoted Freemason and member of the Order of Illuminates. On the 16th July, 1782, the performance of the opera, " The Abduction from the Seraglio " (Seraglio), took place at the Imperial Royal Burgtheatre. It was repeated fifteen times in the same year, and later on performed in Prague and a number of German cities, including Berlin. Despite the fact that this opera, the first one of more masterpieces to follow, was a great success, it did not bring Mozart nearer to his aim of obtaining a permanent post in keeping with his abilities. The Emperor thought highly of him and he was often seen at Court, but he was only commissioned from time to time to write various pieces of music without any prospect of achieving his ambitions. There was a very serious competitor at the Court of Vienna, Antonio Salieri, a successful composer and conductor of the Italian opera, which at this time dominated the musical life of Vienna. Salieri was also in great favour with the Emperor, and Mozart saw in him, rightly or wrongly, his arch enemy and an almost inescapable obstacle to an adequate post. The air between the two men was poisoned by gossip and various intrigues, and particularly Mozart saw in Salieri an evil demon and blamed him for nearly everything that went wrong.

Of Mozart's six children, two survived their father ; they were Karl and Wolfgang. The former was born on the 21st September, 1784. He was a bachelor, and died at 74 years of age as an Austrian civil servant in Milan, at this time an Austrian city. The latter, Wolfgang, inherited a tiny spark of his father's talent and became an insignificant musician. He was never in good health and died poor on the 29th July, 1844, in Karlsbad. Mozart's acquaintance, Lorenzo de Ponte, a Venetian abbot who had been born a Jew, was a remarkable combination of priest, adventurer and man of letters. He wrote the libretto for the opera, " The Marriage of Figaro ", which received an enthusiastic reception, not so much in Vienna as in Prague. In 1787, Mozart's father died. Although relations between them had been less cordial, this was a hard blow for Mozart. Bro. Sharp read a part of his moving last letter to his father, calling death the key to our true happiness. Mozart's preoccupation with death arose from his constant ill-health. The carefree years of the early Vienna period had long since given place to times of poverty and need, and Mozart's constitution, never strong, suffered severely. He was compelled to borrow money and pawn his furniture and other belongings to pay his most pressing debts, and this preyed on his mind.

There was a break in the clouds when the people of Prague asked him to write a new opera. In the late summer of 1787 he travelled to Prague to finish " Don Giovanni ". He used to work in Prague at the so-called Bertramka, a pretty villa in the suburbs. The owners were the famous musicians, Francis and Josepha Duschek, who were close friends of Mozart. In the later years the Bertramka was maintained by contributions from Masonic Lodges and private persons, and the garden was used on several occasions for the performance of open-air concerts executed by Freemason musicians in memory of Mozart. On the 28th October, 1787, the performance of " Don Giovanni " took place. Its success was overwhelming. In

Vienna it was performed on the 7th May, 1788, and highly appreciated. Meanwhile, Mozart's financial position was deteriorating more and more. His friend and Bro. Michael Puchberg, a well-to-do merchant, did his best to help, but, unfortunately, he could not do enough. A former pupil of Mozart's, Prince Lichnovsky, invited him to travel to Berlin in his company. They stopped in Dresden, and here it was that Mozart sat for the last time for a portrait. A subtle silver crayon drawing by Dora Stock clearly shows the drawn features of an ailing man. He returned to Vienna and the Emperor asked him to write a new opera. It was " Cosi Fan Tutte ", performed on the 26th January in Vienna. On the 20th February, 1790, the Emperor died, after the revocation of the larger part of his reforms. His successor, Emperor Leopold II, an enemy of all innovations, turned the wheel of time back again.

At this point we will return to the year 1784, when Mozart, as we have heard, became a Freemason and joined the Benevolence or Charity Lodge in Vienna. Bro. Dr. Paul Nettl writes in his book, *Mozart and the Craft :* " When Mozart, in Vienna, gained access to those circles which consisted mostly of Freemasons, there were quite a number of Lodges in existence, despite the fact that the Emperor Joseph II, by a Court decree dated 17th December, 1785, reduced the number of Lodges in Vienna and in the capitals of the provinces to three with the obligation imposed to submit from time to time their membership lists to the authorities. These measures taken by the Emperor were aimed at safeguarding the order, which was split at this time, against the threat of being supplanted by various often completely irresponsible systems, ' bubble companies ' and charlatanism, which used Freemasonry as a shield for their activities."

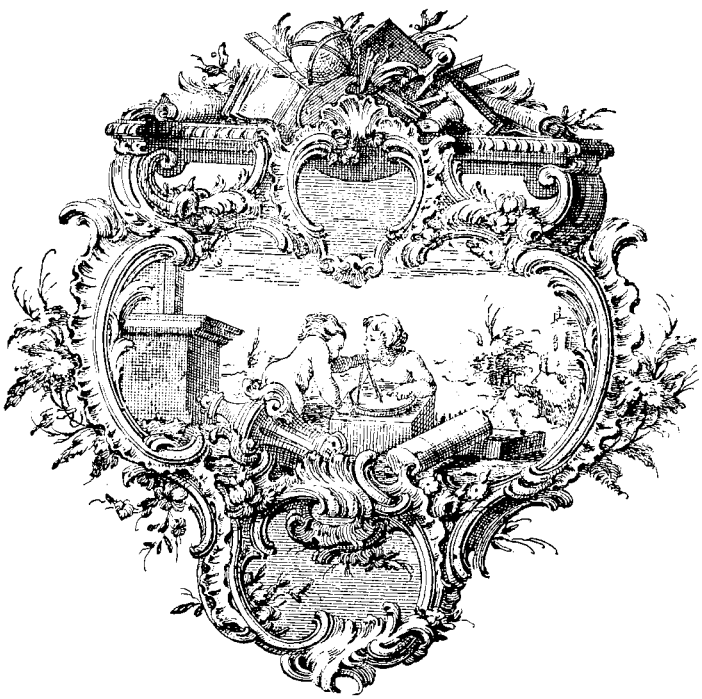
So far Dr. Nettl. Mozart was introduced and proposed to the Charity Lodge by a friend of his, Freiherr Otto von Gemmingen. This Lodge was later on absorbed by the New Crowned Hope Lodge. Mozart was also a permanent visitor of the True Harmony Lodge, which was at this time the spiritual centre of Austrian Freemasonry, if not the centre of the spiritual Vienna. Wolfgang inspired his father, too, to become a Freemason. On the 7th January, 1785, Mozart was passed to a fellow-craft in the True Harmony Lodge, and was also present when the composer, Haydn, was initiated later on. The W.M. of this Lodge was at this time Ignaz Edler von Born (1742-1791), a famous naturalist and scientist, who founded the Lodge " The Three Crowned Pillars " in Prague 1770, by a warrant of the G.L. of England. He was Court Councillor of the Imperial Mint, also a member of the Academies of Science in London, Stockholm and Siena, and the Emperor's adviser in all Masonic matters. He became a close friend to Mozart, and it is said that the latter saw in him the prototype of Sarastro in his opera, " The Magic Flute ". Next to " The Magic Flute ", a work entitled " Masonic Funeral Music " is the most important work of a Masonic character. The death of two brothers, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Count Esterhazy, induced Mozart to write it. Count Esterhazy was Hungarian Court Councillor and did not shrink from opposing vehemently and stubbornly the plans of the Emperor directed against the Hungarian Constitution. The cantata " Maurerfreude " (" Mason's Joy "), was written in 1785 in honour of Born and performed for the first time in the Truth and Unity Lodge in Prague on the occasion of Mozart's visit. A very scarce Masonic book with the title *Betbuch Fur Freimaurer (Prayer Book for Freemasons)* was published in Prague in 1785 on St. Joseph's Day in honour of the Emperor. The author was a former Catholic priest. The book appeared in critical times to prove that the Freemasons were not adhering to the ideas of the French Revolution, that they were good Christians and faithful subjects. The contents of the book are prayers for the apprentices up to the Grand Master. " The Magic Flute " is the glorification of the idea of humanity; in fact, the Masonic idea.

Bro. Sharp has stressed all important points and there is little to add. The brothers Schikaneder and Giesecke assisted Mozart, but it may be that Born's lectures about the Egyptian mysteries also influenced Mozart to a certain extent. If, in Bro. Sharp's paper, it was said that Mozart's masterpiece combines pantomime, solemnity of the ritual and the contemporary interest of political satire, the frontispiece of the text book of " The Magic Flute " is proof of this. The Masonic relics of Mozart are scarce ; most of them are in private possession and not accessible. From the whole correspondence on Freemasonry between father and son, which was a very lively one, nothing exists, apart from one letter. The old man, as a good but cautious Austrian, destroyed the lot. Returning to the year 1790, the death of the Emperor Joseph II was a severe blow for Mozart. He had lost a patron and a good friend. This fact, together with his ill-health, his poor financial standing and family worries, distressed him further still. His efforts to achieve solvency by visiting Frankfurt and Munich and playing there were in vain. The mysterious commission to write a Requiem for an unknown customer brought him some money, but upset him badly. Also his last journey to Prague to see the performance of his opera, " Titus ", on the occasion of the coronation of Leopold II as king of Bohemia, was rather a disappointment.

When " The Magic Flute " première took place on the 30th September, 1791, in the Imperial and Royal Theatre on the Wieden in Vienna, a mere wooden structure, the house was sold out to the last seat. On the programme the name of Mozart, who conducted despite

his poor health, was printed in small characters hardly visible ; the name of Schikaneder in much larger ones. But the opera did not find the applause which was expected, and Mozart was disappointed. Schikaneder was not. He knew that the audience would understand the opera gradually only and grow to appreciate it. And so it was. The opera was repeated 24 times in October alone. The 100th performance took place in November, 1792. Three years later the 200th performance for the benefit of Schikaneder took place. Mozart was no longer alive. He did not live to see the peak of his triumph. In " The Magic Flute " he has created the foundation of a new dramatic style in music. He died on the 5th December, 1791, leaving the Requiem unfinished. On the Kapuzinerberg near Salzburg, there is a tiny wooden bower, the " Zauberfloetenhæuschen ", decorated with many pictures, old etchings, water colours, oil paintings, silhouettes of actors and actresses and even photographs—everything in connection with " The Magic Flute ". The memory of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart will be kept alive in the mind of mankind for ever by his music, but we and our brothers everywhere will listen to his melodies with particular devotion, with love and pride and say to ourselves, " He was one of us ".

E.W.



FRIDAY, 2nd MARCH, 1956

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.D., *as* Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Stwd.; and *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. C. W. Hunter, T. W. Over, E. Ward, C. Mumford, G. H. Holloway, C. Madison Roberts, C. W. Parris, A. J. Beecher-Stow, A. F. Rolton, I. I. B. Wilson, F. V. W. Sedgley, C. Lawson-Reece, A. F. Cross, L. J. Rowe, H. N. O'Leary, J. G. Wainwright, K. K. Kcamaris, A. R. Jole, J. D. de S. McElwain, A. Parker Smith, A. I. Sharp, F. L. Bradshaw, G. E. Lockitt, H. E. Cohen, G. H. Rooke, L. J. C. Dribbell, A. Barnholt, G. Norman Knight, B. Jacobs, F. M. Shaw, J. G. Williams, G. Davis, B. Wheeler, R. O. Bailey and O. F. Deane.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. E. Blackwell, Lodge 2700; F. W. Brandram, Lodge 251; G. L. Stein, Lodge 255; N. O'Leary, Lodge 862; E. C. Peter, Lodge 6716; H. Indus, Lodge 1791; G. G. Martin, Lodge 2842; J. G. Medland, Lodge 1803; A. F. Wizard, Lodge 2882.

Letters of apology for absence were recorded from Bros. B. Ivanoff, P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*, 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), P.M., Secretary; 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., J.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS

From the Library of Grand Lodge:—

Nicephorus Callistus—*Ecclesiastical History* (First Latin edition) 1553.

Samuel Lee—*Orbis Miraculum*, 1659.

Bishop Warburton—*Julian, or a Discourse Concerning the Earthquake and Firey Eruption* (Second Edition), 1751.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS read an interesting paper entitled, *The Story of the Fourth Temple*, as follows:—

THE STORY OF THE FOURTH TEMPLE

BY BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS, M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D.

THE Temple of Solomon figures to such an extent in Craft Freemasonry that matters concerning it or its successors cannot fail to be of interest to our Brethren. Moreover, those who are members of the Royal Arch Degree may be reminded—and those who are not may without impropriety be informed—that this Degree is based on the later history of the First Temple and the earlier history of the Second.

Some words of warning may well be given at the outset. The evidence which exists, and which will be given, is scanty and inconsistent. Both those who have given it and those who have commented on it have been in many cases actuated by prejudice. For these reasons the conclusions drawn have been diverse, and in the circumstances it has appeared best to set out the pieces of evidence which survive, fairly and objectively, and without prejudice to discuss their cogency, and leave it to one's audience, as to a jury, to decide what conclusions can be drawn, or, failing conclusions, what are the probabilities of the case.

The First Temple, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1012 B.C., was dedicated in the year 1004. In 971 it was pillaged by Shishak, King of Egypt, and burnt and razed by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, in 587. Some time thereafter, in the year 538, the Babylonish Kingdom was overthrown by Cyrus, King of Persia, who in 536 issued his edict allowing the Jews to return to Jerusalem and to rebuild the Temple ; this, the Second Temple, was finished in 515. It stood until the reign of Herod, who, as he hoped, for his own greater glory, rebuilt it in the years 20-19, and this was the building in which many of the events of the New Testament took place, and of which the Wailing Wall is the only existing remnant. This Third Temple, in turn, existed until it was destroyed by the victorious legions of Titus in the seventieth year of the present era, and at the same time, though it remained their spiritual home, Jerusalem was ceasing to be the cultural centre of the Jewish people. Their position in time showed some improvement, and their Patriarch was recognised by the Roman authorities as their leader. But again the spirit of nationality awakened, and the Jews once more took up arms, in the last years of the Emperor Trajan. His successor, Hadrian, at first adopted a more conciliatory attitude, and it is interesting and not impertinent to our subject to note that Graetz [1] states that " It is not to be doubted that the Jews made the re-erection of the Temple on its former site a condition of their laying down arms. A Jewish source relates this fact in clear terms, and Christian accounts positively aver that the Jews on several occasions endeavoured to restore the Temple, and this can only refer to the early years of Hadrian's reign. The superintendence of the town Hadrian is said to have entrusted to the proselyte Akylas ". But any hopes which had been raised were doomed to failure. The Emperor [2] " began to diminish his promises and to prevaricate ", stipulating that the Temple must be built either on another site or on a smaller scale. The peaceful years were at an end and Hadrian adopted a more repressive policy. The Jews broke out in revolt in the year A.D. 132, under the military leadership of Bar-Cochba and the spiritual inspiration of Rabbi Akiba. After an heroic struggle the Roman forces prevailed, and half-a-million Jews are said to have perished. A new city, called Aelia Capitolina after the Emperor, was built on the site of Jerusalem, with an array of Pagan temples, of which one, dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, was erected on the mount where the Sanctuary had formerly stood, and entry into the city beyond the outer walls was forbidden to the Jews on pain of death. Though these rigorous laws were in time abrogated, Jerusalem then became for the most part a Pagan, and later a Christian, city.

The Emperor Julian, generally known as the Apostate, was born in Constantinople in 331 of Christian parents, his father being the half-brother of Constantine the Great, under whom

[1] H. Graetz, *History of the Jews* (*Jewish Chronicle*, re-issue, 1901), Vol. ii, pp. 404, 405.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 406.

the Roman Empire had become Christian. On the death of the latter in 337, according to his arrangements his empire should have been partitioned between his surviving sons and those of one of his half-brothers, but this arrangement was never carried out, and as a result of a movement among the troops, his son Constantine "either instigated or sanctioned after the event a general family massacre" in which, among others, Julian's father and his eldest brother were murdered.[1] Julian was educated by Christian tutors, and was for some years interned with his surviving brother, Gallus, in a lonely castle in Cappadocia. On his release he had become freer to follow his own religious and philosophical inclinations. In one of his letters, written in 362, he states that until his twentieth year he had been a Christian, but had now for the last twelve years walked in the road of Helios, the Sun-God.[2] Among the Pagan teachers whom he chiefly sought were Libanius, who was subsequently to compose his funeral oration, and Maximus, whose taste for the occult appealed to a similar taste in Julian. About a year after the death of Gallus, Constantine raised Julian to the rank of Cæsar, and sent him to deliver the Gallic provinces of the Empire which had been invaded by the barbarians.

In this task Julian proved remarkably and unexpectedly successful, and gave evidence of considerable military gifts, winning the confidence and adoration of the Gallic army. Constantine was then planning a campaign against Sapor, King of Persia, and bespoke the assistance of the flower of his cousin's army for distant service in the East. Many of these soldiers had taken service on condition that they were not to serve outside Gaul, and at Paris, in February, 360, the army broke out into open mutiny. Julian failed to pacify them and they surrounded his palace. They raised him on their shields in customary fashion, crowned him with a standard-bearer's chain for want of a diadem, and hailed him as Emperor. Julian reported the proceedings to Constantine, who replied that the former must content himself with the title of Cæsar, but turned his own immediate attention to the Persian campaign. This proving inconclusive, he was preparing to deal with Julian, when he fell sick and died of a fever in November, 361. Julian was now the unchallenged Emperor, and free to follow his own religious inclinations and to take what steps he chose to carry them out. Let it at once be said that so far as the new Emperor was concerned there was none of the bloodshed that had characterised the earlier persecutions of the Christians; indeed, he is reproached by Gregory Nazianzen for grudging them the glory of martyrdom. But, short of this, Julian's treatment of the Christians was rigorous, and what especially marked his intolerance was a rescript forbidding Christian teachers to read the pagan authors with their pupils, which, since all education was then based on these authors, meant that they were, in fact, forbidden to teach at all.

Julian's reign was but short. The activities of the Persian King were still a menace to the Empire and had to be dealt with. The Emperor left Constantinople about the early summer of 362 for Antioch, whence he started on his expedition on March 5th, 363. Despite a victory at Ctesiphon, the army was involved in difficulties. It was continually harassed by the Persian forces, and, in an attack on June 26th, Julian was mortally wounded. The Christian General Jovian was acclaimed by the troops as his successor.

Such, in brief outline, were the life and actions of Julian, called the Apostate. It is not certain whether the title was technically apt,[3] but, in any event, it suggests only one part—the dark side—of a by no means ignoble character. Of his hatred of Christianity there can be no doubt, as there can be none of his prejudice and of his insensibility to its spiritual appeal. He saw in it the religion of his family's murderers; its doctrine of universal brotherhood was obscured for him by the spectacle of the contending sects of the Orthodox and the Arians; he despised the faith and scorned its followers, challenging them and denying their universalism with the epithet Galileans. Of Judaism he formed a more favourable view, though he rated it much below his own conservative Paganism. His objection to it lay in its belief in one Universal God, which he looked upon as offensive to the many godheads of his own inclusive pantheon. Upon the God of the Jews he looked with respect, but only as one among other national or tribal deities. Moreover, his own mind, which "stood on ceremonies" and was turned towards occultism and a kind of mysticism, was impressed by the ritual of the Jews, particularly their sacrificial offerings. So far as his own beliefs were concerned, he was no mere idolator. He recognised the old Greek deities of place, of natural phenomena, and of human circumstances, but over them all he could recognise an overseeing and inspiring Spirit. The Eastern cult of Mithras, into the mysteries of which he had been initiated, as well as some of the Neo-Platonic doctrines, he seems to have combined with a reverence for the gods of the Hellenic pantheon. In Miss Gardner's words,[4] the habit of meditating upon and of endeavouring to analyse the Divine Power manifested in nature and in man made it possible for Julian and other Alexandrian philosophers to keep to a polytheistic mythology, while maintaining a monotheistic position in their serious belief and in their most cherished religious

[1] Alice Gardner, *Julian*, pp. 28, 29.
[2] *Works of the Emperor Julian* (Loeb Edn.), Letter 47, at page 149.
[3] Alice Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 52.
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189.

practices". She speaks of him as one who became "a general, a statesman and a man of the world, without ceasing to be a student, an ascetic, and a religious idealist".[1] Again, to quote further testimony from a modern and moderate scholar in qualification of the traditional epithet: "Innumerable have been the explanations which men have offered for the apostasy of Julian. They have pointed to his Arian teachers, have suggested that Christianity was hateful to him as the religion of Constantius, who he regarded as his father's murderer, while rationalists have paradoxically claimed that the Emperor's reason refused to accept the miraculous origin and the subtle theologies of the faith. It would be truer to say that Christianity was not miraculous enough—was too rational for the mystic and enthusiast . . . The causes of Julian's apostasy lie deep-rooted in the apostate's inmost being".[2]

Among the works of Julian are usually printed such of his letters as survive, and among them is what is in effect a rescript, "To the Community of the Jews"[3] It begins by setting out the acts of favour already shown to them by the Emperor, *e.g.*, alleviation of taxes and refusal to pay heed to charges of impiety alleged against them, and it then continues as follows:—

> "And since I wish that you should prosper yet more, I have admonished my brother Iulus, your most venerable patriarch,[4] that the levy[5] which is said to exist among you should be prohibited, and that no one is any longer to have the power to oppress the masses of your people by such exactions; so that everywhere, during my reign, you may have security of mind, and in the enjoyment of peace may offer more fervid prayers for my reign to the Most High God, the Creator, who has deigned to crown me with his own immaculate right hand. For it is natural that men who are distracted by any anxiety should be hampered in spirit, and should not have so much confidence in raising their hands to pray; but that those who are in all respects free from care should rejoice with their whole hearts and offer their suppliant prayers on behalf of my imperial office to Mighty God, even to him who is able to direct my reign to the noblest ends, according to my purpose. This you ought to do, in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem, which for so many years you have longed to see inhabited, and may bring settlers there, and, together with you, may glorify the Most High God therein."

There is a passage in a Fragment of a Letter (of Julian) to a Priest, which should be quoted in view of its alleged relevance to the question of the Emperor's project for rebuilding the Temple. In the course of his argument, Julian points out that the works of man, even though these works be the representations or images of the gods, are subject to profanation and destruction, and that if they are profaned or destroyed, belief in the gods should be in no way affected thereby. He goes on to say:—

> "Therefore let no man deceive us with his sayings or trouble our faith in a divine providence. For as for those who make such profanation a reproach against us, I mean the prophets of the Jews, what have they to say about their own temple, which was overthrown three times and even now is not being raised up again? This I mention not as a reproach against them, for I myself, after so great a lapse of time, intended to restore it, in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it. But in the present case I have used this instance because I wish to prove that nothing made by man can be indestructible, and that those prophets who wrote such statements were uttering nonsense, due to their gossiping with silly old women. In my opinion there is no reason why their god should not be a mighty god, even though he does not happen to have wise prophets or interpreters. But the real reason why they are not wise is that they have not submitted their souls to be cleansed by the regular course of study, nor have they allowed those studies to open their tightly closed eyes, and to clear away the mist that hangs over them. But since these men see as it were a great light through a fog, not plainly nor clearly, and since they think that what they see is not a pure light but a fire, and they fail to discern all that surrounds it, they cry with a loud voice: 'Tremble, be afraid, fire, flame, death, a dagger, a broad-sword!' thus describing under many names the harmful might of fire."

Julian's rescript had been generally accepted as genuine by earlier generations, but some later writers have rejected it. The translator of the Loeb edition summarises the present views as follows:—

[1] *Op. cit.*, p.114.
[2] *Cambridge Mediæval History*, vol. i. p. 78. Article by Professor Norman H. Baynes.
[3] Loeb Classical Library, *Works of the Emperor Julian*, Letter 51, vol. iii, pp. 177 ff.
[4] The Patriarch Hillel was then about seventy.
[5] The Apostole paid by the Jews for the maintenance of the Patriarchate.

> " The rescript *To the Community of the Jews (Letter 51),* though it is cited by Sozomen 5.22 and Socrates 3.20 as Julian's, has been condemned as a forgery by Schwarz, Kilinek and Geffekin, was considered ' très suspect ' by Bidez and Cumont in 1898 (*Recherches*) and is rejected outright by them in their edition of 1922. Their arguments are based on the general tone of the document, and the strange reference to ' my brother ' the Jewish patriarch, but while the rescript may have been rewritten or edited in a bureau it probably represents the sentiments of Julian and is consistent with his attitude to the Jews as expressed in the treatise *Against the Galileans.* It has therefore been placed with the genuine letters in this volume ".[1]

Had the surviving evidence with regard to the project for rebuilding the city and the temple consisted only of the passages just cited, our inferences could have been reasonably clear: Julian proposed to rebuild Jerusalem on his return from his Persian expedition on its successful conclusion ; it was not concluded successfully or at all, and, in fact, while it was yet unfinished it cost him his life ; therefore, the rebuilding did not take place. But, in fact, there is a body of evidence—to what extent reliable will be discussed—to the effect that the project was not limited to the mere issue of a rescript. Our discussion cannot be altogether exhaustive, as the sequel will show. Reasons of space forbid ; the evidence and the controversies arising thereout have been affected by the religious beliefs and prejudices both of the witnesses and of the commentators, so as to bring out religious differences to such an extent as to render the subject painful to those who, like ourselves, seek out that which is common to all our religions—the Royal Arch Degree, its members may be reminded and Craft Masons informed, postulates a synthesis of monotheistic beliefs ; and, finally, no conclusion can be altogether certain, but at best only probable.

Gregory Nazianzen, in his Second Invective against the Emperor Julian, after an introduction which well justifies the title of an Invective, goes on to relate how the Emperor, out of hatred of the Christians, projected the rebuilding of the Temple, and that the Jews began to debate the matter " and in large numbers and with great zeal set about the work. For the partisans of the other side report that not only did their women strip off all their personal ornaments and contribute it towards the work and operations, but even carried away the rubbish in the laps of their gowns, sparing neither the so precious clothes nor yet the tenderness of their own limbs, for they believed they were doing a pious action, and regarded everything of less moment than the work in hand. But they being driven against one another, as though by a furious blast of wind, and sudden heaving of the earth, some rushed to one of the neighbouring sacred places to pray for mercy ; others, as is wont to happen in such cases, made use of what came to hand to shelter themselves ; others were carried away blindly by the panic, and struck against those who were running up to see what was the matter. There are some who say that neither did the sacred place admit them, but that when they approached the folding doors that stood wide open, on coming up to them they found them closed in their faces by an unseen and invisible power which works wonders of the sort for the confusion of the impious and the saving of the godly. But what all people nowadays report and believe is that when they were forcing their way and struggling about the entrance a flame issued forth from the sacred place [church] and stopped them, and some it burnt up and consumed so that a fate befell them similar to the disaster of the people of Sodom, or to the miracle about Nadab and Abiud, who offered incense and perished so strangely: while others it maimed in the principal parts of the body, and so left them for a living monument of God's threatening and wrath against sinners. Such then was this event, and let no one disbelieve, unless he doubts likewise the other mighty works of God! But what is yet more strange and more conspicuous, there stood in the heavens a light circumscribing a Cross, and that which before on earth was contemned by the ungodly both in figure and in name is now exhibited in heaven and is made by God a trophy of His victory over the impious, a trophy more lofty than any other!" [2]

Later in his narrative, Gregory continues: " Let those who were spectators and partakers of that prodigy exhibit their garments, which to the present time are stamped with the brand-marks of the Cross! For at the very moment that anyone, either of our brethren or of the outsiders, was telling the event or hearing it told by others, he beheld the miracle happening in his own case or to his neighbour, being all spotted with stars, or beholding the other so marked upon his clothes in a manner more variegated than could be done by any artificial work of the loom or elaborate painting." [3]

Gregory wrote contemporaneously with the events that he purports to record, but in the following century, some seventy or eighty years after the Emperor's death, other Church

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 313, 315.
[2] *Julian the Emperor,* containing Gregory Nazianzen's Two Invectives. . . . Trans. C. W. King (Bohn's Libraries), 1888, pp. 88-90.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

historians tell the story as derived from Gregory, with sundry embellishments and variations, and Adler has thus summarised them:—

> "Socrates informs us that Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, prophesied the failure of the attempt, and the very next night occurred the terrible earthquake; it overthrew many buildings, and fire came down from heaven and consumed all the hammers, saws, axes and other tools. The conduct of the Jews, when permission to restore the Temple had been granted them, became most insolent and overbearing. They threatened the Christians with the same treatment that they had themselves previously experienced. Sozomen related that Julian and the Jews neglected everything else to push on the work; they engaged the most skilful artisans, and the women sold their daintiest ornaments and carried baskets of earth in order to accomplish their desired end. When suddenly the earthquake occurred, huge stones were thrown up from the old foundations, public porticoes, especially those in which the Jews were collected looking on at the work, fell to the ground, and many were killed. In spite of this the work was progressed with, when a fire, either from the bowels of the earth or a neighbouring church, broke out, and blazing all day forced the work to cease. The spades and baskets used were of silver, says Theodoret. The Jews offered all their wealth to the work, and innumerable multitudes began to dig. Letters were sent by the Jews to all their co-religionists in every part of the globe to come and help. But all the earth they removed in the daytime spontaneously returned during the night to its former location. They destroyed everything that remained of the old Temple, and while they were gathering heaps of clay and plaster, violent storms and an earthquake occurred. This struck the Jews with terror, but they continued their work until a fire broke out in their midst. That same night the roof of the building, beneath which many of the workmen slept, collapsed, and all were killed. Rufinus has nothing to say about any fire, but his earthquake throws down all the adjoining edifices and destroys especially those buildings in which the Jews were assembled. The crosses on the garments, Socrates relates, shone like the sunbeams even during the night, and could not be rubbed off. Sozomen knows that stars were seen on the clothes, and they were so skilfully formed that the hand of a workman could not have done them better. Black was the colour of the crosses, says Theodoret. As will have been noticed, some relate that the fire fell from heaven, others from the earth, others again from a neighbouring church, and one is silent upon this matter altogether. According to Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, Julian summoned the Jews to know why they offered no sacrifices. Upon their informing him that this could only be done in Jerusalem, he forthwith issued commands that the Temple should be rebuilt." [1]

Ammianus Marcellinus (*c.* 330-390) was apparently a Pagan, born of Greek parents, who, after much active service in the Roman Army and serving with Julian in the Persian Expedition, settled in Rome, and devoted himself to literature, compiling a history of the Roman Empire some twenty years after the Temple incidents. He is described by Professor Ramsay [2] as industrious in research, honest in purpose, a man of common sense and of independence, but one who did not entirely escape the contagion of superstition: "The general and deep-seated belief in magic spells, omens, prodigies and oracles, which appears to have gained additional strength upon the first introduction of Christianity, evidently exercised no small influence over his mind." The account given by Ammianus is as follows:—

> "He [*i.e.*, Julian] planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid temple at Jerusalem, which, after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus, had barely been stormed. He had entrusted the speedy performance of the work to Alypius of Antioch,[3] who had once been vice-prefect of Britain. But though this Alypius pushed the work on with vigour, aided by the governor of the province, terrifying balls of flame kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death; and since in this way the element persistently resisted them, Julian gave up the attempt." [4]

In fairness, I think the argument from the silence of other writers should be mentioned. Newman, in a note, says: "It is objected by Lardner that St. Jerome, Prudentius and Orosius are silent about the miracles. Others have alleged the silence of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. But if, as a matter of course, good testimony is to be overborne because other good testimony is

[1] The Rev. M. Adler, *The Emperor Julian and the Jews*; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. v, 1893, pp. 635-7.

[2] In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

[3] Two letters from the Emperor to Alypius, written in most familiar terms, survive. (See Loeb edition of *Julian's Works*, vol. iii, pp. 16-21, Letters 6 and 7.)

[4] Ammianus Marcellinus (Loeb Classical Library, vol. ii, book xxiii, 2-3, p. 311.

wanting, there will be few facts of history certain. Why should Ammianus be untrue because Jerome is silent? Sometimes the notoriety of a fact leads to its being passed over."[1] Adler[2] counters by pointing out that Jerome was a young man when Julian died, that he was a pupil of Gregory, had lived for a time in Palestine, and was acquainted with the historian Rufinus. Moreover, in his *Commentary on Daniel,* he states that "Julian pretended to love the Jews, and promised to offer sacrifices in their Temple". Thence Adler argues that "Newman's explanation of Jerome's silence . . . is hardly plausible with reference to an author who was a most observant recorder of events, and intimately acquainted with the Jews". In his numerous allusions to Julian and the Temple at Jerusalem, not all the notoriety in the world can account for his omission to relate the news that his teacher, Gregory, had so diligently spread abroad, and he quotes Gibbon's observation, "That the silence of Jerome leads to a suspicion that the same story which was celebrated at a distance might be despised on the spot", as being more reasonable than Newman's.

There is a singular absence of reference to the subject in Jewish writers. Two are usually mentioned, both of some twelve centuries later and both basing themselves on Christian sources. These were David Gans (1541-1613), who wrote *The Branch of David,* and Gedaliah Ibn Yachya (1515-1587), author of *The Chain of Tradition.* Moreover, of the latter Israel Abrahams says that he was so utterly uncritical that his book was nicknamed the "Chain of Lies".[3]

Julian's reference to the Temple in the Fragment of a Letter to a Priest has already been quoted. Newman[4] craves its aid in proof of what occurred at the attempted rebuilding and italicises the word "fire" therein, commenting that "the prophetic emblem of fire haunted him [Julian], which had been so recently exhibited in the catastrophe by which he had been baffled". It is true that the Fragment uses the words "overthrown three times", but, as has been pointed out by other commentators, these may well include either the preparations for Herod's rebuilding or the profanation under Antiochus or under Hadrian, and the word "overthrown" does not seem apt to describe what is alleged to have occurred under Julian. One cannot help feeling that to suppose that Julian would have written in this way of a recent and what must have been a keenly-felt failure is rather to strain the meaning of words and to take the passage out of its obvious context.

The main evidence has now been submitted, but before it is considered the issue must be defined and words of caution uttered regarding its credibility and cogency. We must deal with the matter objectively without regard to any theological views. As can be seen, much of the evidence has been used in a controversy on miracles. This aspect does not concern us. Our object is to judge so far as is possible what, in fact, occurred—what were the events that took place, and not whether their cause was miraculous or otherwise. Further, the Church historians argue as though the truth of Scripture were at stake. Miss Gardner has not inaptly dealt with this view when she says: "Julian's enemies saw in his attempt a blasphemous endeavour to prove the nullity of certain passages in the Prophets and the Gospels which would seem to imply that the restoration of the Temple was never to be accomplished. It seems, however, that only a very forced interpretation of these passages is consistent with this view, and that any such predictions, if drawn from the Old Testament, might have condemned the enterprise in the eyes of the Jews, as well as in those of the Christians."[5]

The evidence of the Church historians is the most considerable in quantity, and we have to endeavour to assess its value. If action was, in fact, taken in the rebuilding of the Temple, then, as the feelings of both Christians and Pagans, and presumably the Jews, were deeply engaged, the work must have been begun in circumstances of unusual tenseness in which any occurrence might be interpreted and turned to the advantage of those who so expectantly awaited so important a test.

Obviously, the chroniclers are steeped in prejudice, and Gregory's narrative is in form and substance an Invective. Moreover, edification was never far from the thoughts of the writers, and embellishments or additions to further their own cause were a laudable aid, as Dr. Johnson held in dealing with his own party and the "Whig dogs" fourteen centuries later. Yet, discounting the value of the narrative for these reasons and despite the many discrepancies, are we altogether to disregard this evidence?

Let us turn to the account of Ammianus. We have already quoted a tribute to his honesty; in addition to this, we know that he was credulous in regard to marvels and prodigies. But, on the other hand, he was a Pagan and a soldier of the Emperor, and would not be likely to credit and to chronicle anything to the discredit or disadvantage of his master unless he had good reason for believing it. His narrative, it is true, differs from that of the

[1] *Two Essays on Scripture Miracles and on Ecclesiastical,* 2nd Edn., 1870, p. 340.
[2] *Op. cit.,* pp. 647, 648.
[3] *Short History of Jewish Literature,* p. 135.
[4] *Op. cit.,* pp. 338-40.
[5] *Op. cit.,* p. 263.

Church historians, but he is the only authority to mention Alypius, and his mention of this fellow-servant in the Imperial service seems to bear the mark of authenticity. In our view, and in that of others, the testimony of Ammianus goes far to prove that Julian's attempt was not confined to the issue of the rescript, and should be taken as supporting the account of the Church historians to the extent that some actual physical attempt at rebuilding was made, notwithstanding the fact that this would have been anticipation of the project announced in the Emperor's rescript. It is just possible that for some reason Julian decided to hasten the attempt; or, more possibly, that some preliminary and preparatory stages were taken without his express orders.

Granted that on the whole the possibilities are that there was an overt act, what can we conclude happened? In view of the discrepancies in the various accounts, I do not think that one is too incredulous in refusing to accept the extraordinary details of an attempt to reopen and clear a site which had been mainly undisturbed for so many years. Writers as different in their views as Warburton, Gibbon, Milman, Newman and Graetz accept the occurrences in themselves as natural phenomena, although in the case of Warburton and Newman they look upon their cause and, so to speak, their timing as miraculous. These phenomena we can call generally earthquake and fire, and considering that the district was liable to earthquakes, and that the excavation of the site might well release inflammable gases, we can reasonably suppose with the majority of commentators that the cause was no less natural than the phenomena themselves.

There is an incidental matter which, because of its likeness to a part of our Royal Arch ritual, it will be interesting to mention. It will be recalled by members of that Degree, and others may be so informed, that part of the ritual is concerned with the sending to the ruins of the First Temple of certain Jews from the Babylonish Captivity who had come to Jerusalem pursuant to the proclamation of Cyrus, King of Persia, in order that they might prepare the ground for the construction of the Second Temple. In the course of this work they lower one of their number into the ruined vault to investigate, and he takes certain precautions so that he may be protected against any underground dangers.

The chronicler Philostorgius was born in Cappadocia about the year 364 and wrote a *History of the Church,* which is no longer extant, but of which an Epitome compiled by Photius, who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 853, has survived. Philostorgius was not a contemporary chronicler of Julian's attempt, and is described as being "rather inclined to credulity, in regard to portents, monsters, prodigies and other wonderful things . . . and Photius himself vehemently censures him for his absurdity in attributing miracles to those whom the Patriarch himself regarded as heretics".[1] So we are not quoting him for any intrinsic value in the narrative, but for certain likenesses to the Royal Arch ritual now in use among us. His account is as follows:—[2]

> "When Julian bade the city of Jerusalem to be rebuilt in order to refute openly the predictions of our Lord concerning it, he brought about exactly the opposite of what he intended. For his work was checked by many other prodigies from heaven; and especially, during the preparations of the foundations, one of the stones which was placed at the lowest part of the base, suddenly started from its place and opened the door of a certain cave hollowed out in the rock. Owing to its depth, it was difficult to see what was within the cave; so persons were appointed to investigate the matter, who, being anxious to find out the truth, let down one of their workmen by means of a rope. On being lowered down he found stagnant water reaching up to his knees; and having gone round the place and felt the walls on every side, he found the cave to be a perfect square. Then, in his return, as he stood near about the middle, he struck his foot against a column which stood rising slightly above the water. As soon as he touched the pillar, he found lying upon it a book wrapped up in a very fine and thin linen cloth; and as soon as he had lifted it up just as he had found it, he gave a signal to his companions to draw him up again. As soon as he regained the light, he showed them the book, which struck them all with astonishment, especially because it appeared so new and fresh, considering the place where it had been found. This book, which appeared such a mighty prodigy in the eyes of both heathens and Jews, as soon as it was opened showed the following words in large letters: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' In fact, the volume contained that entire Gospel which had been delivered by the divine tongue of the (beloved) disciple and the Virgin."[3]

[1] *Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*; also *The Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius,* trans. E. Walford, Bohn's Library, 1855, p. 428.

[2] Samuel Lee, in his *Orbis Miraculum* (1659), without mentioning his source, apparently draws on Philostorgius in his account on page 370.

[3] *Op. cit.,* book vii, chap. 14, pp. 482, 483.

One final word may be said. In an account which should be reasonably digestible, it is impossible to deal with all of the many later commentators who have tried to assess the value of the evidence of the primary authorities who have been considered. But, despite this, it may be of interest to mention Bishop Warburton's *Julian, or a Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Firey Eruption which defeated the Emperor's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem,* published in 1750, and which is itself a reply to Dr. Conyers Middleton's *Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the Earliest Ages through successive Centuries,* issued some two or three years earlier. Further, anyone at all interested in the subject should be referred to the historian Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* preferably to Professor Bury's edition. It should be borne in mind that Gibbon, although a member of the Lodge of Friendship No. 6, wrote in a spirit of Voltairean scepticism.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Edwards for his paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. J. R. Rylands, Ivor Grantham, A. J. Beecher-Stow and F. L. Pick.

The W.M. said:—

Brethren, when Bro. Lewis Edwards gives us a paper, we know that we shall be both interested and instructed, and I know that I am voicing what we all feel when I propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Edwards for a real treat.

Although the possible attempt to build a fourth Temple at Jerusalem can have no direct bearing on Masonic research, it is of great interest to us to have all the evidence placed so clearly and impartially before us as Bro. Edwards has done. The curious evidence of Philostorgius, more familiar to most of us in the account given by Samuel Lee, cannot fail to be extremely intriguing.

I must, however, before throwing the meeting open for discussion, remind you all that the subject requires very careful handling from two points of view ; first, to avoid anything which might touch in any way on religious controversy and, secondly, to avoid anything which might savour of a discussion of the Royal Arch degree in this Craft Lodge. Will you please bear these two points carefully in mind in commenting on the paper.

Bro. B. W. OLIVER, S.W., said:—

With great pleasure I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Lewis Edwards ; to thank him, for his excellent and interesting paper, is easy, but I find it difficult to offer criticism or add any useful comment.

Bro. Edwards reminds us—how ancient is the date of King Solomon's Temple, 1004 B.C., and that, after being pillaged by Egypt, was totally destroyed by the Babylonians in 587, after existing for 417 years.

We are reminded that the Temple of Zerubbabel was completed in 515 B.C., stood for 497 years, being destroyed in 19 B.C., and that Herod's Temple had a comparatively brief existence of 89 years, suffering destruction A.D. 70. He has also reminded us of the utter destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 132 and the City re-named " Aelia Capitolina ", and a pagan Temple to Jupiter was erected on the site of the Temple.

Bro. Edwards has given us the picture of a remarkable character in the Emperor Julian, surely the last throw-back to Paganism in the western world, and it is still more remarkable that a Pagan Emperor should have countenanced, and even encouraged the Jews to erect a temple to Yahra, and where, we must ask, was it erected ? Surely not where stood a temple dedicated to Jupiter, one of the Gods revered by Julian.

The Temple area at Jerusalem remains one of the least explored of ancient sacred sites. No certain remains have been found of the first and second Temples, and little of the actual building of Herod's Temple.

An architect's mind speculates on the styles of architecture employed ; no positive evidence seems to exist, but it is generally conceded that King Solomon's Temple must have copied the Egyptian or Phœnician type, whist that of Zerubbabel must have been greatly

influenced by the architecture of Babylon. Herod's Temple must have been Greek or Roman in character, as also must have been the Temple commenced under Julian.

Of the valuable evidence collected by Bro. Lewis Edwards that of Ammianus Marcellinus is the most convincing. We may accept that the work was indeed commenced, but was hindered by a natural catastrophe—quite possibly a lost store of naphtha or oil from a previous building. There seems to be no proof that this Fourth Temple was ever completed.

Amongst the many valuable details given us in this paper, Companions of the H.R.A. will be especially grateful for those applicable to that Degree.

Our lecturer, like a good archæologist, after making his soundings, has removed the upper layer of the temple site. May we hope that he will, in future papers, give us the fruits of his labours in successively removing the second, third and fourth stratas ? It is remarkable to find to what an extent Q.C. has neglected this subject.

Bro. Lewis Edwards has whetted our appetites and we ask for more.

Bro. A. J. BEECHER-STOW said:—

I would like to thank Bro. Lewis Edwards for shedding further light on a much-written-about, but perhaps imperfectly understood, period in history.

He invites us to act as a jury to decide what the probabilities are, but before arriving at our conclusions I think we should look a little more closely at the character of Julian. He was, in fact, a very remarkable man. He was intelligent and educated, a brilliant soldier, a wise and strong civil ruler.

That his political aims and plans were both noble and humane was admitted even by a contemporary hostile critic, the Christian poet Prudentius, who had no reason to love him. This is not the place to discuss his so-called "apostasy", but I agree with Bro. Lewis Edwards that the label is probably inaccurate.

With regard to Julian's projected rebuilding of the Temple, Bro. Lewis Edwards says that Ammianus was the only authority to state that Alypius, the former civil administrator in Britain, was placed in charge of the work. But according to Gibbon, Julian himself, in letters 29 and 30, both considered genuine by Schwartz, says the same thing.

So, as a member of the "jury", my verdict must be that Julian not only *said* that he intended to rebuild the Temple, but that he also *meant* what he said and, in fact, gave instructions for the work to be started, which instructions were carried out.

Into the reasons for its non-completion we have no time to go on this present occasion. In my view, had Julian survived, for remember he was a forceful and determined character, and was only 32 when he was killed, the Fourth Temple would certainly have been completed and the course of history changed.

Bro. FRED L. PICK *writes*:—

Our Bro. Lewis Edwards never fails to provide a stimulating paper and, though the enterprise of Julian the Apostate has no direct bearing on any of our Masonic Rites, the paper is of especial interest to members of the Royal Arch and certain other Degrees.

Those who have attended the Consecration of a Lodge will remember the reference to those "under whose auspices many of our Masonic mysteries had their origin". Many of the developments of Freemasonry departed far from this simple setting and at least two are based on that extraordinary character, Constantine the Great, predecessor of Julian, while in the Lecture in the Degree of St. Lawrence the Martyr we have a passing reference to the campaign against Sapor, King of Persia. The antiquity (or lack of antiquity) of these Degrees has never been satisfactorily established.

When we turn to the Royal Arch we have the curious contradiction of an Irish Rite based on the repair of the Temple by Josiah which, unlike any other, has at least a basis in Holy Writ, while the rest of the world commemorates the re-building of the Temple by Zerubbabel with the central indident inspired by Philostorgius. Is it carrying speculation too far to suggest that the compilers of the early R.A. ritual might well have adopted Julian as their principal figure, but were led by his general not-altogether-deserved disrepute and nickname, "the Apostate", to transfer the incident to the earlier exploit.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN *writes*:—

Bro. Edwards' paper on the Fourth Temple (which "never was") is very interesting, and the judicious way in which he has handled the evidence that he has brought together concerning the attempt (or alleged attempt) to construct it is most admirable.

He has also treated the "apostasy" of the Emperor Julian very fairly. For my own part, I cannot feel that the latter was much to be blamed. The official Christianity of the time was not very attractive, as exemplified in the actions of those with whom he came in contact, and the effect of the massacre of his father and all his near relatives must have been indelible on a child of six, and could not help but colour all his later emotional and intellectual life. On the other hand, morally and perhaps spiritually, the neo-Paganism of his time was worthy of respect even if history has since proved it to have been only a feeble shoot from a dying tree.

The story told by Philostorgius was repeated by Sozomen—and others. At least a version of it was apparently included in the Ecclesiastical History of Nicephorus Callistus, written probably in the early part of the thirteenth century. This version was quoted by Samuel Lee in *Orbis Miraculum*. Here I note a discrepancy between the footnote in the paper (No. 2 of Page 38) where it is said that Lee did not mention his source. But Prof. Johnston, in his paper on *Seventeenth Century Descriptions of King Solomon's Temple* (*A.Q.C.*, xii, p. 137), cites Lee's version in full, with its introductory paragraph, which runs:—

> The other testimony of Nicephorus Callistus is extant in Chap. 32 & 33 of his Ecclesiastical History which . . . I shall not transcribe in Greek, but relate the principal things in English.

Then follows essentially the same story as that told by Philostorgius though varying somewhat in detail and still more in phraseology. The resemblance seems to be closest in the account of letting the workman down into the pit and the discovery of the Gospel of St. John. As I am unable to refer to the original works I, like Gallio, will be no judge in this matter.

In the brief notice of Nicephorus in the *Encyc. Brit.* it is said that a Latin translation of his work was printed at Basel in 1553, and the Greek text at Paris in 1630. The same authority says also that Sozomen's History was published at Cambridge in 1720. The point of this bibliographical note is to show that the legend was available in England, by the learned at least, before the Royal Arch emerges into history. It appears, therefore, most probable that it furnished or suggested the *mise en scene* of that Degree or Order.

But there were other suggestive legends. One is embodied in the second Book of Maccabees (Chap. ii) which tells of the prophet Jeremiah hiding the Ark of the Covenant in a cave. And also the account of the discovery of the Book of the Law (Deuteronomy) in or about the Temple during the repairs made in the time of Josiah (II Chron., xxxiv, 14) which is the basis of the present-day ritual of the R.A. in Ireland.

In his curiously arranged *New Encyclopædia of Free Masonry*, A. E. Waite (under Vault: Vol. ii, p. 465) mentions a Talmudic legend of a subterraneous vault resting on seven pillars which was discovered at the building of the first Temple. "It contained nothing at that time, but was afterwards made use of by Josiah as a depository of the Ark of the Covenant when the destruction of the Temple was foreseen". Those familiar with earlier forms of the R.A. will perceive that this, too, must have been known to the original framers of the Order.

Bro. JOHN RYLANDS said:—

I have little to say on the main theme of Bro. Edwards's eminently readable paper beyond adding my hearty thanks and congratulations to those he has already received.

This morning, however, I had a letter from a friend, Bro. Westerman, a member of our Correspondence Circle, who regrets that he is unable to be present, the more so as he has for many years been making a study of various aspects of Old Jerusalem and, in particular, the ancient water supply. He asks if there is anything within Bro. Edwards's knowledge, or in the early archives of the lodge, on this subject. It will be remembered that our first Master, in his younger days when he was Capt. Charles Warren, R.E., was associated with an exploration expedition in Palestine, and that he wrote a paper in the first volume of *A.Q.C.* on "The Orientation of Temples".

The second question I myself would like to put arises from the mention by Bro. Edwards towards the end of his paper, of two prominent eighteenth century figures, namely, Bishop Warburton and Edward Gibbon. We know that the latter was a Mason; he was initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on the 23rd December, 1767. I have often wanted an opportunity to air my theory as to why Gibbon joined the craft, and although it is not

directly associated with the main theme of the paper we have enjoyed hearing this afternoon, perhaps our learned Brother might be prevailed upon to give an opinion.

Bishop Warburton, a somewhat fearsome figure in his day, had in his *The Divine Legation of Moses* rather arrogantly laid it down that the Sixth Book of Virgil's *Aeneid* was a description of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Gibbon took aversion to what he called insolent pedantry, and decided to break a lance against the giant's shield. His first English publication, *Critical Observation on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid,* appeared early in 1770, and completely demolished Warburton's thesis. My suggestion, having regard to the dates, is that he was led to join the Lodge of Friendship two years earlier because he thought that in Masonic circles he might learn something about the Ancient Mysteries. The "imaginist" school is not of recent growth! No doubt he was quickly undeceived, and he seems to have taken little further interest in the craft, though his correspondence from Lausanne in later years with his publisher, Murray, contains occasional Masonic allusions. But he dealt effectively with Warburton, whom the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* describes as ". . . a bad scholar, a literary bully, and a man of untrustworthy character".

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS *writes* in reply:—

The Story of the Fourth Temple deserved to be told to our Brethren. I have attempted to tell that story and they have expressed themselves as satisfied, and I am grateful for their kindness.

I must first thank Bro. Meekren for correcting my statement that Samuel Lee did not mention his source; I had rather carelessly referred to Kelly's edition of 1803, instead of to Lee's own of 1659, overlooking the fact, mentioned in Bro. Johnston's paper in *A.Q.C.*, xii, that Kelly reprinted only the first half of Lee.

With regard to Bro. Beecher-Stow's mention of Gibbon's reference to two of Julian's letters, numbered 29 and 30, these are given as 6 and 7 in the Loeb edition (see my footnote 3 on Page 36), and as 9 and 10 in that of Bidez and Cumont. They do not refer to any office held by Alypius, either in Britain or Palestine, but only show the Emperor's friendship and affection for him. Gibbon's account of Alypius is based not only on the letters, but on other writers, and, therefore, the former cannot be quoted in support of the definite statements of Ammianus.

Several of the comments and suggestions with which I have been favoured tempt me to go beyond the limits of my paper, but I refrain for two reasons. Firstly, I have wished to deal only with Julian's attempted rebuilding, and the (to Royal Arch Masons) strikingly familiar description given by Philostorgius of the preliminary investigation made by the workmen. And, secondly, I have thought it best in the circumstances to avoid a detailed discussion of Royal Arch History, legend and ritual. Those seeking further information on capitular Freemasonry will find much to interest them in the first volume of a work published in Tacoma, Washington, in 1931, and "prepared" by Bro. Hinman, Denslow and Hunt, entitled *A History of the Cryptic Rite.*

It is interesting to recall the Jerusalem researches of Past Master Sir Charles Warren, but I do not think they throw any light on the project of Julian. Another "Sapper", afterwards R.W.Bro. Lord Kitchener, also worked on the Palestine survey in the early part of his Army career. I am anxious to hear the opinion of Bro. Rylands on the reason prompting Gibbon to join the Craft, but, at the moment, would not hazard one myself.

Finally, and (may I add) with some self-denial, I have deliberately refrained from any summary of the literary history of our theme—otherwise I might have gone further into the Warburton controversy, and also have dealt with some later writers, including Henrik Ibsen and Algernon Charles Swinburne.

ECCLESIASTICAE Historiæ Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli, Tomus X.

CAPUT I.

Cõstantius ab episcopis seductus.

HVNC finem uitæ Constantius habuit: quem quidem A nõ parum, quòd aliquid de paterna fidei professione mutauerit, pœnituit. Sedenim quamuis facilitate ingenij & illecebris religionis ab episcopis, in quorum potestate fuit, seductus sit, & τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ consubstantialis uerbũ ex fidei symbolo, sub unionis coniunctionisq; omnium prætextu sustulerit, sinceram tamẽ dictionis eius sententiam est professus. Quùm etenim DEVM VERBVM germanum filium et ante secula ex patre genitum dixit, tum certus manifestusq; eorum qui creaturam illum uocare ausi fuissent, hostis extitit. Et absq; eo quod diximus, uerum is fuit patris sui exemplar in rebus omnibus, maximè uerò in pietate & DEI cultu, atq; in simulacrorum erroris & superstitionis abolitione. Iulianus aũt, repugnante nemine, imperium accepit. Postquam uerò nos in hunc locum historia ipsa deduxit, paucis de eo, qui fuerit, unde ortus, & quibus studijs atq; institutis ad Imperium peruenerit, est exponendum. Sed paulo altius res repetenda, nõ ut uerborum atq; orationis uenustatẽ & elegantiam ostentemus, sed tenui simplicíq; stylo, quem etiam sacra historia flagitat, sicuti ab initio propositũ nobis est, res gestas persequamur. Constantinus magnus duos habuit fratres, ex uno quidem B secum patre Constante, alia autem matre genitos: Dalmatium, qui alterius Dalmatij pater fuit: & Constantiũ, cuius filij fuere Gallus & Iulianus. Vbi Constantinus decessit, atq; imperium ad filium Constantium peruenit, tyrannidem metuens, & genere sibi propinquos suspectos habens, nõ bene eos tractauit. Proinde iunior Dalmatius, quum iam Cæsar esset, à militibus cæsus est. Et parũ abfuit, quin & duo isti perierint. Sed Gallum cõsilio cædis morbus exemit, ex quo propediem moriturus esse existimatus est. Iuliano autem ætas tenerior profuit, quòd uixdum octauum attigisset annum. Vbi uerò ira Imperatoris aduersus eos deferbuit, primùm eis ut in Cappadocia ageret, permissum est, in loco quodam qui Macellum dictus est, non longè à Cæsarea ad Argæum montem sito, regiam domum, lauacra, hortos, & fontes perennes habente. Ibi pro eo atque decebat, curati sunt, disciplinisq; & exercitijs ætati ei conuenientibus exculti, sacris quoq; literis à magistris & præceptoribus eò usq; docti, ut in album postea cleri relati sint, & sacros libros populo legerint. Atq; illi non uerbis modò, sed & factis studium ardoremq; in religione suum ostenderunt. Nam qui sacris dignitatibus exornati, atq; aliter etiam boni uiri, & propter pietatem uirtutemq; clari erant, eos ampliter honorarunt: in sacris illi etiam ædibus frequentes fuerunt, & martyrum urnas honoribus & donarijs ornarunt & consecrarunt. Atque ut alacritatẽ suam martyribus colendis ueluti spectaculo aliquo exhiberẽt, honorem sepulcri Mamę martyris inter se, ut id magnifico circũdarent templo, diuise-

Idẽ patris sui imitator egregius.

Res Iuliani Imperatoris.

Dalmatij iunioris cædes.

Galli & Iuliani educatio & institutio.

Idem sancto Mamæ martyri templũ construunt.

Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 1. & item Eutrop. Gallum in Ionia

A cum nolentes,in errore adhuc Iudaico conquieuerunt. Sed & aliud quod ad hæc accessit miraculũ, eos ad fidem nõ perduxit,quod prioribus & manifestius fuit, & admirandũ magis. Nam proxima nocte, sua sponte uestes eorum crucis signis radiorum instar conformatis,sunt consignatę. Ita omnes uestitum tanquã stellis uariegatum, & lanifica arte atq; solertia distinctum habuere. Quo illucescente die uiso,eluere & detergere crucis notas conati,nihil egere. Hęc,qui tum Hierosolymitanus episcopus fuit Cyrillus,cernens,Danielis prophetę uerbum secum ipse in animo perpendit(quod & CHRISTVS postea in sacris Euãgelijs authoritate sua comprobauit)& omnibus prædixit,aduenisse tempus, quũ Seruatoris oraculum,Non mansurum scilicet esse lapidem super lapide in templo, exitũ suum habeat. Atq; hoc quũ ille diceret, terræmotus grauis ingruẽs,lapides reliquos ex fundamentis eiecit atq; dissipauit: atq; insuper sæua quædam oborta procella,calcem & gypsum innumerabilium medimnorum in aërem uentilando dispulit. Et item qui subitò ex partibus inferioribus proserpsit ignis,innumeros quoq; qui uel in opere ipso denuò pertinaciter instituto distinebãtur, uel spectatum eò aduenerant, temporis momento consumpsit. Tantum Iulianus effecit,quũ CHRISTI prædictiones de Hierosolymis nulla ueritatis authoritate niti,ostendere uellet. Neq; id modò ille non egit:sed etiam contrarium exhibendo,magis etiam certitudinem eam comprobauit. Atq; hæc quidem prodigia ad ueritatem oraculi comprobandam sufficiunt. Cæterùm quod modò dicetur, quum mirificum sit,magis rem ipsam confirmabit. Id ego in arcanis prorsus scriptis inuentum, referam. Sic enim habet. Quum fundamenta structuræ iacerentur,sicuti dictum est,& inter lapides unus,cui extrema basis coaptata fue
B rat,loco moueretur,speluncæ cuiusdam os petræ incisum sese exhibuit. atq; ubi propter profunditatem, antrum id perspici prorsus non posset, qui opus id curabant,rem certam explorare uolentes,ex operarijs quendam ad funem longiorem uinctum demisere. Et ille in antrum quum peruenisset, aquam ad mediam usq; suram in eo reperit: & spelunca omni ex parte explorata, quadrangulam eam esse,quantum manuum cõtrectatione colligere potuit,deprehendit. Deinde ad os eius reuertens,in columnã quandam in media spelunca non admodum supra aquam extantem incidit. Quam manu tentans, libellum in ea positum, qui tenuissimo purissimoq; linteolo inuolutus esset,reperit. Quo accepto,sune ipso signum, ut ab eis qui illum demiserant,retraheretur, dedit. Receptus igitur, quàm primum libello ostenso, stuporem omnibus incussit: & maximè quòd recens admodum & intactus is esse uideretur, atq; quod tam abstruso & caliginoso loco repertus esset. Porrò libellus explicatus, non solum Iudæos, uerumetiam Græcos consternauit. Statim enim ab initio literis grandioribus promulgauit, In principio erat VERBVM, & VERBVM erat apud DEVM, & DEVS erat VERBVM. Et ut simpliciter dicam,scriptura ea integrum Euangelium complectebatur,quod Theologica planè uirginis discipuli lingua auspicatò annunciauit. Portendit autem id unà cum reliquis miraculis,quæ cœlitus eo tempore exhibita sunt, haud unquam Domini nostri Verbum interciturum, quod extremam templi & urbis desolationem prædixit. Etenim liber, DEVM esse & conditorem rerum omnium eum docuit, qui talia dudum sanxisset. Declarauit præterea, frustra esse eorum laborem,qui ædificationem eam tantopere urgerent: eo quòd diuina & immutabilis sententia extremam templo abolitionem decreto suo constituisset. Atq; ex ijs & hisce similibus rebus pleriq; omnes statim censuerunt, ut CHRISTVM Deum esse profiterentur, cui templi restauratio placita non esset. Multa sanè ex ipsis breui ad Ecclesiam

Iudæorum cæcitas.

Crucis signa in uestes eorum incíderunt.

Cyrillus episcopus Hierosolymitanus ueritatem & certitudinem prædictionis Danielis & Christi Iesu deprædicat.

Tertiò quoque opus structuræ cuertitur.

In specu quodã sub templi Hierosolymitani fundamentis liber Euangelij secundum Iohannem inuenitur.

Quid miraculi tanta portenderint.

Multi prodigijs istis ad potentiam & Christianissimum addu-

cti.

NOTE

THE LEGEND OF A SECRET VAULT.—In his recent paper entitled "The Story of the Fourth Temple" (see page 38), Bro. Lewis Edwards alluded to a legend concerning the discovery of a secret vault on the Temple site at Jerusalem. This legend appears to have been first published in the English language in Samuel Lee's *Orbis Miraculum* in the year 1659. As a pictorial representation of an incident, whether historical or legendary, can convey its meaning without the aid of the written word, whatever the language of the accompanying text may be, it is of interest to note that an incident associated with a vault figures prominently in a pictorial initial letter on page 468 of the 1553 (Latin) edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* compiled by Nicephorus Callistus—the work from which Samuel Lee obtained his information. Attention was drawn to this initial letter at the end of the recent paper by Bro. Lewis Edwards ; and by permission of the Board of General Purposes an illustration of that initial letter now accompanies this note.

I.G.

From Samuel Lee's *Orbis Miraculum*:—

"The other testimony of *Nicephorus Callistus* is extant . . .

"When the foundations were a laying, as I have said, there was a stone among the rest, to which the bottom of the foundation was fastned, that slipt from its place, and discovered the mouth of a cave which had been cut in the rock. Now when they could not see to the bottom by reason of its depth ; the Overseers of the building being desirous to have certain knowledge of the they tied a long rope to one of the Labourers, and let him down: He being come to the bottom, found water in it, that took him up to the mid-ancles, and searching every part of that hollow place, he found it to be four square, as far as he could conjecture by feeling. Then returning towards the mouth of it, he hit upon a certain little pillar, not much higher than the water, and lighting with his hand upon it, found a book lying there wrapped up in a piece of thin and clean linnen. Having taken it into his hands, he signified by the rope that they should draw him up. When he was pulled up, he shews the book, which struck them with admiration, especially seeming so fresh and untoucht as it did, being found in so dark and obscure a hole. The Book being unfolded, did amaze not onely the Jews, but the Grecians also, holding forth even at the beginning of it in great Letters [*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*] To speak plainly, that Scripture did manifestly contain the whole Gospel, which the Divine tongue of the Virgin-Disciple had declared."

FRIDAY, 4th MAY, 1956

HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. I. Sharp, T. W. Over, G. Holloway, T. W. Marsh, D. M. Penrose, E. Ward, E. L. Thompson, A. H. Berman, R. A. Pratley, L. Bedford, J. S. Ferguson, A. G. Dennis, R. A. W. Pearce, A. F. Rolton, F. H. Anderson, G. Norman Knight, R. C. W. Hunter, A. F. Hatten, R. Hart, P. P. Williams, S. A. B. Wilson, A. Parker Smith, J. D. de S. McElwain, D. M. Milstone, A. R. Jole, J. Richardson, M. R. M. Cann, B. Jacob, T. P. Tunnard-Moore, A. S. Trapnell, J. E. Trott, H. F. L. Mavity, L. J. Rowe, E. Winterburg, F. E. Barber and T. M. Jaeger.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. N. A. Hardy, Lodge 4660; M. Broadhurst, Lodge 2233; J. Morland, Lodge 1803; A. G. Maclaine, Lodge 67, T.C.; A. Walker, Lodge 2911; G. Maxwell, Lodge 2911; and J. S. Brown, Lodge 1039.

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.; 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.; W. Waples, P.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., J.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.; and A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Steward.

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

LODGE MEMBERS

To be Past Grand Standard Bearer:
- Sydney Pope.
- William Waples.

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE

Active Office—

Grand Pursuivant:
- H. B. Q. Evans.

Promotions—

To be Past Grand Deacon:
- W. F. Dyer, P.A.G.D.C.
- Edgar Lee, P.A.G.D.C.
- F. R. Betenson, P.A.G.D.C.
- G. A. Potter-Kirby, P.A.G.D.C.
- W. S. Burton, P.A.G.D.C.

Past Ranks—

Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies:
- W. Appleyard.
- S. F. Clegg.
- H. H. England.
- C. K. D. Fraser.
- F. W. Friday.
- L. E. C. Peckover.

Past Grand Standard Bearer:
H. J. Bowden.
K. Durston.
H. R. Edgecombe.
H. E. Fullerton.

Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer:
A. E. Beavis.

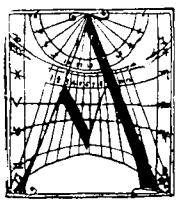
Two Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction, one Masonic Society and forty-four Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Attention was called to a large number of photographs of Masons' Indentures and Enrolments obtained by Bro. H. Carr, and which he has generously presented to the Lodge.

An interesting paper, entitled *Apprenticeship in England and Scotland up to 1700,* was read by Bro. H. CARR, L.G.R., as follows:—

APPRENTICESHIP IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND UP TO 1700

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



PPRENTICE. The word "apprentice" is derived from O.F. "aprendre" = "to learn", and is defined as "a learner of a craft; one who is bound by legal agreement to serve an employer in the exercise of some handicraft, art, trade, or profession for a certain number of years, with a view to learn its details and duties, in which the employer is reciprocally bound to instruct him" (*O.E.D.*).

The system of apprenticeship may be traced back in England to the early decades of the thirteenth century. Undoubtedly, some sort of rudimentary system of training for craft or trade must have been in existence long before this period. In its earliest form, a father would teach his son the particular skills which ran in his own family; or else he would place the lad in the care of some relative or friend whose proficiency in his craft augured well for the youngster's future.

Primarily, apprenticeship was a purely private arrangement between the prospective craftsman and his master, but as the system developed it came inevitably under the influence of municipal and craft authority. In the early days of craft organisation it was not absolutely essential for a man to serve an apprenticeship before setting up as a master of his craft; in the majority of trades in London during the fourteenth century, the freedom was open to him if he could find four or six neighbours or men of his craft who would vouch for his capabilities.[1]

In the earliest years of his tuition the young learner of a craft was probably of no special importance, except, perhaps, to his master; but with the development of the craft gild system, the apprentice, as a prospective master of his craft, as a future employer of labour and a potential competitor in the minutely restricted industrial field, became an object of immediate and constant supervision by the rulers of his craft.

The purely private arrangement between apprentice and master was also a matter of great interest to the municipal authorities. From the earliest times the system of apprenticeship was a recognized means of access to the freedom. The freedom conferred valuable rights of citizenship and trading, but it also involved substantial financial responsibilities, and the municipalities were very anxious that the rights of citizenship should only be enjoyed by those who were able to bear their proper share of civic responsibility.

In most of the crafts the general pattern of development of the system of apprenticeship was fairly standardised. In some, notably the masons, the whole nature of the industry conflicted with this normal development. In this essay I have attempted a general survey of the system in England and Scotland up to the eighteenth century, and an examination of those special points of interest in relation to the mason craft.

Unfortunately, the records of apprenticeship amongst masons in the earliest period of our study are literally non-existent. The craft gilds were essentially town organizations; their purpose was to guard the interests of the townsfolk from the manufacture of shoddy goods or bad workmanship, and to protect the small master-craftsmen from the intrusion of outside and unfree "foreign" craftsmen and traders.

We know from a variety of sources that, except when some large undertaking was in hand, the mason population of the towns was usually very small.[2] The prevalence of timber as the principal building material in the mediæval towns meant that, as a rule, they could not

[1] *E.g.*, Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 217, 234.

[2] Knoop-Jones, *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England, Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. iii, 1932.

find employment for masons in large numbers. Mediæval masons found their main employment on large undertakings outside the towns or cities, usually under circumstances which did not favour the formation of any kind of stable organization.

In London the earliest evidence of mason craft organization appears in the second half of the fourteenth century, almost a hundred years after some of the other crafts. During the years 1309-1312, out of 909 men who took their freedom before the city Chamberlain, only three were masons, and there is no evidence that any of them had served an apprenticeship.[1]

In 1356 there arose a dispute between the London mason hewers, on the one hand, and the layers and setters, on the other, which came before the Mayor and Aldermen. The preamble to the settlement states that their trade had ". . . not been regulated in due manner by the government of folks of their trade, in such form as other trades are ".[2] A number of trade regulations were made at that time, including a few for apprentices, and twelve skilled masters were chosen to act as " overseers " of the craft, apparently the beginnings of a craft organisation. In the provincial towns generally the evidence of craft organization is even later.

It seems highly probable that the lack of early evidence as to apprenticeship amongst masons is a direct result of the tardy development of their craft organizations. Freedom of town or city was not a matter of great importance to the vast majority of masons, whose main sphere of work was outside the towns ; and among those who might have wanted to seek their livelihood within city walls, many were barred by the very nature of their craft from ever setting up as masters. Cordwainers, lorrimers or saddlers, having served an apprenticeship, needed only a few tools and very small capital to set up as master-craftsmen, and the freedom of city and craft were their natural aims. The vast majority of masons had nothing to sell except their labour, and the freedom to set up as master-masons was really only a matter of necessity to the rare and skilful few.

The experts, whether serving as advisers or supervisors, or actually working in stone, were in no special need of the monopolistic kind of protection which the craft gilds sought to give ; such men were adequately protected by their own special skills. The ordinary mason hewers, layers or setters, working as journeymen or servants, needed only the assurance of a fair rate of pay for their day's work. Wage rates for labourers of this type were fixed by municipal regulation as early as 1212 in London, and were frequently amended thereafter. There were also the numerous Statutes of Labourers which provided similar controls for wages, on a national scale, from 1351 onwards.

The earliest definite reference to some kind of organization amongst the London masons appears in 1376, when four masons were elected to the Common Council to represent the " mistery ", and it is probable that the gild had been established some time before this, possibly soon after the London regulations of 1356.

There is an early record of a master mason working with an apprentice at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1331,[3] but it is not until the later part of the fourteenth century, following the formation of a mason craft organization in London, that we begin to find records of apprenticeship amongst masons, comparatively rare at first, but becoming more plentiful during the fifteenth century.[4] It is rather strange, however, that few of those early records belong to London.

The London Masons' Regulations, issued in 1356,[5] contain three rules which relate specifically to apprentices:—

(a) An apprentice was to be set to work only " in presence of his master " until he had become " perfectly instructed in his calling ".
(b) Minimum seven-year term of service for apprentices.
(c) A clause against enticement of apprentices.

The *Regius* MS., *c.* 1390, and the *Cooke* MS., *c.* 1410, both contain fairly elaborate codes of apprentice regulations, which are so closely related to each other as to imply that they were copied from an earlier original text. Internal evidence in both texts, especially several allusions to wage rates, tend to suggest that the date of the original text was soon after the Black Death in 1348, which brought about sharp increases in wages, followed by the Statutes of Labourers in 1350, 1351, and several confirmatory ordinances in subsequent years.

Whatever may be the true reasons for our lack of evidence, we have virtually no information about apprenticeship among masons until the end of the fourteenth century. For the beginnings of the system of apprenticeship in England we are compelled to examine the records of other trades.

[1] *Calendar of Letter-Books of London. Letter-Book D*, pp. 35-179. The three mason " freedoms " are on pp. 47, 53, 66.
[2] Knoop and Jones. *Mediæval Mason*, pp. 249-251.
[3] Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 71. Quoting from Exch. K.R. Accts., 469, ii.
[4] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 166.
[5] Transcript in Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, pp. 250-251.

THE SYSTEM OF APPRENTICESHIP

Apprenticeship, as an accepted institution in England, makes its first appearance in certain statutes in the city's *Liber Ordinationum,* which are dated *c.* 1230. These seem to indicate that the system was already in a fairly advanced stage of development.

Evidence as to the rise of the system from the thirteenth century onwards is drawn almost entirely from the ordinances of the crafts and of the municipal authorities. The early custom of the misteries of having their ordinances sanctioned by the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council made their regulations, like those of the civic authority, enforceable in the courts. These ordinances, augmented from time to time by case and statute law, portray very clearly the development of the system, while the civic and legal records contained in the "Mayor's Court Rolls" and the "Plea and Memorandum Rolls" show the evolution and practical application of a whole body of legal custom embracing every aspect of the relations between apprentices and their masters, their crafts' organizations, and the municipality itself.

Usually the ordinances and regulations can be clearly grouped under one of these three headings; often they involve the apprentice, directly or indirectly, in his relationship to all three. The Lorimers' Ordinances, dated 1260-1, contain perhaps the earliest surviving craft regulations relating to apprentices: —

> (Translation) Item, that no man shall entice another's apprentice, nor his servant, during his term, nor receive an apprentice for less than 10 years, and a less sum than 30s. at least; and the apprentice shall be sworn to keep the ordinances herein contained (*Liber Customarum I,* p. 78).

Four points only:—

(a) The regulations against enticement, which were constantly repeated in later codes, and in all trades.
(b) The minimum term here was 10 years; the general adoption of the seven year term came towards the end of the thirteenth century, but even then it was by no means universal.
(c) The minimum fee to be taken by master-lorimers for an apprentice was fixed here at 30s., a very substantial sum, when skilled craftsmen' wages ran from 18d. to 30d. per week.
(d) Apprentices were to be sworn to keep the ordinances, but it is not clear whether they were sworn before the officers of their gild, or before the municipal officers at the time of their enrolment.

The ordinances of the Cordwainers, issued in 1271, are more detailed. The apprentice clauses are as follows:—

> "... no Cordwainer nor tanner shall henceforth receive any apprentice ... unless it shall appear ... that he is of good character and decent behaviour, tractable, mild and complacent ... And the apprentice of a cordwainer shall give for being taught his trade 40s. stg. ... at the least and to the Commonalty ... two shillings, and ... to the poor ... in that business, who have not the competent means of living, two shillings; but the apprentice of a tanner shall give for being taught his trade, twenty shillings at least, and to the Commonalty ... two shillings, and two shillings to the poor ...
>
> ... Also none in the said crafts ... may take into his service the servant of another nor solicit him ... unless the same servant shall have lawfully quitted his former master ... Neither shall any servant ... presume to have an apprentice under him ..." [1]

The conditions as to character and demeanour are curious, implying a certain care in the selection of apprentices. The fees for cordwainers are even higher than the lorimers, *i.e.*, 44s. in all (against 30s. for lorimers) though Tanners paid only 24s. The 2s. paid to the "Commonalty" may have represented the enrolment fee, but enrolment was not yet essential, and, despite frequent ordinances on the subject, there are innumerable records of non-enrolment.

On completion of his term, the apprentice was admitted to the freedom, upon testimony of his master and "other good men", before the Mayor, etc. There is no mention here of the crafts' officials having any say in the matter. In those days freemen were recorded in the city books, *not* under the trade they followed, but under the wards in which they resided, and "few of the crafts organisations had any official standing in the enfranchisement of apprentices".[2] At this date the craft gilds had not yet acquired those wide powers which they enjoyed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when apprenticeship was virtually the

[1] Summarised from Mander, *Cordwainers,* pp 28-29.
[2] Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls,* 1364-1381, p. 35.

only means of entry into the gild. In this instance it was still possible for an apprentice who had not completed his term to purchase his right to the freedom without reference to the craft authorities, provided he could satisfy his master.

The enticement rule appears again, this time with a very stiff penalty. The frequent regulations on this subject indicate that this was a very common source of trouble.

The last of the Cordwainers' ordinances, quoted above, was directed against servants (or journeymen) taking apprentices. Unfortunately, there is little evidence on the subject at this early date.

The apprentice-fees imposed in these two early codes of craft ordinances provide strong evidence that the system of apprenticeship cannot have been widely practised at this date, and must have been largely confined to people of substantial means. The organized misteries were still few in number, and the opening clause of the apprentice regulations ordaining that no apprentice was to be taken without consent of the Mayor and Commonalty seems to support the view, commonly held, that the majority of workers in the thirteenth-century trades were not apprenticed at all.[1]

Another code of thirteenth century craft ordinances survives, and its apprentice clauses may be noted here, *i.e.*, those of the Fishmongers, dated 1278-9. They are of special interest because they provide the earliest example of restriction as to the number of apprentices to be taken by a master, *i.e.*, not more than two or three, and then only if he was able to support them. The minimum term of service was fixed at seven years, and there were specific instructions that both master and apprentice were to appear to the Guildhall to enrol the "covenant" (*i.e.*, indentures), and the term, according to the custom of the mistery, under the oversight of four good men of the mistery, and the same procedure was to be followed at the end of the term.

The ordinances also provided that if the master died during the term, the apprentice might have his freedom upon being vouched for by four good men of the trade.[2]

In these three early codes we have examples of regulation of apprenticeship in the thirteenth century, which laid the pattern for many of the new ordinances as the system began to spread.

In the course of this essay it may appear that an inordinate amount of space is devoted to the London craft gilds and companies. This is inevitable, because the London records are readily available, and because the "custom of London" may be taken (with some caution) as a kind of yardstick for the whole country.

The earliest charters granted to Northampton, in 1189 and 1200, gave rights to the burgesses ". . . according to the custom of the Citizens of London . . ."[3] The Norwich composition of 1415 provided that those " . . . crafts which have (right of) search in the city of London shall have (right of) search in the city of Norwich . . .",[4] and early York ordinances contain apprentice regulations "sicome est use en la citee de Loundres . . ."[5]

Apprentices' indentures often specified that certain conditions should be observed "according to the custom of the City of London", and the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices made the "custom of London" obligatory for the whole country.

Examples of this widespread adherence to the "custom of London" are to be found on all sides. It is only necessary to say that in general, and after making proper allowance for varying stages of development of craft organizations in different parts of the country, the "custom of London" may serve as a useful guide to the custom of the country as a whole.

APPRENTICESHIP UNDER MUNICIPAL REGULATION

One of the earliest and most interesting references to apprenticeship appears under date 1274-5 in some early city chronicles.[6]

> "The same year, a certain liberty was provided in London that the names of apprentices should be entered in the register (*papirio*) of the chamber of Guildhall and the names of those who voluntarily purchased the freedom of the City should be inserted in the same register, and he whose name is not on the said register shall be deprived of his civic freedom.
>
> "But it should be known that there are three methods by which a man acquires the freedom of the city. Firstly, that he be a man born in the city, lawfully, from his father; secondly, that he be an apprentice with a freeman for seven years and not less; thirdly, that a man may compound for his freedom . . ."

1 Unwin, *Gilds*, p. 83; Cunningham, *Industry and Commerce*, p. 347.
2 *Liber Albus*, Book III, p. 383.
3 *Records of Northampton*, I. pp. 27, 31.
4 Hudson and Tingey, *Norwich Records*, vol. i, pp. 93 folg.
5 *York Mem.*, Book I, pp. 86, 211 and xli.
6 Brit. Mus., *Cottonian* MSS., Otho. B.3.

The three avenues to the freedom are clearly defined here, and apprenticeship " for not less than seven years to a freeman " is acknowledged as a recognized means to this end.

In addition to the city custom of enrolment, another kind of register was ordered in 1282 to be kept by the several trades of the city:—

> " First, touching search for suspected persons—by trades, *viz.*, that each trade shall present the names of all members of the trade and of all who serve the same trade, setting out where they live and in what ward . . . " [1]

There is no mention of apprentices in these ordinances, but in 1294 a similar ordinance was made, this time in greater detail and specifying masters, apprentices and servants.[2]

These registers were intended purely for police purposes, but the ordinances are interesting as the earliest examples of a kind of police control being exercised through the medium of the craft gilds.

The regulations as to enrolment are of such frequent recurrence in the old records as to show that the authorities were finding great difficulty in enforcing them. In the *Liber Custumarum*, amongst a collection of " articles of ancient usage " which were to be cried each year throughout the city, the point appears again, this time together with a clear instruction that only masters who were free of the city might take apprentices. A similar regulation appears in the *Liber Albus, c.* 1312-1313.[3]

In 1300 it was ordained that two Aldermen were to be elected to serve with the Chamberlain as a court, with power to inflict fines on apprentices who had failed to enrol within the requisite twelve months.[4]

The city records of admissions to the freedom from 1309-1312 give brief details relating to 909 new freemen, of whom only 253 were admitted by apprenticeship. The remainder were redemptioners, buying their freedom, and paying variable fees which ranged from 5s. to £5.[5] Many of the apprentices were made free without any payment being recorded. Among those who did pay, the fees also varied considerably, and in a large number of cases a penalty was added because the apprentice had never been enrolled. The exact amounts of the penalties are not easily determined, because the freedom fee and penalties are usually quoted as a single sum.

In addition to the duty of enrolment within the first year of his term, a further obligation was laid upon the apprentice to " make his exit " when his term of service was completed. Apparently, this involved his making an appearance before the city Chamberlain, with his master, who testified that the apprentice had duly served his time. The records, however yield many cases of penalties levied upon apprentices who had failed to comply.[6]

The municipal ordinances relating to apprentices were mainly concerned with the administration of the machinery by which they were properly recorded and ultimately admitted to the freedom, and the *c.* 1230 statutes in the *Liber Ordinationum* show that the system of records was primarily designed to ensure that the city might know whom to defend as its freemen.

In the early years of the fourteenth century the craft gilds were growing in number, and they were beginning to achieve a recognized status in the structure of municipal organization. In 1319, Edward II granted certain New Articles to the city (he had been paid handsomely for the privilege), and among them was a clause which clearly acknowledged the rights of the handicrafts trades (*operabilia*) to a share in the municipal government.[7]

During the fourteenth century an increasing number of crafts sought and obtained ratification of their ordinances by the Mayor and Aldermen, and henceforth much of the civic regulation relating to apprentices is to be found in these codes, which, by virtue of official sanction, were of equal force with ordinances of the Mayor and Council.

APPRENTICESHIP UNDER CRAFT CONTROLS

So far as apprentices were concerned, the crafts' ordinances were made, broadly, under four headings:—

(1) Qualifications of apprentices, *e.g.*, free-birth, physique, etc.

(2) The regulation of apprenticeship, *e.g.*, enrolment, length of term, extended terms, access to the freedom, etc.

[1] *Cal. C.*, p. 84.
[2] *Cal. B.*, p. 241.
[3] *Lib. Cust.*, p. 201 folg.; *cf. Lib. Alb.*, p. 272.
[4] *Cal. C.*, p. 78; *cf. Lib. Cust.*, I, 93.
[5] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1364-1381, intro., p. 32.
[6] *Cal. D.*, p. 43, for example of penalty for non-enrolment.
ibid., p. 42, for example of " exit-fee ".
ibid., p. 40, for example of penalty for " exit not enrolled ".
[7] *Lib. Cust.*, I, pp. 268-273.

(3) Regulations and restrictions for masters, *e.g.*, permitted number of apprentices, maintenance, transfer or enticement, etc.

(4) Fees, fines, and contributions, etc., payable to the crafts and to the municipal authorities at various stages in an apprentice's career.

(The following pages (up to p. 60) are a brief outline of the fully-detailed paper, now lodged in the Q.C. library.)

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPRENTICES

FREE BIRTH

Bondage was the complete state of serfdom, and a bondsman's children belonged wholly to their father's master. Villeinage was a lesser degree of servility, because a villein was bound to service as one " belonging to the land ". Both conditions were an absolute bar to the freedom of the city and also to apprenticeship, and many of the crafts' ordinances, in the fourteenth century and later, insist on free birth as an essential condition of apprenticeship.

The *Regius* MS., *c.* 1390, and the *Cooke* MS., *c.* 1410, both deal with the matter at some length, but, rather surprisingly, it does not appear in the three principal codes of London Mason regulations (1356, 1481, 1521), nor is it to be found in the Edinburgh Masons' Seal of Cause, 1475, or the two later Scottish codes, *i.e.*, the Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599.

PHYSICAL QUALIFICATIONS

Among the qualifications which appear most regularly in the crafts' ordinances are the clauses which specify the physical requirements for apprentices. Generally, the crafts required that their apprentices must not be either maimed or lacking a limb. Occasionally the list is expanded, and crafts demanded that their apprentices were to be presented for inspection to ensure that they were also " handsome in stature ", of " clenely feture ", and " neither lame or crooked or deformed ".

The *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. both touch on the question, the latter saying quite plainly that a lad who was maimed would be unable to do his work properly ; the same point appears in the London Mason ordinances of 1521, which required that the apprentice must have " . . . right lymmes to exercise the manuell feat thereof . . . "

LEGITIMACY

A rather rare qualification in early crafts' ordinances is that relating to legitimate birth, but it does appear in several cases, and the *Regius* MS. also requires the apprentice " to be of lawful blode ". Some crafts and some cities were not so particular. At Newcastle, in 1513, illegitimacy was no bar to apprenticeship, apparently, but the Merchant Adventurers ruled that no bastard was to be made free of their fellowship, even though he had served a seven-year term as apprentice. At Edinburgh the disqualification did not apply, and there are numerous records of enrolment of apprentices (with subsequent admissions to the freedom), who are described as " . . . the natural son of . . . " The infrequency of the regulation amongst the English crafts seems to imply that England was just as broad-minded as Scotland in such matters.

ENGLISH BIRTH

The exact date when English birth was demanded as one of the qualifications for apprentices is not clear, but it appears quite frequently in fifteenth and sixteenth century ordinances. Sometimes the ban is against Irishmen or Welshmen ; more frequently against Scots and Frenchmen. Generally the ban was against " aliens ", and specifically against those born out of " the King's power ". There appears to be no trace of the requirement of English birth among any of the masons' ordinances.

MINIMUM AGE

It was not until the fifteenth century that the crafts began to specify a minimum age for apprentices, and at that time the age of fourteen seems to have been recognized as a suitable minimum, while many gilds and companies specified an even higher age limit. In an age when humanitarian reasons counted for very little, and children were often apprenticed as young as seven, it is easy to see that the minimum age, when specified, was designed either to ensure proper standards of workmanship or to act as a control on the numbers of apprentices (and subsequent freemen) in a particular craft. An Act of 1389, which was designed to maintain the supply of agricultural labour, forbade children who had worked on the land from being apprenticed to any other trade until they had reached the age of twelve.

In the sixteenth century special measures were taken to deal with vagrant children, and those aged five and upwards were ordered to be apprenticed until the age of twenty-four.

London Paviors, in 1479, specified a minimum age of eighteen for their apprentices, and fines inflicted on paviors in 1604 for taking under-age boys show that their regulations were strictly enforced, but there appears to be no trace of a minimum-age regulation in any of the masons' codes of ordinances.

BACHELORHOOD

Several of the earliest surviving indentures (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) contain a non-marrying clause, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rule appears frequently in crafts' ordinances, which seems to imply that the regulation was often broken. When we consider that apprentices were usually bound not to absent themselves from their masters' service " by day or night ", there would seem to have been little reason for official reference to the matter, and this may explain the absence of early municipal or craft regulations on the subject.

In 1556 the London Common Council enacted that no man was to be admitted to the freedom until he had reached the age of twenty-four, and apprentices' terms of service were to be so arranged as to bring them to that age when they had finished their terms. The reason for this sharp restriction was that apprentices were marrying and " setting-up " too soon. In 1660 the Edinburgh Burgh Council made a regulation in very similar terms, stating that the crafts were wronged through the unskilfulness of apprentices who had set-up too soon, and that married apprentices, with their wives and children, were becoming a burden to the city. They ruled that apprentices who married within their terms were to lose all rights to the freedom, and that all indentures thenceforth must contain the non-marrying clause. The mason's indenture of 1670 (No. 40 below) contains the clause and also refers to the Act (but gives the wrong date for the latter).

The non-marrying clause does not appear in any of the early mason codes, but in 1685 the Masons and Wrights Incorporation of Edinburgh made a regulation to that effect.

MISCELLANEOUS QUALIFICATIONS

Several miscellaneous qualifications may be mentioned here, though it seems probable that none of them affected the mason trade in any way.

A property qualification was introduced by the Act of 1389, which was designed to prevent the flow of agricultural labour into industry. It required that anyone who wanted to apprentice his child to a trade *within a city or burgh* must have an income " by land or rent " to the value of 20s. per annum. The Act probably proved effective in many cases, but several towns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries petitioned against it, successfully, and were exempt. A similar type of restriction appeared in the Statute of Artificers of 1563, but seems to have been ineffective.

Literacy appears as a qualification for apprentices in certain crafts, but it is doubtful if masons were affected by this comparatively rare requirement.

Locality restrictions appear occasionally, where masters are prevented from taking apprentices who hail from specified places usually in the vicinity of the city. Such restrictions were simply a means of keeping the trade in the town, and they are comparatively rare.

The provision of a surety for apprentices was a widespread custom, as witnessed in several of the indentures (below), but we rarely find any reference to the subject *in crafts ordinances*. In 1498 the London Ironmongers ruled that none of their masters might take an apprentice unless the latter could put up a surety for £5 at least, and a somewhat similar regulation was made by the Coventry Cappers in 1520. These guarantees were required to ensure that apprentices would serve their terms and discharge their duties properly, but where such arrangements were the subject of *craft regulations* they may be taken as evidence of the growing exclusiveness of the trade companies.

THE REGULATION OF APPRENTICESHIP

ENROLMENT

Reference has already been made to the early and oft-repeated regulations requiring apprentices to be enrolled before the civic authorities, and innumerable examples might be quoted, in all sorts of crafts, specifying a time limit (which might be anything from fifteen days to twelve months) within which period the apprentice was to be enrolled. Twelve months was the general practice, and the penalties for non-enrolment were severe, sometimes involving the master's loss of freedom. More frequently a fine was the only penalty, and breaches were very frequent indeed. Enrolment before *the crafts' officers* seems to have come into practice rather later, and the earliest evidence implying that the crafts were keeping registers of some sort appears in those codes of craft ordinances which required that master and apprentice

were to present themselves before the wardens of their misteries. The rule relating to " presentation " of apprentices was common throughout the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, but it does not appear in any of the London Masons' ordinances until 1521. The Schaw Statutes of 1598 do not require presentation, but insist on proper notification to the warden " of the ludge quhair he dwellis . . . "

" SWEARING " APPRENTICES

The London Lorimers' ordinances of 1260-1 are an early example of regulations requiring apprentices to be sworn. The city enrolment records make no mention of the practice, and generally the swearing of apprentices does not seem to have been widespread practice either before craft or civic authorities. At Coventry, in 1494, an ordinance was made requiring apprentices to be sworn before the Steward of the Mayor's court, and the form of the oath is given. It is a simple oath of allegiance to the King and obedience to the rules and ordinances of the city, with a promise to maintain the franchise of the city.

The early mason ordinances make no mention of the swearing of apprentices, but the *Regius* MS. states that all shall swear " the same oath ". In this case, however, it is very doubtful whether the regulation was addressed to masters alone, or whether apprentices were also sworn.

YEARS OF SERVICE

Before the end of the thirteenth century the London custom of a minimum term of seven years for apprenticeship seems to have been widely adopted, but shorter terms were quite common in various crafts. On the other hand, the London records contain innumerable cases, in all sorts of trades, of apprentices bound for long terms ranging up to sixteen years, and it is evident that although seven years was customary practice, longer terms were not unusual.

Occasionally crafts' ordinances specified long terms of apprenticeship as a deliberate means of restricting the number of freemen, but more often this kind of control was achieved by ordinances requiring an extra year or two of journeyman-service after the apprentice had completed his contracted term. Such regulations were fairly common in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and the indentures during this period often make provision for a period of journeyman-service, showing that the masters derived some real benefit from the continued services of their time-served apprentices.

Among the masons in Scotland, especially, the " extended terms of service " were regular practice. They are usually described as " . . . years for meat and fee . . . ", *i.e.*, when the apprentice had not only his keep, but a certain wage as well. In England we have a body of evidence on the subject in regard to various trades, and there is a Norwich indenture of 1512-3 (below) in which a mason's apprentice was similarly bound for one year of journeyman-service.

ACCESS TO THE FREEDOM

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when many of the crafts were still without corporate organization, it is evident that they played little or no part in the enfranchisement of their apprentices. Time-served lads presented themselves with their masters before the Mayor or his Chamberlain, and were admitted to the freedom, upon testimony of their having properly completed their terms.

It was not until the late fourteenth century that the crafts began to take a direct interest in enfranchisement, by making regulations which required that time-served apprentices were to be presented *before the Wardens,* or officers of the craft, and by them examined or " enhabled ", *i.e.*, certified by them as craftsmen sufficiently skilled to set up as masters. Access to the freedom was a matter of right to the apprentice who had properly served his time, and there is evidence, both in London and the provincial cities, that it was customary for the masters to pay, for their apprentices, the various fees that were involved.

Occasionally we find instances where masters refused, for some reason, to enfranchise their apprentices, and the latter were able to claim and obtain their rights through the Mayor's court.

EXAMINATIONS AND " ESSAYS "

The " enhabling ", which is mentioned above, seems to suggest that it was customary in the crafts to impose specific tests upon candidates for the freedom to ensure that they were proficient. There is, unfortunately, little evidence until the seventeenth century as to whether such tests were actually imposed, and we have no means of knowing whether the examinations —if they did exist in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries—were of a simple or a rigorous nature.

Originally, it is certain that apprentices were entitled to the freedom without examination by crafts' officials ; at that time the tests were reserved for " foreigners ", *i.e.*, men who had not served an apprenticeship, or strangers from outside the city limits. The next stage was the introduction of examinations or " abling " even for apprentices, and this seems to have been widespread practice before the end of the fifteenth century, if we are to judge from the many crafts' ordinances which specify presentation for " examination " or " abling ".

When, in the seventeenth century, we begin to find details of the test-pieces or " masterpieces " that were required, they are generally of a reasonable nature and well within the powers of a properly-trained craftsman. Our principal evidence as to masons' essays is derived from Scotland, where Incorporation minutes and Lodge records indicate that they were a necessary preliminary to apprentices becoming " fellow-of-craft ".

The status of " fellow-of-craft " in a Scottish Lodge was equal to that of an " enhabled " apprentice in England, *i.e.*, a fully-trained craftsman, ready to take his freedom if he so desired, or free to work as a journeyman if he did not want to set up on his own account. This point is important in our study of the masons' essays. In 1681 the Lodge of Mary's Chapel ordained that " entered-apprentices " out of their time must pass as fellow crafts within two years, and that no master was to employ any journeyman who remained unpassed for more than two years, under severe penalties. We know from several sources that " essays " at this time were still enforced, and we are compelled to conclude that the essays cannot have been a serious bar to the status of fellow-craft, and did not present any difficulty to those who had served a normal apprenticeship.

RESTRICTIONS UPON MASTERS

PERMITTED NUMBERS OF APPRENTICES

It is impossible to trace a regular pattern of development in the enormous mass of regulations which were constantly imposed, in every conceivable trade, controlling the numbers of apprentices that a master was permitted to take. Undoubtedly the regulations—and their frequent alterations—were largely governed by the state of trade in each particular industry, but generally the interests of the masters were paramount.

Early regulations on this subject were vague, depending upon the master's ability to " maintain " and " teach ". Later ordinances usually stated a fixed number of apprentices, say, one, two or three at any one time, and no master was to take more without permission. Frequently there is evidence of " overlapping ", by which a master was permitted to take a new apprentice eighteen months or two years before a former apprentice's term was due to end.

Other arrangements had the double purpose of protection for journeymen and preventing any individual master from becoming too big in his business. In certain crafts, masters were ordered to employ journeymen in a fixed proportion, *e.g.*, if they had three apprentices they must take two journeymen. Other ordinances required journeymen to be employed (*e.g.*, one on every loom) regardless of the number of apprentices already employed. Elsewhere we find a restriction of, say, one or two apprentices, plus a fixed number of journeymen " at most ", thus placing a physical limit to the amount of work any one master could undertake.

Among London masons, the 1521 regulations permitted a master to take only one apprentice at a time, and Glasgow masons had a similar rule from 1551 to 1667. The Schaw Statutes permitted no more than three apprentices during the master's lifetime without special permission, and substantial fines show that the rules were enforced. Norwich mason enrolments show that John Godfrey took no less than six apprentices between 1550 and 1561, and there are sixteenth and seventeenth centuries records of several Norwich masons taking four or five apprentices each. At Edinburgh it is evident that the limit of three apprentices per master was very generally observed until the end of the seventeenth century, when we begin to find evidence of several masters taking as many apprentices as they pleased, apparently without any opposition either from the Lodge or the Incorporation.

MAINTENANCE

Among the early regulations relating to apprentices, we find the first hints of some measure of protection for them in the (infrequent) clauses relating to maintenance. The master was expected to find food, clothing and shelter for his apprentices, to teach them his trade, and to keep them fully employed therein during their terms of service. Such details as these are comparatively rare in the crafts' ordinances, but they were habitually embodied in the indentures, thus becoming enforceable at law, and there are numerous instances of apprentices being " exonerated " from their indentures by the courts because their masters had failed to " maintain " them.

ENTICEMENT AND TRANSFER OF APPRENTICES

The oft-repeated regulations against enticement of apprentices (and servants) appear in the earliest codes of craft ordinances, including the London masons' ordinances of 1356.

The setting-over of apprentices from one master to another by mutual consent was an everyday occurrence. In fact, it was not the apprentice, but his term of service, that was disposable, and the law allowed such transactions, subject to the consent of the apprentice and his guardians. Nevertheless, a number of cases before the courts show that there were abuses, and in such cases the law usually favoured the apprentice.

The Schaw Statutes, 1598, contain a regulation on this subject forbidding masters to sell an apprentice to any other master, or to dispense with the remaining years of the apprentice's term by selling them to the apprentice himself, *i.e.*, by selling him his liberty. In the first point, the transfer of the apprentice to another master, the regulation was much more strict than was customary in the general run of crafts ; on the second point, *i.e.*, selling the apprentice his liberty, this was exactly the kind of " collusion or fraud " against which we find strict craft regulations in the fourteenth century and onwards.

FEES, FINES AND FEASTS

Among the many regulations closely connected with the industrial life of all apprentices were those relating to the various fees, fines, quarterages, etc., imposed by crafts or civic authorities, or both, at every stage in their careers.

Briefly, fees or fines were exacted as follows:—

(1) By way of premiums paid to the masters at the beginning of apprenticeship. The earliest codes of crafts' ordinances (London Lorimers and Cordwainers, 1260-1 and 1271) specify the minimum sums, ranging from 20s. to 40s., which were to be taken by masters for teaching their trade to apprentices. At this time the wages of experienced craftsmen in various trades ran from 1s. 6d. to 3s. per week, so that the premiums were quite substantial sums. In the following centuries, especially in some of the wealthier crafts, much larger sums were frequently paid. There is no early evidence of premiums paid by mason apprentices. Among the later indentures, however, No. 41, the " mason and wright " indenture of 1683, specifies a premium of 50 marks, *i.e.*, 55s. sterling. No. 42, an Edinburgh mason indenture of 1685, states that a premium had been paid, but the amount is omitted. No. 43, a mason's indenture of 1712, records a premium of £40 Scots, *i.e.*, £3 6s. 8d. stg., payable in two instalments.

(2) Enrolment Fees to Civic Authority. Records of a large number of municipal authorities in England and Scotland show enrolment fees ranging from 4d. to 2s. 6d. stg., usually with a small fee to the clerk for preparing a pair of indentures. In 1583, Edinburgh masons paid an enrolment fee of 13s. 4d. Scots, *i.e.*, 1s. 8d. stg., and, in 1600, Glasgow masons paid 10d. stg.

(3) Enrolment Fees to the Crafts. A wide variety of fees are recorded in different trades, ranging from 6d. to 6s. 8d., and frequently it is specified that the fee was to be paid by the master. Among mason fees payable to the crafts on enrolment are the following:—

Aitchison's Haven Lodge, 1598—20s. Scots, *i.e.*, 2s. stg.
Kilwinning Lodge, 1598—A payment of £6 Scots, *i.e.*, 12s. stg., or a banquet to the Lodge.
London Masons' Company, 1620—Masters paid a " presentation " fee of 2s. 6d.
Alnwick Masons, 1701—Masters paid an " entering " fee of 6d. for their apprentices.

(4) Apprentice Exit Fees. I have found trace of this " exit fee " only in London. The fee was 2s. 6d., occasionally increased by the Guildhall authorities in order to replenish the City Treasury.

(5) Freedom Fees to the Crafts. These were subject to wide fluctuations. Most frequently the fee seems to have been 6s. 8d., but the growing exclusiveness of some of the crafts prompted them, in the sixteenth century, to impose impossibly high freedom fees. There seems little doubt that these high fees were primarily intended to limit the numbers of masters in particular crafts, and these abuses were so widespread that they were ultimately (in 1531) the subject of legislation which limited the freedom fee to a sum not exceeding 3s. 4d.

(6) Freedom Feasts to the Crafts. One of the financial responsibilities of apprentices was the duty of providing a feast or banquet (for the masters of their fellowship) when they came to take their freedom. The absence of regulations on the subject in many of the early codes of crafts' ordinances suggests that the custom was by no

means universal, but there are sufficient records in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to show that it was then fairly widespread. In many cases the cost of the "freedom feast" must have been a severe burden, and the frequent references to the payment of a composition in place of the feast seems to imply that the actual provision of a feast was already going out of fashion in the sixteenth century. The civic records of many of the large cities (*e.g.*, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Exeter, York, Northampton, Oxford, Aberdeen, etc.) contain references or regulations relating to the "freedom feasts" for all trades, *i.e.*, including masons. Specific reference to masons' "freedom feasts" are found in Edinburgh in 1598, Kilwinning 1599, The Canongate (Edinburgh) 1630, and Aberdeen 1670, but, generally speaking, such references are comparatively rare.

(7) Freedom Fees to the Civic Authority. The civic freedom fees varied greatly from town to town, and were often subject to change by the civic authorities. For apprentices the fees were always at a modest rate, and often it was customary for the master to pay the fee on behalf of his ex-employee. Among the freedom fees recorded for masons (*i.e.*, ex-apprentices and others) are: London, 1309-1311, 6s. 8d. to 13s. 4d.; Bristol, 1536-8, 4s. 6d.; Glasgow, 1551, approximately 5s. stg.; Northampton, 1559, 20s., and in 1564 it was fixed at £4, if the mason occupied more than one craft.

(8) "Upsets". Under strict definition, "upsets" were the fees exacted by the crafts or municipal authorities when apprentices, at the end of their terms, were ready to set up a "shop" or "working-house". Originally, it seems probable that "upsets" were paid only to the municipal authorities, and they must have been quite separate from the ordinary freedom fees, but the position as regards freedom fees and "upsets" is not at all clear. Occasionally (*e.g.*, Coventry) the "upset" seems to have included the city's freedom fee. At Edinburgh the freedom fee and "upset" were two separate items, both payable to the burgh. A somewhat similar arrangement existed at Bristol, but there the "upset" fee was divided between the burgh and the craft; elsewhere, "upsets" were paid only to the crafts, and our main evidence on the subject is derived from the crafts' ordinances. As a rule, the "upset" fees were very modest sums (usually 20d. to 2s.), but in a few cases considerably higher fees were exacted.

(9) Quarterage. Generally, apprentices were not called upon to pay any kind of quarterage until they were out of their terms. Among Scottish masons, however, "entered apprentices" became liable as soon as they were made "entered apprentice", and there are records of this practice at Aitchison's Haven in 1601-2, Kilwinning in 1643, and Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, in 1693. Apprentices' earnings were negligible, and the quarterages were necessarily very low. The Kilwinning fee was 4d. stg. per annum, with a penalty of doubling if unpaid; the Edinburgh fee was 1s. stg. per annum, but there the regulation lapsed, and was revived in 1714.

ENTERED APPRENTICES

Two of the indentures in our collection are especially valuable for the light which they shed on the old vexed question of the status of the "entered apprentice" in Scottish operative masonry, a title and status hitherto quite unknown in the early English records. All the available evidence on the subject indicates beyond doubt that "entered apprentices" were in some way further advanced than ordinary apprentices, a kind of intermediate grade between apprentice and "fellow craft or master".

Until very recently it was generally held, though occasionally with some slight diffidence, that the "entered apprentice" was one who had served his term and had not yet been received into the fellowship.[1] The doubts which sometimes accompanied this theory arose mainly because, although there was a considerable body of evidence relating to "entered apprentices" generally, there was no definite information as to the dates when they had started their apprenticeships, so that it was impossible to say with certainty how far they had advanced in the craft when they became *entered* apprentices.

The evidence of the Schaw Statutes, which indicated that entered apprentices were permitted to take work on their own account, within strict limits, and that they played some part in the work of the Lodge, tended to suggest that these were not ordinary apprentices, but men who had served their time. A philological argument was frequently adduced, in which the Scottish words "enter-prentice" and "inter-prentice" were taken to mean entire-prentice, *i.e.*, one who had fully completed his term of indentures.[2]

[1] *E.g.*, Knoop, *Scottish Mason*, p. 45; *cf.* Knoop, *Mason Word*, p. 87; Meekren, *A.Q.C.*, liii, p. 166; Gould (Poole's Edn.), II, p. 345.

[2] *E.g.*, Knoop, *Mason Word*, p. 90.

In 1953 the Lodge of Mary's Chapel No. 1, Edinburgh, permitted its two earliest minute-books to be photographed, and these priceless documents (which include some of the oldest operative Lodge minutes in the world)[1] were made available for study. By a happy combination of these minutes with the Edinburgh Register of Apprentices, a completely independent municipal record, it became possible to trace the stages in the trade careers of a large number of operative masons from *c.* 1599 onwards.

The first point that emerged from a study of the combined records[2] was that apprentices, as such, had nothing whatever to do with the Lodge, and their names do not appear in the Lodge records at all. They were booked, at the beginning of their indentures, in the municipal records; up to 1590, in presence of the Provost, Baillies and Council; after 1590, in presence of the Dean of Gild and his Gild Council (a municipal organisation made up of representatives of all the crafts). The formula of entry was as follows:—

> "That day . . . in presence of . . . Dean of Gild, and his Gild Council, . . . entered prentice to . . . mason, for seven years, conform to their indentures shown, and paid of entrance silver xiij^{s} iv^{d}".

I have stressed the point about lack of connection between apprentices and the Lodge because Meekren, in his brilliant study of the question, stated that this first booking was a "registration in the Lodge book",[3] which might imply that the apprentice at his first booking was straightaway received into the Lodge. At Aitchison's Haven, where there was no gild or burghal authority, apprentices were occasionally "booked" in the Lodge book, but there and at Edinburgh they made their first appearance *in the Lodge* when they were made "entered apprentice". At that stage they "entered" the Lodge, became members of the organization, paying quarterly dues, exercising a minor function in the work of the Lodge and enjoying its protection.

One of the major results of the investigation of the combined records was to demonstrate that apprentices became "entered apprentices", on average, about two-and-a-half years after the beginning of their indentures. *Averages* may be very misleading; in this case it is more correct to say that, excepting a few "freak" instances, the vast majority of apprentices recorded were made "entered apprentices" within two or three years.[4] Nearly all of them had been indentured for seven years; very few for eight or nine years; fewer still for five or six; and it follows, therefore, that apprentices, having been "entered" in the Lodge, remained bound apprentices for some four or five years in the status of "entered apprentice". After that it was customary to serve two or three years for "meat and fee", *i.e.*, in the status of a "bound" and salaried journeyman.

The combined Lodge and Burgh records also show that eventually those qualified men who so desired were made "fellow-craft and master" in the Lodge, and shortly afterwards became Freeman Burgess.

Reference has already been made to a few "freak" cases where the records do not conform to this clearly-defined pattern. A number of likely explanations might be available in these instances; *e.g.*, if a master failed to book his prentice in the burgh records, and did so several years late (paying a penalty perhaps), we would get the kind of case where a lad appears as "entered apprentice" almost immediately after the date shown for the beginning of his indentures; in fact, there are several such cases in the records. Other cases appear which cannot be so readily explained, except, perhaps, by inaccuracies on the part of the clerks in dating their entries or by confusion of identities where dealing with very common names.

The results of this study were so unexpected that it was felt necessary to point out that the conclusions should only be taken as applying to Edinburgh, where the evidence was incontrovertible.[5] Unfortunately, it has not been possible to carry out similar investigations for other Scottish centres, owing to the absence of similar sets of complementary records, and we can only surmise whether Edinburgh practice was the model for other Scottish burghs.

The recent discovery of two hitherto unpublished masons' indentures has brought most valuable confirmation to our new findings, and one of the documents tends to suggest that Edinburgh practice, in regard to entered apprentices, was known and followed further afield. The first of these texts is an indenture dated 9th November, 1685, in which the apprentice binds himself for six years, and after a recital of various conditions, all more or less customary,

[1] Aitchison's Haven Lodge minutes exist for January, 1598, O.S., *i.e.*, January, 1599, a few months earlier than those of Mary's Chapel.

[2] Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, published by Q.C. Lodge.

[3] Meekren, *Aitchison's Haven Minutes*, *A.Q.C.*, liii, p. 154. An ambiguous minute of Dunblane, in 1703, suggests the possibility that apprentices were "booked" in the Lodge, but later records do not confirm the practice. *Vide* Hatten, *Dunblane*, *A.Q.C.*, lxvii, p. 89, *et passim*.

[4] Carr, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

[5] Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

the master ". . . the said William Fultoun obleiss him and his forsaids *to enter his said prentice at Mary's Chappell* and that *within three years after the dait heirof* . . ."[1]

Here is perfect confirmation of the conclusions outlined above. The term of the indentures was six years, and the master undertook to enter his apprentice within three years from the *commencement* of service, *i.e.*, to make him an "entered apprentice".

The fact that this point is included as a part of the contract is important because of the conclusions that follow from it:—

(a) That the qualification for becoming an "entered apprentice" was merely a recognised period of service in the status of apprentice.

(b) That the master could only have been contracting to pay the apprentice's entry money into the Lodge, because

(c) had there been some test of skill involved, the master could not have contracted to enter his apprentice, since the question of eligibility would not have rested with him but with the Lodge.

The second document is also a mason's indenture, of rather later date, 1712, and it comes from Kinross (Fife), about 50 miles from Edinburgh. The term of service in this case is only for three years, plus one year for meat and fee, but the apprentice is described as John Lyall, *servant to John Birrell,* and it is possible that this is a case of an apprentice transferring from one master to another.[2] After the recital of the master's obligations to maintain his apprentice in bed and board, etc., we read:—

> ". . . 'Lykeas he obleidges himselfe to enter the said John Lyall free of all expenses at the Mason Loudge of Dunfermline' . . ."

The evidence here is not so clear as that in the preceding text, because it lacks the all-important date which determined the apprentice's length of service before he would be made "entered apprentice". But the fact that the master contracted to perform this duty implies that it took place during the period of service, and certainly not afterwards. The date, 1712, is of a period when the old rigid minimum of seven years' service was no longer observed strictly, but the real importance of this text lies in the fact that it shows that the custom of the apprentice being made "entered apprentice" *during the period of his indentures* was also practised outside Edinburgh.

The discovery that the "entered apprentice" stage in Edinburgh (and perhaps in Scotland generally) marked an intermediate stage in the apprentice's period of training (and not the completion, as had been previously supposed) immediately raised the question as to why the "promotion" should have taken place at that particular time. A number of points must be considered in attempting to answer the question.

(1) The mason trade in Edinburgh was, from 1475 onwards, generally controlled by the Masons and Wrights Incorporation, which represented and governed the interests of a number of associated trades. (Some of these, notably the masons and the wrights, were entitled to representation on the Town Council, and they elected deacons annually for that purpose.) The Incorporation *was a general body, not concerned with the masons alone.* Its charter, the Seal of Clause, 1475, contained several regulations relating to apprenticeship, but the status of "entered apprentice" does not appear, and was probably unknown at that time. One of the regulations required that apprentices were to serve a minimum of seven years, and after being examined by four representatives of the Incorporation, two masons and two wrights, and found "sufficient," they were to be made "fellows of craft". There was no intermediate stage.

(2) From 1599 onwards (there are no earlier records) the Mason Lodge of Mary's Chapel exercised a more immediate trade control over the masons themselves, collecting quarterages and other fees, making trade regulations, and punishing offenders.

(3) From 1599 onwards, the business of becoming an "entered apprentice", and later on "fellow of craft", was purely a lodge matter, and was, in that respect, completely separate from the overall trade controls exercised by the burgh, or the Incorporation.

(4) The attainment of the "fellow of craft" stage in Edinburgh, was tantamount to a confirmation by men of the trade that the mason was a fully-trained craftsman, worthy of the freedom. It was, in fact, almost equivalent to the early English practice, in which certification "by good men of the trade"[3] was one of the preliminaries to the freedom.

(5) No such explanation can be found for the "entered apprentice". His promotion to that status made him a responsible member of the Lodge, and subject to its controls.

[1] The whole text appears *post* p. 67. It is curious that although we have all necessary records relating to the master, Wm. Fultoun, there is no trace of this particular apprentice in the Edinburgh Register of Apprentices.

[2] The text is reproduced *post* p. 67-8.

[3] See *ante* "Access to the Freedom", p. 53.

According to the Schaw Statutes, 1598, it entitled him to undertake work on his own account up to £10 Scots,[1] but it seems unlikely that he could have benefited from such an arrangement since, as a bound apprentice, his time and earnings belonged wholly to his master.

(6) There is good evidence that a substantial part of the cost of becoming an " entered apprentice ", and possibly the whole cost, was borne by the master. The Mary's Chapel minutes of 1599 and 1600 contain records of two cases in which the lodge *promised to enter apprentices within a specified time.*[2] Clearly some application had been made to the lodge for that purpose, and the question arises as to whether application was made by the masters or by the apprentices. In the second instance, 1600, the master was ordered by the lodge to pay £20 Scots before his apprentice could be entered, because the master had already taken his full quota of apprentices, and this lad was to be entered to the warden. It is impossible that an apprentice would have made a demand on the lodge that could have involved his master in such an expense, unless with his full consent, *i.e.*, there must have been some advantage to the master in the lad becoming entered apprentice, otherwise he would not have been ready to pay £20 Scots.

(7) Both versions of the Indentures which have been discussed above, contain undertakings by the masters that they would enter their apprentices in the lodge, and the evidence suggests that the masters were wholly responsible for the expenses of entry.

(8) Becoming an " entered apprentice " cannot have made a material difference to an apprentice while he was still bound to his master, but it did give him a certain status in the Lodge and in the craft.

From all these arguments we are led to the conclusion that masters were ready to bear the expense of making their apprentices into " entered apprentices ", because they reaped some pecuniary advantage from this arrangement, and we may draw valuable confirmation of this conclusion from the municipal records of Edinburgh (again in conjunction with the Mary's Chapel minutes).

In 1610, as a result of the " exorbitant pryces " (*i.e.*, wages) prevailing amongst the masons and wrights, the Edinburgh magistrates enacted that masters were to receive £4 weekly, " servants, sufficient men " were to have £3 weekly (which included " drynk-sylver "), and " the lads and boyes as thai ar worth ".[3]

This wage scale was still in force in 1616-7 when the Edinburgh Market Cross was taken down, and re-erected at a site nearby. The Burgh Treasurer's accounts show the wages paid for this work to some seven " Mr. measones ", and at least seventeen others who are described simply as " measones ", and in one case as " ordinar measones ".[4]

Records relating to most of these craftsmen, both master masons and ordinary " measones " are to be found in the Council registers and in the Lodge minutes.[5] Amongst the masters who were employed on this job were Johne Taliphere, Thomas Taliphere, and Thomas Patersone, *working with their three apprentices,* Robt. Taliphere, Andr. Mitchell and Wm. Tempeltoune, respectively, and these three are classified in the accounts with the ordinary " measones ". But the Lodge records show that these three " ordinary measones " were still " entered apprentices " at the time when they were working on this particular job, and all of them were drawing the standard rates of pay of *ordinary masons,* that is to say, their *masters* were drawing standard pay on their account.

It must be admitted that the records are not all as clear as the three cases quoted here, but, despite the " freak " cases which are beyond explanation, the evidence is absolutely clear that " entered apprentices " were able to command a substantial wage, approximately three-quarters of that earned by master masons, and this analysis of the Market Cross accounts confirms that the masters derived a substantial benefit from having their apprentices recognised as " entered apprentices " as early as possible in their craft careers.

It is curious that the *status* of " entered apprentice ", by whatever name, appears to have been quite unknown in England. If, however, the status was mainly based on financial motives, as argued above, then it would appear that something closely approaching the same status was envisaged in the London Masons Ordinances, 1521.[6]

> " Also be it enacted that fromhensforth noo Freemen of the said Feliship aske ne take for the wages of any of his Apprentices the hole wages of a mason for his wekes worke unto the tyme he hath served and wrought in the forsaid Mistere fully the terme of Four years of his Apprenticehode. And over that that every such Apprentice after the said iiij yeres so exspired be brought and presented to and before the Chamberlayn of this Citie. And the Wardeins of the said Feliship for the tyme

[1] Lyon, *Hist. Lodge of Edinburgh, Mary's Chapel, No. 1,* Tercent. Edn., p. 10.
[2] Lyon, p. 41 and p. 78.
[3] *Extr. Rec. of Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604-1626,* p. 61.
[4] *ibid.*, pp. 377 folg.
[5] The names of the men involved are tabulated in Carr, *Mason and Burgh,* complete edn., pp. 49 folg., with their municipal and Lodge records.
[6] Knoop, *Mediæval Mason,* p. 258.

beyng. And by theym thereunto habled and admitted And as touchyng the wages of and for every suche Apprentice w'in the said terme of iiij yeres and before the said Admyssion the same wages to be rated and sette by the Wardeins of the said Feliship for the tyme being . . ."

Here the apprentice having served four years of his time was to be brought by his master before the municipal authority (probably to confirm his length of service), and then before the Wardens of the craft, and by them "habled and admitted." "Habled," *i.e.*, enabled, in this context, was a certification by officers of the craft that the master was entitled to claim the whole wages of a mason for his apprentice's services, and it is here that we find something approximating to the "entered-apprentice" status in Edinburgh. The word "admitted" might be taken to imply a still closer parallel, since it suggests that apprentices were admitted into the fellowship or company in much the same way as they were (in Scotland) made "*entered* apprentices," and admitted into the Lodge.

Unfortunately, there is not yet sufficient evidence to enable us to ascertain the full extent of such similarities of practice, or how widespread they were.

A COLLECTION OF INDENTURES AND ENROLMENTS

Our knowledge of the more intimate details of the system of apprenticeship is amplified very considerably by a study of the actual contracts of service, *i.e.*, the Indentures. These contracts were usually written in duplicate on a sheet of parchment, and then separated by being cut apart in zig-zag fashion, so that the toothed-edges of both parts would fit together exactly, for purposes of identification; hence the title, Indentures.

The municipalities attached great importance to these documents in mediæval times, and they usually ordained that the Town Clerk, or Chamberlain's clerk, was to write them, for a specified fee, and that Indentures were to be presented at the Chamberlain's office when apprentices came to be enrolled.

Enrolments were entered in the municipal records in some detail, and although comparatively few of the original documents have survived, the civic records often provide excellent summaries in their stead. The original documents tend inevitably to be rather uniform in style and content, but their value is enhanced for us by their minute detail which helps us to envizage the everyday life of the mediæval craftsmen.

For the purpose of this essay a number of these Indentures and Enrolments have been collected, and they are examined below. Some of the texts were easily accessible, having been reproduced in works which are within reach of every student. These are summarised very briefly. The majority, however, have been transcribed, translated (and paraphrased) from texts which have never previously been published, and the most important of these are reproduced at length.

In the collection which follows, considerations of expense have necessitated drastic cutting by the Editor; complete transcripts are available to students in the Lodge Library.

No. 1. SPICER'S INDENTURE, 1291. (Original Latin.) Translated from Hudson and Tingey, *Rec. of City of Norwich*, I, 254.

Be it remembered that this is a covenant made between John son of Gerard le Specer of Norwich of the one part and Hubert son of William de Tibenham of Yarmouth of the other part, that is to say, That the aforesaid Hubert will remain in the service of the aforesaid John continuously from the feast of Pentecost in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward son of King Henry (10 June 1291) until the end of the six years next following . . . and will closely keep hid such of his secrets as should be concealed, and will in no manner withdraw from the service of the said John during that time unless he shall first have been permitted by the said John by right and reason. And it shall not be allowed to the said John to expel the said Hubert from his service during the said term except for reasonable and just cause . . . And the aforesaid Hubert will during that time in no way falsely and maliciously damage the said John to the value of six pence or more, nor will he see damage or disgrace threaten the said John during that time in any way without hindering it to the best of his ability, or warning the same John about it . . . And the said John will during the whole of the said time teach the said Hubert his usual business of buying and selling and all other things that pertain to that his business . . . For which teaching and for the aforesaid maintenance found for the said Hubert during the aforesaid time, the said Hubert shall give to the said John eleven shillings sterling in hand, for the carrying out of the foregoing by both parties . . .

No. 2. BOWYER'S INDENTURE, YORK, 1371. Translation and Précis from text in *York Memorandum Book,* Vol. 1, pp. 54-5. Surtees Society.

Nicholas, son of John of Kyghlay, is apprenticed to John de Bradley of York, bower, and will live with him from the feast of St. Peter in Chains, 1371, until the end of the seven years next following and fully completed. Nicholas will carry out his master's instructions, keeping his secrets and cherishing his counsel. He will not do him damage of sixpence or more in the year, or know it to be done, without warning his master. He will not waste his master's goods, nor lend them without permission. He will not pleay dice, frequent taverns, games of chess, or houses of ill-fame ; he will not commit adultery or fornication with his master's wife or daughter, under penalty of " doubling " of his term of years ; he will not contract matrimony, nor marry without his master's consent. He will not remove *himself* illegally from his master's service, nor absent himself by day or night during the term.

The said John de Bradley shall instruct his apprentice in his art of bowercraft, and in buying and selling also, in the best manner he can, and will provide during the whole term sufficient and suitable food, drink, bread, linen and woollen clothing, bedding, shoes and all other necessaries.

For this instruction, *etc.,* Thomas de Kyghlay, chaplain (probably the boy's uncle) will give the said John deBradlay six shillings and eightpence sterling in each of the next three years after this date ; and for the faithful performance of all the foregoing . . . securities are provided.

No. 3. SILK-THROWSTER'S INDENTURE (Female), LONDON, 1392. Précis from Latin original, *Guildhall Misc.* MSS., 186, 3.

Katherine Nongle is apprenticed to Amice Wodeford, silkthrowster of London, to learn her art . . . from the feast of Pentecost, 1392, until the end of seven years fully completed . . . she shall not ordinarily frequent taverns " except for the convenience of her mistress ". She will not marry nor contract to marry within the term . . . nor will she keep any secrets which might damage or prejudice her mistress . . .

And the mistress shall teach her apprentice ". . . *or have her instructed by others* . . .", giving punishment if need be ; she will find her victuals and clothing, linen and wool, caps, stockings and bedding, and all necessaries . . . according to custom . . .

No. 4. BRASIER'S (and Pewterer's) INDENTURE, NORTHAMPTON, 1396. Précis from *Archæological Journal,* Vol. 29, pp. 184-5. (Original Latin.)

Thomas Edward, son of Gilbert Edward of Wyndesore (Windsor), is apprenticed to John Hyndlee of Northampton, for seven years . . . and will not marry without permission. He will obey willingly and diligently, and if he defaults in any way he shall make amends ". . . according to the amount of his fault . . ." or double his prearranged term of service.

And the master *or his assigns* shall teach train and instruct etc. " or cause him to be sufficiently instructed, chastising him according to custom and not otherwise ". In addition the master has agreed to teach his apprentice the art called " Pewterers craft ". And the master will conceal no secret of the aforesaid arts from his apprentice . . .

No. 5. CARPENTER'S INDENTURE, SOUTHANYFELD (?), 1409. Précis from Madox, *Formulare,* No. 178. (Original Latin.)

John Nynge is apprenticed to John Hervy, carpenter, of Rammesdon Belhous, for six years from last Easter . . . he will not " habitually " frequent taverns or prostitutes. He will not commit fornication or adultery with his master's maid-servants, either inside or outside the house, whereby his master's reputation might suffer. He will not marry without permission and if he break this or any other of his covenants his term of service is to be doubled . . .

No. 6. COVERLET-MAKER'S INDENTURE, CANTERBURY, 1451. Précis from Rogers, *History of Agriculture,* III, p. 738. (Original Latin.)

John Haryetsham is apprenticed to Robert Lacy of Canterbury, " coverled-maker " . . . for seven years . . . And after the term is ended, John will serve his master for one whole year, taking for the eighth year 20/- sterling . . . he shall not ". . . play dice or meddle with draughts, chess, or any other

unlawful games . . .", but will behave ". . . soberly, chastely, devoutly . . . etc." according to the use and custom of the city of London . . .

No. 7. FISHERMAN'S INDENTURE, PENZANCE, 1459. Précis from Bland, Brown and Tawney, *English Economic History, Selected Documents*, p. 147.

John Goffe, Spaniard, puts himself apprentice to John Gibbs of Penzance, fisherman, for eight years . . .

No. 8. CORDWAINER'S INDENTURE, ST. MARY CRAY, KENT, 1480. Précis from Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, 2nd Edition, pp. 316-7.

Walter Byse is apprenticed to John Gare, cordwainer, of St. Mary Cray, Kent, for eight years. The master will find meat, drink and clothing for his apprentice and will teach him his craft ; and he will pay his apprentice 3d. in the first year, 6d. in the second, and 3d. more every year ; and in the last year the master will pay him 10/- of money.

And the apprentice shall well and truly keep his occupation, obey lawful commands ; he will not be an " ale-goer " nor a rebel or " sporte ".

No. 9. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1508-9. Enrolled 1513. Norwich Enrolled Deeds, Bundle 22, 1510-1541. (Original Latin.)

. . . Thomas Fyssher citizen of Norwich, mason, and John Colyn otherwise called John Cook son of Henry Colyns otherwise called Henry Cook, and acknowledged a certain indenture . . . containing covenants . . . until the end of seven years next following . . . For which the said Thomas shall pay or cause to be paid to the aforesaid John £4.14.4d. of legal money of England in manner following ; that is, at the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgin Mary next after the date of these presents 10/- And at the same feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary next following 11/- And at the same feast next following 12/- And at the same feast next following 13/4 And at the same feast next following 16/- And at the same feast next following 16/- And at the same feast next following 16/- Which indenture they sought to have enrolled before the aforesaid mayor according to praiseworthy custom, etc.

No. 10. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1512-3. Norwich Enrolled Deeds, Bundle 22, 1510-1541. (Original Latin.)

Similar to No. 9. Between Edward Radkyn of Norwich, mason, and John Mowse . . . For nine years and one year thereafter . . . And further he shall pay to him 20/- of legal money of England, and all those instruments that appertain to the masons craft, that is, one hammer exe, one trowell, one hande exe, one Swyer, one plumbe Rule and one levell. Which indenture they sought to have enrolled etc.

No. 11. MASON'S ENROLMENT. Nos. 12 and 13. WORSTED-WEAVER'S ENROLMENTS. DATES 1507-1512. All from Norwich Enrolled Deeds, Bundle 22, 1510-1541.

No. 14. SKINNER'S ENROLMENT, SELKIRK, 1516. *Selkirk Burgh Court Book*, ff. 51v, 52r.

15 December 1516.

Bennat and Champnaye.

. . . the said William sal tak Johne Champnaye, sone to the said Andro, to prentess to lern him his skenarcraft and all partis of the samyn that he cane, doand to him favorablie as suld be done to a prentess or a kynd frend ; the said Andro promittand that the said Johne sal byd at his prentischip with the said William be the space of fyve zeris folloand the dait abone wrytyn, the said William fyndand to him meit and drink, as accordis, in the said tyme. Alsua it (is) componit betuix the (said) parteis that the said Johne Champnay, for the uphald of his (corner torn) and supple in meit and drink, to work ii dosone of skennes to his master utilite in the said William bucht be the span of (illegible) zeris efter the fyrst zeir be runnyng of his entraye.

No. 15. ENROLMENT (Trade not stated), SELKIRK, 1518. Extract from *Selkirk Burgh Court Book*, f. 63 r.

No. 16. CORDWAINER'S ENROLMENT, SELKIRK, 1519.

No. 17. BAKER'S INDENTURE, LEICESTER, 1531. Précis from Bateson, *Records of Leicester,* III, p. 29.

John Harbarde binds himself apprentice to Wyll^{m} Tebbe the ". . . Maere of Leicester to ye bakares krafte for ye terme of VII zaere and ye VIIIth zaere gorneman (= journeyman), also ye seid Wyll^{m} dosse bynde be y^{is} indenture to gyff to ye seid Jhon for ye Terme of VII zaere every zaere VIII d. and ye VIIIth zaere every weke VId and to be dobull araede bothe for ye hallyday and ye warkeday att hys cumyng furthe, and to be kepyd as a prentes schud be, yat is to saye maete and drynk, hosse and shoys, lyllyn, wollyn, and hys krafte to be toghtt him and nothyng to be hyd from hym y^{er}of . . ." (usual conditions as to faithful service, stealing, gaming, wedlock), and ". . . he schall nott *bye nor sell except ytt be for is masters profytt* . . ."

No. 18. MASON ENROLMENT, March 24th, 1532-3, BRISTOL. Translation from *Cal. Bristol Apprentice Book,* Bristol Rec. Soc., Vol. xiv, p. 27.

Nicholaus Wyllyams is apprenticed to Eduard Dennes, mason, for twelve years, at the end of which he is to receive by way of salary 13/4d. . . . and one implement of whatever kind of instruments is proper to the said art, and the aforesaid Eduard will find his apprentice in schooling for reading and writing during one year of the abovesaid term . . .

NOTE. A rare example of schooling in connection with a mason's enrolment. Schooling was fairly common in other trades.

No. 19. COFFERER'S (and CARVER'S) ENROLMENT, January, 1537-8, BRISTOL. Translated from *Cal. Bristol Apprentice Book,* Bristol Rec. Soc., Vol. xiv, pp. 92-3.

. . . John Copy, son of John Copy, late of Bristol aforesaid, sawyer, deceased, who lately bound himself apprentice to one Hugh Jonys, cofferer, late burgess of the town of Bristol and Katherine his wife, both . . . the said Hugh and Katherine died before the end of the seven years aforesaid; on account of which, the same John Copy has besought the said Mayor, aldermen and Council that he might stay with John Lyons, cofferer and carver, a burgess of the town of Bristol aforesaid, and Margaret his wife, to serve them . . . will pay to the same apprentice at the end of the term of the aforesaid seven years twenty-six shillings and eightpence sterling, and one implement of whatever kind of implements are proper to the art aforesaid, with two outfits suitable for his body, that is to say, one for feastdays and the other for working days, by way of his salary and stipend. . . .

(Example of transfer after master's decease.)

No. 20. TAILOR'S INDENTURE, LEICESTER, 1543. From a Précis by Bateson, *Records of Leicester,* III, p. 50.

Usual conditions, under a penalty of doubling the apprentice's term; and the master undertakes to provide, etc., " according to the use and custom of Leicester, and pay for each of the last four years 1s. 4d., and at the end of the term 3s. 4d., double array, indument (=dress for holidays and work-days), a pair of shears, and a pressing iron ". Witnessed by the Mayor and others.

No. 21. SKINNER'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1547. Précis from Norwich Enrolled Deeds.

Term ten years. Normal conditions, but no salary or money payment at end of term; only ". . . two complete suits of all clothing . . ."

No. 22. WORSTED-WEAVER'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1549-50. Extract from Norwich Enrolled Indentures.

Term seven years. Normal conditions for both parties, but ". . . to pay and delyver him in thende of the seide terme xxs one bedstid a peir shets and doble rayemente for holy and worke dayes good and sufficiente And the seide William shall in the tyme of harvest nexte before thende of the seide terme permitte and suffer the seide Richard to departe from the servyce of the seide William by all the tyme of the seide harvest to thentente that he may use and occupy him self to his own use and profighte in suche worke as he shall think best for his own commoditie by and during all the seide term of harvest etc."

No. 23. WORSTED - WEAVER'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1549-50. Norwich Enrolled Indentures.

Apprentice binds himself to serve " for the whole year next after the aforesaid term."

No. 24. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1550. Extract from Norwich Enrolled Indentures. (Latin text reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 211.)

William Bygott binds himself apprentice to John Godfrey, citizen of Norwich, mason, for seven years. Usual conditions, " and the aforesaid John undertakes to deliver to the aforesaid William at the end of the said term two sets of clothing, for feast days and for working days, one hammer axe, one pickaxe, one trowell and one plome Rewle, good and sufficient. And will pay the aforesaid William at the end of the said term 33/4d ", etc.

No. 25. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1557-8. Extract from Norwich Enrolled Indentures. (Latin text reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 212.)

Richard Cowper binds himself apprentice to John Walpole, citizen of Norwich, mason, for seven years. Normal conditions, " and the aforesaid John has undertaken that he will himself pay the aforesaid Richard at the end of the said term 26/8d and also give to the aforesaid Richard two suits of clothing and also the following instruments, that is: a hammeraxe, a trowell, a plomerewle and a levall ", etc.

No. 26. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1558-9. Extract from Norwich Enrolled Indentures. (Full text reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 211.)

Thomas Knott is apprenticed for seven years to Michael Knott, citizen of Norwich, " ROWMASON " (roughmason). Normal conditions, but the master also undertakes to teach Thomas ". . . to pley in and uppon the Vyoll, Vyollette and Harpe, and also to synge playne songe and pryksonge at his owne proper costs and charges wthin the foresayed tearme . . ." and to pay and deliver at the end of the term to the said Thomas ". . . III li. a sufficient Vyoll a Vyolet and a Harpe one trowell on plumbe rewle on handaxe on square and doble apparell etc., in woollen and lynnen, etc."

No. 27. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1560. Norwich Enrolled Indentures. (Reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 212.)

" Thomas Ryssheброke of Norwyche Roughemason, inrolls an Indenture dated 8th July 1560 whereby Robert Nycker son of Peter Nycker late of Crownethorpe deceased, puts himself apprentice to Rysshebroke for seven years: he to give Nycker at the end of his time IIIl£, double apparell, also a bryck axe, one hamer axe, a bryck axe [repeated] and a trowell and also said Rysshebroke *is to have half the revenues and profits of a tenement* and appurtenances in Crownthorpe, belonging to the said Nycker, during the said term only."

NOTE. There are four other mason enrolments reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 212, all of minor interest, since they contain no unusual conditions. Three are for seven years, one for eight years. Money payments at end of terms range from 13s. 4d. to 33s. 4d. Double apparel and a kit of tools are specified in each case, and the tools vary, doubtless in accordance with the type of work upon which the master was engaged.

No. 28, 29, 30. SHOEMAKER'S and TAILOR'S ENROLMENTS, 1562-65. All in *Northampton Records,* II, p. 322.

No. 31. GLOVER'S ENROLMENT, NORTHAMPTON, 1566. Extract from *Northampton Records,* II, p. 322.

". . . William Wallys . . . hathe put himself apprentice to Richard Twickton of Northampton, glover, from the feast of pentecost last past unto the ende off sevin years fully to be complet and endide and at the end of the sevyn yeres shall make him Free off the towne of North'ton and to give him apparrell bothe for holly day and working day . . ."

No. 32. " SHOESMITH'S " ENROLMENT, NORTHAMPTON, 1567. Extract from *Northampton Records,* II, p. 322.

Very brief entry of names, date and a seven-year term, ". . . and at the Ende of vij yeres to give Henry Stokes a SLEDY, A BUTTRES, a paire of BELLOS, a paire of PYNSONS, iij HAMMERS, a VICE, a BYCKHORN, and at every of two of the last yeres shall give him xij^{d} a quarter in monye ".

No. 33. TAILOR'S ENROLMENT, NORTHAMPTON, 1568. Extract from *Northampton Records,* II, p. 322.

Very brief entry. ". . . Covenant servant . . . for IX yeres with doble apparrell a paire of sheres and a pressinge yron and pleege . . ."

NOTE. In addition to the Northampton enrolments quoted here, there are five others of minor interest. *Ibid.,* pp. 323-4.)

No. 34. MASON'S INDENTURE, ABERDEEN, 1573. Reproduced from A. M. Munro, *Notes on History of Masonry in Aberdeen, Book of Mason Craft,* Aberdeen, 1898. (Note: There is no trace of the original text.)

". . . that is to say the said Gilbert Mengies of Cowlie (acting as cautioner) has boundin and conducit Androa Jamesoune with is awin consent and assent with Androw Bethleam as prenteis to him of the masoin croft to serve him lolely treulie and obedientlie as becomis ane seruand to his master for the space of sevin yeiris within the quhilk space the said Androw Bethleam obleissis him faythfullie to schaw lerne and instruct the said Androw Jamessoune in the haill poynts of the massone croft as becummis ane gud maister to do unto his seruand and sall find him meitt sufficientlie induring of the said space. And the said Androw Jamesoune obleis him faythfullie to serf for the space of tua yeiris nixt and immediatlie following the ischee and end of the said sevin yeiris for meit and fee. The quhilk fee extendis yeirlie ilk yeir of the said tua yeiris to the soume of sax merkis money forsaid."

(Munro adds a note that the prentice provided a "cautioner" for £10, as guarantee for his performance of the covenants.)

No. 35. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1583. Extract from Norwich Book of Enrolled Indentures, No. 2.

Brief entry. John Tant, son of John Tant, mason, of Norwich, is apprenticed to his father for seven years, and at the end of the term he is to receive ". . . XX^{s} of good English mony and doble app'ell . . . and also . . . one trowell one hamaxe one Brickax one pickax one Square one plumbrule and one Levell ".

No. 36. MASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1629 (Enrolled 1632). Extract from Norwich, *The Assembly Book No. 4.*

William Cooper, mason, takes Nathaniel Chapman apprentice for seven years. Very brief entry. Names and term only, but the master covenants for himself, executors and ad'tors ". . . not to assigne ye said (apprentice) without his consent to any person whatever ". ...

No. 37. ROUGHMASON'S ENROLMENT, NORWICH, 1638. Extract from *Norwich Assembly Book No. 4.*

Brief entry. Thomas Harward, rough mason, takes Robert Watte apprentice for eight years, and at the end he is to have 20/-, with trowel, square, level, plumb-rule, hammer-axe, pickaxe, and double clothing.

NOTE. There are, in all, some 97 mason enrolments in the Norwich records from 1504-1683, some in great detail, others very brief. The texts selected for quotation in this collection are generally representative of the whole, and unusual points of interest are given verbatim and are discussed in the commentary.

No. 38. MASON'S INDENTURE, 1668. *Guildhall Misc.* MSS., 40, 14.

This Indenture witnesseth yt Richard Crane ye sonne of Richard Crane late of ye p(ar)ish of St. Gyles in ye Feilds in ye County of Midds. victualler decd hath putt himselfe appretice unto William Skillman Cittizen and Mason of London to learne his arte, and with him (after ye manner of an app(re)ntize) to serve from the day of ye date of these p(rese)nte Indentures unto ye full end and tearme of Eight yeares from thence nexte ensuing to be fully, compleate and ended, during wh tearme ye sd app(re)ntize his said Mr faithfully shall serve His Secrets keepe, his lawfull Comandemts every where gladly doe, hee shall doe no dammage to his sd Mr nor see to be done of others, but that hee to his power shall lett, or forthwith give warning to his sd Mr, he shall not waste ye goodes of his sd Mr nor lend them unlawfully to any, hee shall not commit fornicacon nor contracte Matrimony wth in the sd tearme he shall not not play at the Cardes dice tables, or any other unlawfull games, whereby his sd Mr may have any losse, wth his owne goodes, or others

during the sd Tearme wthout license of his sd Mr he shall neither buy, nor sell, hee shall not haunt Tavernes, nor absent himselfe from his sd Mrs service day nor night, unlawfuly, but in all things, as a faithfull app(re)ntize he shall behave himselfe, towards his sd Mr and all his during the said Tearme and the sd Mr his sd app(re)ntize in the same arte wch he useth, by the best meanes he can shall teach, and instruct wth due correccon finding unto his said app(re)ntize Meate, drincke, apparrell, lodgeing, and all other necessaries according to the custom of the Citty of London during the sd tearme, and for ye true pformance of all and singuler ye said Covenants and agreements, either of the said parties bindeth himselfe unto other by these p(rese)ntes In witness whereof the parties above named, to these Indentures interchangeablie, have put to theire handes and seales the Eight and twentieth day of June Anno dom. 167(0) And in the 22th yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith, etc.

Signed Wm. Breme, Clerk — The m(ar)ke of R Richard Crane

No. 39. PLASTERER'S INDENTURE, 1669. *Guildhall Misc.* MSS., 12, 4D. (A printed document, with names and details inserted.)*

This Indenture witnesseth, That William Peele (?) Sonne of William Peele of the Parish of St. Martins in the Field in the County of Midd [a word illegible] doth put himself Apprentice to Henry Wells Citizen and Plasterer of London, to learn his Art. (Practically identical with No. 38, above.)

* NOTE. After this date there are a number of similar *printed* indentures in the Court of Aldermen papers, with petitions for admission to the freedom, but none for the mason trade. There are very few MS. indentures at this period among the Guildhall documents; none of the texts, either MS. or print, contain any points of special interest.

No. 40. MASON'S INDENTURE, 1670, EDINBURGH. *H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.* Warrant No. 679, Register of Deeds (Dal.), xlvi, 205-7. (Extracts only.)

Thir Indentoris maid att Edinburgh the second day of Febri im vic and seaventie it is appoynted betuixt Thomas Wilkie measson and burges of Edinburgh, on the ane pairt, and John Millar, sone to Johne Millar in Culrosse, for himself with consent of his said father, and also with consent of James Millar, measson in Edinburgh, who heirby becums cautioner and sovertie . . . (Term 8½ years . . . not to absent himself night or day, workday or holiday . . .) if he failzies, he shall make tuo dayes service for ilk ane dayes absence as ane prentis to his said maister efter the expyring of his prentiship. And if it sall happen (as God forbid) the said John Millar within the yeires of his said prentiship to commit the filthie facts of addulterie or fornicatione, in that caice he shall make thrie yeires service to his said maister eftir the expyring of his prentiship without ony fie . . . And forder the said Thomas Wilkie binds and obleisses him to buik the said John Millar in the gild court buikis of Edinburgh within fortie dayes nixt efter the dait heirof . . . (a non-marrying clause follows, bearing as penalty the loss of all rights to the freedom, according to the Act of Council, 1660.)

No. 41. "MASON AND WRIGHT" INDENTURE, 1683. *H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.* Reg. Deeds, Dal. 64, Fol. 279, Warrant 877. (Extracts only.)

Thir indentors maid at Kinrosse the twentie seaventh day of February j^m vj^c and aughtie thrie yeires . . . betwixt the parties followuing to witt Alexander Miller, eldest laufull sone to Alexander Miller, portioner of Kinrosse . . . one the ane pairt, and John Thomsone, younger, measone in Kinrosse, on the uther pairt . . . becomes bund prenties and servant to the said John Thomsone in his occupatione of the Measone and Wright Trade . . . (Term, only 3 years) . . . And siclyk the said Alexander Miller, younger, binds and obleissis him to be ane carefull and diligent attendar and on waiter on his said maisters service and shall be no away-runner, carter, dycer, furnicator, druncard or player at idle games and during the said space shall not absent himselfe fra his said maisters service by night or by day . . . and for ilk day he shall sua wilfully absent himselfe he be thir presentis binds and obleissis himselfe to serve his said maister tua dayes for ilk dayes absence and that imediatly efter the expyring of the said prentiship . . . pay to the said John Thomsone his aires executors or assignis in name of prentisfie with his said sone the soume of fyftie merkis scottis money . . .

No. 42. MASON'S INDENTURE, EDINBURGH, 1685. Edinburgh Public Records Office, Moses Bundle 184. (By permission of the Town Council of Edinburgh.)

Thir indentars made at Edinburgh the nynth day of November, 1685 Bears leill and suthfast witnessing in themselves that it is appoynted and agreed betwixt William Fultoun measone burgess of Edinburgh on the on part and Alexander Robiesone sone to umqll Alexander Robesone in Lairs (*sic*) with advice and consent of Robert Robiesone his brother germane and the said Robert Robiesone taking burden upon him for his said broyther on the uyther part. That is to say the said Alex Robiesone is become and heirby becomes prentise and servant to the said William Fultoun and Janet Patoun his spous in and to the said William Fultoun his trade and airt of measoncraft. And that for the space of six years next efter his entrie therto quich is heirby declared to be imediately after the dait heirof Dureing the which space the said Alex^{r} Robesone binds and obleiss him to serve his said master leilly and truely and his said spous and longest liver of them twa ther aires executors or successors and shall not hear nor counsall ther skaith by night nor by day but shall revaill the samen quhenever it shall come to his knowledge and that he shall not absent himself from his master or mistress service by night or day week day or holy day without leave asked and given and for ilk days absence without leave as said is the said Alex^{r} Robiesone obleiss him to serve his said master or mistres or ther forsaids two dayes therfor efter expyreing of thir indentors And in caise it shall happen the said Alexander Robiesone, as God forbids, to fall in the crymes of fornicatore or adultrey Then in that caise to obleiss him to serve his master or mistres the space of three years efter expyreing of his prentiship without any fie therfor. The quhilks causs and for ane certain soume of money paid to the said William Fultoun be the said Alex^{r} Robiesone and his brother in name of prentise fie wherof he grants the receipt and holds him well satisfied therof and discharges the said Alex^{r} Robiesone and Robert Robiesone therof for now and ever. The said William Fultoun binds and obleiss him his aires executors and successores to teach lairn and instruct the said Alex^{r} Robiesone in his trade and art of measone craft in the haill poynts practiks engines* therof sua far as he knowes or dayly practises himself nor shall not hide nor conceall any part therof from him in sua far as his capacity can conceave the samen and shall entertain his prentise with meat drink and bed honestly conforme to his rank quallity and as uyther prentises in the said art used to be entertained and that dureing his prentiship **And lykeas the said William Fultoun obleiss him and his forsaids to enter his said prentise at Marys Chappell and that within three years efter the dait heirof** And finally both parties obleiss them and ther forsaids to keep and fullfil the premyss *hinc inde* to uythers the partie faillier to pay to the partie observer or willing to observe ten pound Scotts by and attour fullfilling the premises And both parties consents to the reg(istration) heirof in the books of Councill and Session or any uyther competent within this kingdome to have ane decreet interponed that lettres of horning and uthers needfull passe heirupon in forme as effeirs And constitutes [blank in MSS.] Thir procurators in witnes quherof written be Alex^{r} Kirk wryter in Edinburgh Both parties have subscribed their presents with thir hands day place moneth and yeare forsaid before thir witnesses John Maxwell of Midlebee and the said Alex^{r} Kirk wryter heirof and John Binnie tailor burges in Edinburgh.

his
(Sgd) William W F Fultoun
mark

(Sgd.) Jo: Maxwell witnes
Jo: Bining witnes
Alex^{r} Kirk witnes

Robert Robertson A.R.

No. 43. MASON'S INDENTURE, KINROSS, 1712. Edinburgh Public Records Office, Moses Bundle 184. (By permission of the Town Council of Edinburgh.)

Thir Indentors made at Kinross the fyfteenth day of February 1712 do in themselves proport containe and bear leill and southfast witnesing That it is appoynted contracted and finally agreed betuixt the parties following To witt James Moreis masson in Milnathort upon the one pairt and John Lyall servant to John Birrell tennent in Neather Orphatt upon the other pairt. That is to say the said John Lyall be thir presents becomes bound prentice and servant to the said James Mories in his trade and occupation of massonrie for *all the dayes and space of*

* "Ingyne, engyne, engenie", given in Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish language as "ingenuity, genius, scientific knowledge".

Three years compleit and one year more for meat and fee That is to say it is and shall be at the prenties his option either to stay with or to goe from his said maister the said fourth year He in case of his staying being to receive from his said maister the sum of twenty merks scotts money for his service the said fourth year And He in case of his removeing from his maister being to pay and delyver to his said maister the lyke sum of twenty merks scots money forsaid for his liberation the said fourth year Lykeas the said John Lyall is to have the halfe of the first three years harvests of his prenticeship and the whole of the fourth years harvest (And that whither he abide with or go from his maister the said fourth year) To work therin for his owen behove as he finds most profitable for himselfe And which prenticeship is hereby declared to be and beginne at the term of Whitsonday nixt to come and from thence furth to endure and continue whill the said space of three years and one year for meat and fee as said is be fully outrunne And dureing the which prenticeship the said John Lyall heirby binds and obleidges himself to be a true honest faithfull and serviceable prentice and servant to the said James Mories his master for all service lawfull he shall pleise command and shalbe a dilligent and constant onwaiter and attender upon his said masters service both weekday and holyday night and day and shall nowayes absent himselfe from his masters service at any time dureing the space foresaid without his masters leave first asked and obtained to that effect and each day he shall absent himselfe from his masters service at any time without his masters leave as said is He obleidges himselfe to serve his master two dayes efter the expireing of the space foresaid And that he shall be no away-runner idle vagrant or anywayes debaushed person and that he shall keep his masters secrets and nowayes reveall the samen and that he shall not see his masters hurt skaith loss nor prejudice in any sort but shall alwayes endeavor to prevent the same And for the said John Lyall his lawtie remaining and performance of the premises Robert Balfour brewer at the Milnathort does hereby become cautioner and souerty bound and obleidged for the said John Lyall and the said John Lyall may obleidges himselfe to releave his said cautioner of his cautionrie foresaid and of all skaith and dampnage he may anywayes susteane ther through And also the said John Lyall binds and obleidges himselfe and his aires executors etc To thankfully content and pay and delyver to the said James Moreis his heirs or assignyes The sum of fourty pounds scotts money forsd In name of prentice fee wherof the one halfe being twenty pound money forsd is to be payed at Whitsonday nixt to come and the other twenty pound at Martinmas next therafter with four pound money forsd of tigt (?) penalty for each termes failly with the annuell rent of each moyety after the respective termes of payment of the samen And further the said John Lyall obleidges himselfe to keep and maintaine himselfe in all body cloathe and abolziements duely and honestly dureing the said prenticeship For the which causses the said James Moreis obleidges himselfe to teach learn ken and instruct the sd John Lyall his prentice in his said trade and occupation of massonrie and haill poynts and pairts therof and shall do his outmost endeavor to make the said John Lyall know and understand the same in as far as he is capable to uptake and conceive and in so far as he himselfe is knowen therin And shall dureing the space forsd mantane his said prentice in bed and board honestly as effeirs to his degree lykeas he **obleidges himselfe to enter the said John Lyall free of all expenses at the Masson loudge of Dunfermline** And for the said James Moreis his due performance of the premises Robert Moreis masson in Milnathort hereby becomes cautioner bound and obleidged for the said James Moreis And hereto both the saids parties have consented and aggreed and obleidged themselves to fullfil the premises *hinc inde* to others and the failzier to pay to the observer the sum of Twenty pounds scotts money forsd by and attour performance of the premises And for the more security they consent thir presents be insertt and Registrat in the books of Council and Session or ony other judges books compitent within Scotland to have the strenth of a decreit interponed therto that lettres of horning on six dayes and others needfull pass hereon and therto they constitute [blank in MSS.] Their procurators in witnes whereof both the saids parties have subscribed thir presents (writtin be James Steedman notar publict in Kinross) with their hands place day month and year forsd Before these witnesses John Smith masson and James Smith wright in Kinross Wm and James Elders lawfull sons to John Elder elder in Milnathort and the said James Steedman writer hereof.

John Krayell
J. Mories
Balfour cautnar
Robert Mories cautioner.

James Smith witnes
James Elders witnes

James Steedman witnes

COMMENTARY ON THE INDENTURES AND ENROLMENTS

OPENING DETAILS: THE PARTIES

The documents always begin with the names of the parties, and the master's town and trade are usually given. The apprentice's name appears with that of his father or guardian, and the father's trade and place of origin. These details were primarily for purposes of identification; but it often happened that an apprentice acquired a dual right to the freedom, *i.e.*, by his service, and by heritage if his father was a freeman, and in the latter case the cost of the freedom was often cheaper than by apprenticeship.

In regard to the master's trade, three of the texts exhibit points of interest. In No. 15, no trade is stated, possibly an accidental omission, but it is rare to find a text in which all indication of trade is lacking. The brasier's indenture, No. 4, contains an undertaking by the master to teach his apprentice the pewterer's craft ". . . beyond his agreement already made . . .", indicating that the two crafts were not highly organised at that date, if at all. Another indenture containing two trades is No. 41, dated 1683, in which the master, described as a "mason and wright", undertakes to teach both crafts to his prentice.

YEARS OF SERVICE

Indentures were invariably dated so that the terms of service ran from a festival or saint's day recently past, or from the next feast day to come, and in every case the specified number of years had to be "fully completed." A few of the Norwich enrolments are exceptional in regard to their starting and enrolment dates, *e.g.*, No. 9, a mason's enrolment of an indenture *dated* 1508-9, enrolled in 1513, but the text shows that the term, in this case seven years, was to run "from the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary last past *before the date of these presents* . . .", showing that enrolment was effected some four years after the beginning of the term.

A similar delay appears in an enrolment of a mason's indenture in 1632, though the apprentice had begun his service in 1629 (No. 36). Generally, the mason enrolments show only the normal one-year lapse. It should be noted, however, that the post-dated enrolments were not peculiar to masons alone. There are long-term lapses among the worsted-weavers.

The vast majority of our texts specify the normal seven-year term, and Nos. 6, 17, 34 and 43 are specially interesting because they contain provision for extended terms of journeyman service beyond the period of apprenticeship.

APPRENTICE CONDITIONS: FAITHFUL AND CONTINUOUS SERVICE

Indentures invariably contained the usual clauses requiring loyal and faithful service from apprentices, and this must have been interpreted fairly strictly, because they often specify that the apprentice would not "absent himself by night or day". A Leicester tailor's indenture, dated 1543 (No. 20), makes this offence punishable by doubling the years of the apprentice's term. This "doubling" penalty, which appears fairly often, in connection with all sorts of offences, was a serious matter for apprentices, since it might mean a long delay to their "setting-up", unless they could find sufficient money to buy themselves out of their contracts. Doubling penalties appear in Nos. 2, 4, 5, 40, 41, 42 and 43, the four latter texts requiring two days' service for each day's absence.

Another clause which appeared very frequently required that apprentices would not withdraw themselves from their masters' service without permission. Some indication of what was involved here may be drawn from a Norwich worsted-weaver's enrolment (No. 22) of 1549-50, where the apprentice was permitted, during the harvest immediately preceding the end of his indentures, to leave his master and take any work he liked ". . . to his own use and profighte . . ."

Runaway apprentices seem to have been a constant source of trouble. In 1354-5 a butcher complained that his apprentice had left him before his term was completed, and the latter pleaded that his master had not suitably provided him with necessaries, and had given him leave to serve whom he would. The jury found for the apprentice.[1]

In 1376 a runaway apprentice was committed to prison, until he was released upon application by his former master.[2]

In 1416 an Oxford apprentice who had run away to London, and there become apprenticed to a new master, was ordered by the Mayor's court to be returned to his former master.[3]

The insertion of the "runaway" clause in the indentures enabled masters to claim against the apprentices' securities for damage.

[1] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 243.
[2] *ibid.*, 1364-1381, p. 220.
[3] *ibid.*, 1413-1437, p. 53.

Enticement clauses appear in the London Masons' ordinances of 1356 and 1481, and the Schaw Statutes of 1598 refer specifically to runaways.[1]

KEEPING SECRETS

One of the most common instructions to apprentices, which was regularly embodied in their indentures, was the warning that they must keep their masters' secrets. Usually the injunction is given without qualification, *e.g.*, ". . . keeping his secrets and cherishing his counsel . . ."[2] or ". . . she shall keep secret her (mistress') innermost secrets. . . ."[3] Our earliest text, however, contains an important modification, for the apprentice only binds himself that he ". . . will closely keep hid such of his secrets as should be concealed . . ."[4] An unusual variation appears in (No. 3), where a female apprentice is enjoined ". . . Nor shall she keep from her (mistress') knowledge any secret which she could hide to the damage or prejudice of her said mistress . . .", *i.e.*, an undertaking to reveal as well as conceal.

The obligation of secrecy in regard to the masters' secrets appears in one of our earliest Masonic documents, the *Regius* MS. (lines 275-277), and then the apprentice is enjoined to keep the secrets of his fellows, and of the lodge, chamber, hall, and bower. The *Cooke* MS. version of this same regulation omits all mention of the master, and merely requires the mason to ". . .hele the councelle of his felows in logge and in chambere . . ." and in every place where masons may be.[5] There is some reason to doubt whether the *Cooke* version at this point is addressed to apprentices; the *Regius* MS. mentions the "prentes" specifically.

THE OBLIGATION TO GUARD THE MASTER'S GOODS

A series of clauses which appear regularly, and with but slight variation, in the majority of apprentice indentures, related to the care of the master's goods and chattels. The apprentice was not to lend, give or waste his master's goods, nor do damage maliciously above the value of sixpence, and he was bound to give timely warning to the master to prevent others doing damage.

Some of our texts enlarge on this aspect of the apprentices' responsibilities in such a way as to suggest that their status in their masters' business was often higher than would at first appear. A silk-throwster's apprentice, in 1392, was bound not to trade with her own or other people's money without her mistress' consent.[6] A Leicester Baker's indenture, 1531, bound the apprentice not to buy or sell, except for his master's profit.[7] A considerable number of cases which came before the mayor's court help to show that apprentices (and especially merchants' apprentices) were often entrusted with substantial sums, in money and goods. "Much business was done at home and abroad for considerable amounts by apprentices, or by time-expired apprentices . . .", etc.,[8] and many complicated legal questions were involved when suits were brought before the courts in connection with apprentices trading for their masters. In one such case, an apprentice's sureties maintained successfully that his master had no claim against him because the lad was allowed to trade before he had had time to learn the business.[9] In 1278 an apprentice was released by his master upon guarantee by a third party to indemnify the master for all debts contracted by the apprentice *during his apprenticeship*.[10] In 1281, in another case before the Mayor's Court, an apprentice acknowledged a debt to his master of over £22 and undertook to repay by instalments.[11]

In 1305-6 an apprentice was summoned to give account of £10 of goods in which he had traded while his master was absent at a fair.[12]

In 1385, a vintner's apprentice was charged with stealing 205 marks in gold, which the master had entrusted to another apprentice for travel and trade with merchants in Bordeaux.[13] A sum of £200 was involved here. In 1387, in another case before the Mayor's Court, it transpired that an apprentice had entered into bonds on his master's behalf, in Bruges and Middleburgh, and the extent of his trading may be deduced from his providing two securities

[1] Lyon, p. 11.
[2] Indenture No. 2.
[3] Indenture No. 3.
[4] Indenture No. 1, dated 1291.
[5] Knoop and Jones, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, pp. 120-1.
[6] Indenture No. 3.
[7] Indenture No. 17.
[8] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1364-1381, intro., p. 30.
[9] *Cal. Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, pp. 158-9.
[10] *Cal. A.*, p. 19.
[11] *Cal. A.*, p. 38.
[12] *Cal. E.M.C. Rolls*, pp. 237-8.
[13] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1381-1412, pp. 89-90.

of £100 each to indemnify the master against any claims arising from the apprentice's trading on his behalf.[1] To appreciate the value of these sums it should be remembered that an experienced craftsman's wages at this period might average 3s. per week !

A typical regulation of the Helmet-makers, dated 1347, shows that the crafts organisations were trying to offer their protection.

> ". . . no apprentice of the said trade who shall be indebted to his master in any sum of money at the end of his term shall serve from thenceforth any other person than his own master ; nor shall he depart from such service, or be into the service of any other person in any way received, until he shall have fully given satisfaction for his debt to his master." (Riley, Mem. p. 238).

The significance of these matters in relation to the mason craft may not be readily apparent, but there is ample evidence that many famous master-masons, and others not so well known, were accustomed to supplement their income by acting as merchants in stone and building materials, and it was by no means uncommon for masons to occupy themselves with some other craft or business in addition to their own trade.[2] In 1564 Northampton municipal authorities introduced a higher scale of freedom fees for those craftsmen who habitually followed more than one trade, and the masons were placed first on the list.[3]

MORAL CLAUSES

Indentures frequently contained a whole series of clauses designed to preserve the moral character of apprentices. These injunctions may be classified generally under three heads ; they forbid gambling, frequenting of taverns or houses of ill fame, and fornication. The gambling prohibition is most frequently directed against playing with dice, but occasionally other games which we would deem quite respectable are also banned, *e.g.*, in the Canterbury indenture of 1451 (No. 6) the apprentice ". . . shall not play dice or meddle with draughts, chess or any other unlawful games . . ." Dicing was an unlawful game in the city of London, and as early as 1311 there are records of people being committed to prison by the Mayor's court for playing at dice, and for keeping houses where night-walkers, and players at dice habitually congregated.[4] In 1334, in a proclamation made for safe-keeping of the City, playing at dice was specifically forbidden under pain of imprisonment.[5] In 1339, three men were charged in the Mayor's court for being addicted to playing at knucklebones at night, ". . . leading apprentices into gambling habits . . ."[6] Charges of this type were of common occurrence.

Taverns and houses of ill-fame are regularly banned in the indentures. An amusing version of the anti-tavern clause appears in No. 3, where a female apprentice is bound not to frequent the tavern ". . . except for the convenience of her said mistress ".

The ban against fornication also appears with great regularity, and with some curious variations. In the York indenture, No. 2, the apprentice was forbidden to commit fornication with his master's wife or daughter, under penalty of " doubling " his years of service ! One would have thought that the master in such circumstances would be only too pleased to be rid of the offender.

In the majority of cases, the fornication clauses relate to the master's own family and household, but occasionally the ban is laid more widely, *e.g.*, No. 5 where the apprentice was forbidden to consort with prostitutes, or to commit adultery with his master's maidservants, either within the master's house or outside it, lest ". . . his master's reputation might be damaged . . ." In the mason's indentures Nos. 40 and 42 (Edinburgh 1670 and 1685), the penalty for adultery or fornication was an addition of three years' service to the apprentice's term, ". . . . without any fie therfor . . .", from the master's point of view a most profitable arrangement !

The *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. contain chastity clauses very similar to those in the indentures. The *Regius* forbids an apprentice to lie with his master's wife, or his fellow's wife or concubine, and the penalty for the offender is that ". . . he be prentise full seven year."[7] The *Cooke* MS. forbids the apprentice to covet his master's wife (or his daughter—except in marriage) and places a ban against concubines.[8] Both texts provide adequate commentary on the morals of the time.

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 127-8.
[2] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, pp. 23, 25, 47, etc. ; *Leicester Records*, I, p. 93.
[3] *Northampton Records*, II, p. 313.
[4] Riley, *Mem.*, pp. 86-89.
[5] *ibid.*, pp. 192-3.
[6] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 113.
[7] Knoop and Jones, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, p. 122-4 (modernised spelling).
[8] *ibid.*, p. 123.

THE NON-MARRYING CLAUSE

In 1298-9, in a case before the Mayor's court, a master sued his apprentice for breach of covenant, the latter having married (during the last year of his term) without his master's consent [1]; an early example of the non-marrying rule, in practice. Indentures frequently contained a non-marrying clause (e.g., Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 40), and No. 5 provides a "doubling" penalty. In the Canterbury indenture, No. 6, 1451, the apprentice is forbidden to contract marriage with any woman ". . . nor pledge himself to anyone without his master's permission". The non-marrying clause appears fairly regularly in the craft codes of regulations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it is clear that these are restatements of very ancient practice.

. . . . . .

The various clauses discussed above are representative of the general run of apprentice clauses in the majority of the indentures. Occasionally there are unusual conditions, as in the Selkirk enrolment (No. 14) where the apprentice appears to pay for his keep by "working" two dozen skins for his master in every year after the first year of his indentures. (Defective text makes this reading somewhat uncertain).

It was a usual practice for the apprentice to provide guarantors for his performance of the covenants, and in No. 3 the apprentice, in addition to her guarantor ". . . binds herself and all her present and future goods wherever they may be found.[2] In No. 4 the apprentice binds himself to make amends for any fault or breach ". . . or shall double the term of his apprenticeship aforesaid, repeating his prearranged service".

THE MASTER'S COVENANTS

TEACHING AND TRAINING

The first and principal undertaking by the master was to "fully inform and teach" his apprentice. Early ordinances of the London Braelers forbade a master to take an apprentice unless he was known to be a man "proper and sufficient to keep, inform and teach . . ." his apprentice. The *Regius* MS. varies the regulation somewhat by requiring the master to ensure that he is capable of teaching his apprentice (the trade) within the years of his term.[3]

Side by side with the duty of training his apprentice was the obligation to maintain him in food and drink, clothing and shelter. The master, during his apprentice's term, stood practically as tutor and guardian to the lad, and quite often he had been paid very generously for the performance of these duties. The early records of the Mayor's court provide any number of cases of apprentices being "exonerated" from their service because of their masters' failure to teach and provide for them.[4] Occasionally the courts made an order for some small sum to be repaid to the apprentice; more frequently permission was granted to the apprentice to take service with a new master.

The "teaching" clauses in the indentures are sometimes amplified with special details, *e.g.*, in No. 1 a spicer's (merchant's) indenture, and in No. 2 a bowyer's (craftsman's) indenture, the masters undertake to teach "buying and selling". In No. 4 a brasier also undertakes to teach his prentice the pewterer's craft. An unexpected point of this sort appears in the Norwich mason's enrolment (No. 26), 1558-9, in which the master undertook to teach his apprentice to play ". . . the Vyol, Vyolette and harpe as also to synge playne songe and pryk songe . . ." These must have been valuable accomplishments in the days before radio and television, when men made their own entertainment.

Occasionally the teaching duties of the master included arrangements for primary education of his apprentice,[5] and at the end of the seventeenth century schooling arrangements seem to have been fairly common.[6] There are also records of apprentices being sent abroad to learn languages,[7] but probably this was as much for the benefit of the master as for the apprentice.

PUNISHMENT

The peculiar status of the apprentice as a member of his master's household is depicted by the punishment clauses which appear in the vast majority of indentures. Doubtless, these clauses were originally inserted to prevent the indentures from being annulled if masters

[1] *Cal. E.M.C. Rolls*, pp. 47-8.
[2] Note almost identical wording in No. 6.
[3] Knoop and Jones, *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.*, p. 118.
[4] *Cal. E.M.C.*, p. 164; *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1323-1364, pp. 268-9, pp. 275-6; and numerous examples in the later volumes.
[5] *E.g.*, the mason's enrolment at Bristol in 1533 provided for a year's schooling to learn reading and writing. No. 18.
[6] Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, p. 181.
[7] Lipson, *Econ. Hist. of England*, 10th Edn. I, p. 309.

punished their apprentices without having an express right to do so. In time there seems to have arisen a certain standard of what was permissible in the way of chastisement, and the phrase "due punishment" (or some similar phrase) appears to indicate the commonly-accepted limits. A good example of this is in the Northampton indenture (No. 4), where the clause runs, ". . . chastising him according to custom and not otherwise . . ."

The right to administer proper punishment was upheld by the courts. In 1371 an apprentice was committed to Newgate because he was rebellious and refused to serve his mistress, and ". . . was unwilling to be punished by her, as was fitting and proper that he should be . . ."[1]

In 1364, a mistress, before the court, gave surety that she would not beat her apprentice "with stick or knife . . .",[2] and in another case, in 1371, two brothers, apprentices, had been so cruelly beaten that one of them had lost the sight of an eye.[3] The court exonerated them from their apprenticeship.

A considerable number of cruelty cases came up before the courts, and, as a rule, there was a tendency to favour the apprentices by exonerating them from their contracts and permitting them to take service with a new master.

MASTER NOT TO EXPEL OR ASSIGN HIS APPRENTICE

An unusual (but obvious) clause appears in the Norwich indenture of 1291 (No. 1) which prohibits the master from expelling the apprentice without just cause. Unjust expulsion was not at all uncommon, especially when a substantial premium had been paid into unscrupulous hands.

In 1305, in a plaint before the Mayor's court, it transpired that a lad, apprenticed for 13 years, had been expelled after only two years, and plaintiffs claimed that they had paid a premium of five marks (£3 6s. 8d.).[4] A somewhat similar case was recorded in 1388, when an apprentice, having been turned out after six years' service, claimed exoneration and damages and was awarded 6s. 8d.[5]

For unjust expulsion, apprentices might claim redress before the courts, but assignment of apprentices was fairly common practice, and the covenant "not to assign," which appears in the mason enrolment, 1629-32 (No. 36), was a most unusual one; the clause, however, includes the qualification requiring the apprentice's consent to assignment, and this was in line with the practice of the courts. Apprentices were regularly assigned by will,[6] or were sold from one master to another as chattels; but in the last resort they could claim the protection of the courts, which ruled that "an apprentice was not bound to serve any other person than his original master against his will".[7]

Assignment of apprentices was also frequently arranged by order of the court in cases where masters had failed in their covenant duties.

MASTER TO MAKE HIS APPRENTICE FREE

An unusual clause appears in the Northamton glover's indenture, No. 31, 1566, where the master undertakes to make the apprentice free at the end of his term. This was common practice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in London; and at Bristol, in the sixteenth century, masters invariably paid their apprentices' freedom fees, but the Northampton records show that there it was usual for new freemen to pay their own dues.

APPRENTICES' WAGES

Wage records relating to apprentices must be considered under two heads. First, and least important for our purpose, the data which is derived from fabric rolls, building contracts and municipal expense accounts. As a rule, the information which is drawn from such sources relates to the *wages which were paid to the masters* for their apprentices' services.[8]

It is not necessary here to examine the various methods of payment, *i.e.*, the rates with, or without "meat and drink"; nor do we need to notice the different rates of pay for summer or winter work. We are only concerned to notice the relation between the wages drawn by the master for his own work and the wages he drew for his apprentices' services.

A few examples will suffice:—

[1] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1364-1381, p. 128.
[2] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 274.
[3] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1364-1381, p. 128.
[4] *Cal. E.M.C. Rolls*, p. 190.
[5] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1381-1412, p. 145.
[6] *E.g.*, Indenture No. 1.
[7] *Cal. P.M. Rolls*, 1364-1381, intro., pp. xlii, xliii, and p. 202.
[8] *E.g.*, the Dundee contract, 1536, which specifies that the apprentice's wage shall be paid to the master. Lyon, p. 39.

1412-1417 Richard Winchcumbe, during these five years, drew a combined wage for himself and his apprentice, at Adderbury. Winchcumbe was the master mason, and Bro. Knoop's analysis of the figures has led him to the conclusion that when ordinary skilled masons were earning 3s. a week, Winchcumbe drew 3s. 4d. per week for himself and 2s. 9d. per week for his apprentice.[1]

1460-1461 Reginald Knyght, chief mason of London Bridge, drew 4s. per week, and his apprentice, Thomas Hall, 3s. per week.[2]

1460-1464 Jurdan, chief bridge mason (at London Bridge), drew 3s. 4d., and Danyell, his apprentice, earned from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per week ; but Jurdan's appointment appears to have been " part-time ", and the standard rate of a mason's pay at this time was 4s. per week.[3]

1467-1474 At London Bridge, Reyne, Jurdan's apprentice, earned a rising scale of pay ; 16d. per week for two-and-a-half years ; 20 pence per week for one year ; 2s. per week for three-and-a-half years ; 3s. per week for six months.[4]

1472-1482 At York. Standard rates for masons, 3s. per week. Apprentices during this period are recorded at various rates from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d. per week.[5]

1505-1513 At London Bridge. Standard rate 4s. per week. Apprentices are recorded from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per week.[6]

1518-1525 At London Bridge. Standard rate 4s. per week. Apprentices are recorded at rates from 2s. to 3s. 6d. per week.[7]

The 1521 London Mason's ordinances made provision for a master *to take a full craftsman's wages for an apprentice* after he had served four years and been approved by the wardens.[8] The Norwich masons' ordinances of 1577 imply that a master might draw a labourer's wage for his apprentice after he had served only one year.[9] Dublin Gild ordinances in 1555 specified a wage of 3d. per day for mason apprentices, with " meat and drink ", and 10d. per day without.[10]

It is clear that the rates of pay drawn by masters for their apprentices were extremely high. The lowest rate recorded was equal to about one-third of a fully-trained mason's pay, but this seems to have been exceptional ; generally, the rates of pay drawn for mason apprentices ranged from 60 to 75 per cent. of the wages earned by fully-trained craftsmen.

By comparison with the ample wage records which have just been discussed, the records of wages paid *to* apprentices are very meagre, and for this reason the data to be derived from the indentures (and enrolments) is very important indeed, because the texts give details of the actual contracts between master and apprentice, and in these cases there is no shadow of doubt that the sums involved were actually paid *to* the apprentice.

There seems to have been no standard custom in these matters, and the extent of the variations can best be seen from a summary of the arrangements recorded in our texts. The payments made by masters to their apprentices fall into two classes. First, those payments which were made *during* the years of service, often very small annual sums which were in the nature of pocket-money, but occasionally somewhat larger sums are involved. Within this class, also, may be noted those payments during the " extended years of service ", *i.e.*, when apprentices were bound for a given term, and undertook to serve an extra year or more thereafter in the status of journeymen. The wages paid in the " extended " years were always much larger than had been paid previously, but usually less than the standard rates which might be earned by an unbound journeyman.

It should be noted, however, that the payment of any kind of wage *to* apprentices, though not uncommon, was by no means a universal custom ; indeed, a Norwich mason's ordinance of 1572 expressly forbade the members of that trade to " . . . make any covenant with his apprentyce to gyve hym eny wages or recompence for his worke . . . "[11]

The second class of payments to apprentices, which seems to have been customary in practically every case, can best be described as " end-of-term " payments of a lump sum of money, often in conjunction with one or more complete sets of clothing, a kit of tools, and occasionally with bedding and linens. These " end-of-term " payments appear in almost every case, regardless of whether the apprentice had been receiving wages or not.

[1] Knoop, *Vale Royal, A.Q.C.*, xliv, pp. 33-4.
[2] Knoop, *London Bridge, A.Q.C.*, xlvii, p. 32.
[3] *ibid.*, pp. 19, 31.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 32.
[5] Knoop, *Early Documents, A.Q.C.*, xliv, pp. 234-5.
[6] Knoop, *London Bridge, A.Q.C.*, xlvii, p. 32.
[7] *ibid.*, p. 32.
[8] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 258.
[9] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 175.
[10] *ibid.*, p. 233.
[11] Reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xv, p. 208.

In the following chart, wages paid during the term of service are summarised very briefly, with details of wages during the last year, or during any of the "extended years" of service. For purpose of comparison, we include details of sets of wage payments recorded in 1494 in certain enrolments in the Coventry Leet Book,[1] and two late fifteenth century records of monastic apprentices at Cupar Angus.[2]

It is worth noting that the Norwich mason's enrolment of 1508-9 in the chart above *is the only one out of ninety-seven* mason enrolments at Norwich (from 1508 to 1683) which makes provision for an *annual* wage to the apprentice.

Despite the pitifully small number of cases which are available for examination, it is immediately obvious that the wages paid *to* apprentices, amongst masons as well as in other trades, were very much lower than the wages drawn by masters *for* apprentices. It seems probable that there was a substantial margin of profit left over for the masters, even after allowing for the cost of their apprentices' maintenance.

END-OF-TERM PAYMENTS

The end-of-term payments made by masters to their apprentices usually came under one or more of four different categories, *i.e.*, a lump sum in cash, a kit of tools, a set of clothing, an outfit of bedding; and the vast majority of the indentures contain details of some such payment or gift when the apprentice ultimately left his master's house.

MONEY PAYMENTS. The money payments appear in a large number of indentures, in sums varying from 3s. 4d. to £3. It may be worth noticing that the Norwich mason's enrolment (No. 9) of 1508-9 - 1513, which provides a regular scale of wages throughout the seven years of service, makes no provision for any end-of-term payment. From 1590 onwards the end-of-term payments become increasingly rare, and, so far as Norwich enrolments are concerned, such payments went out of fashion after 1621.

TOOLS. The presentation of a kit of tools was a widespread custom, and we need only take notice of the practice amongst masons. Here the Norwich enrolments are most helpful.[3] The tools, usually four or five in number, were drawn from the following list: Hammer, brick-axe, pick-axe, trowel, saw, plumb-rule, level and square. (John Jackson's enrolment entry, February, 1511, includes "a brusshe".)[4] The two Bristol mason enrolments recorded in the Apprentice Book, 1532-42, both provide for kits of tools,[5] and, in our collection of texts, provision for tools will be found in many cases, but it seems to have fallen out of practice towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The 1558 roughmason's enrolment (No. 26) incorporates a normal kit of tools, and also a "Vyoll, vyolet and a harpe", all in addition to the usual clothing and a payment of £3. The musical instruments must have been an expensive addition to the end-of-term gifts, and it seems possible that the master, in this case, was a musical instrument maker as well!

CLOTHING. End-of-term clothing was usually "a double array", *i.e.*, for work days and holydays. Occasionally it is specified in some detail, *i.e.*, shoes, linen, woollen, etc., but here there seems to have been an accepted standard of what was to be given, and many of the indentures are content with the brief specification of "double clothing".

BEDDING appears only occasionally in the end-of-term gifts, and although the value of the end-of-term clothing is never stated, the bed or bedding is usually required to be of a certain stated value.

PROVISIONS AGAINST THE DEATH OF THE MASTER

Among the provisions which occur frequently in the indentures are those which bind the apprentice to the completion of his service in the event of his master's death. In most cases provision is made by a reference to the master's executors or assigns. In two of our texts, however, the masters are mentioned jointly with their wives as parties to the indentures, thereby ensuring that the apprentice continued to serve his mistress, if his master died.

This was by no means uncommon. The Aitchison's Haven minutes contain several records of apprentices bound to serve their mother if their father happened to die during the term of service.[6] At Edinburgh there seems to have been some diffidence about permitting masons' widows to carry on their late husbands' trade, and in 1683 the Lodge ordained that any work that might come their way under such circumstances was to be supervised by a freeman of the craft.[7] It is possible that some such arrangement was in operation generally,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 561-3.
[2] Details quoted by Knoop, *S.M.*, pp. 43-4, from "The Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus".
[3] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 66, have summarised the sets of tools specified in eight cases between 1550 and 1560, with an interesting commentary.
[4] Norwich Enrolled Deeds, Bundle 22, 1510-1541.
[5] *Cal. Bristol Apprentice Book*, 1532-42, pp. 27, 78.
[6] Wallace James, *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 39.
[7] Lyon, p. 132.

APPRENTICES' "WAGE" PER ANNUM DURING EACH YEAR OF SERVICE

Indent. No.	Date	Trade	Place	Term	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	Annual Wage for Extended Term
—	Late 15th c.	Tiler	Cupar-Angus	8 yrs.	6/8	6/8	6/8	6/8	7/6	7/6	7/6	7/6	See Note A
—	„	Mason	„	5 „	5/-	5/-	5/-	6/8	6/8	—	—	—	„ „
—	1494	Grocer	Coventry	8 „	1/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	13/4	
—	„	Hatmaker	„	7 „	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	4d.	6/8		
—	„	"Lokyer"	„	5 „	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	10/-	—	—		
—	„	Butcher	„	7 „	4/-	4/-	4/-	4/-	4/-	4/-	33/4		
—	„	Sherman	„	6 „	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-	2/-	6/8	—		
No. 5	1409	Carpenter	Southanyfield (?)	6 „	—	—	—	—	20/-	40/-	—	—	See Note B
No. 6	1451	Coverletmaker	Canterbury	7 + 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9/4	20/-
No. 8	1480	Cordwainer	St. Mary Cray	8 yrs.	3d.	6d.	9d.	1/-	1/3	1/6	1/9	10/-	
No. 9	1508-9	Mason	Norwich	7 „	10/-	11/-	12/-	13/4	16/-	16/-	16/-		
No. 17	1531	Baker	Leicester	7 + 1	8d.	8d-	8d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	—	26/-
No. 20	1543	Tailor	„	7 yrs.	—	—	—	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4		
No. 28	1562	Cordwainer	Northampton	7 „	4d.	4d.	4d.	8d.	8d.	8d.	8d.		
No. 32	1567	"Shoesmith"	„	7 „	—	—	—	—	—	4/-	4/-		
No. 34	1573	Mason	Aberdeen	7 + 2	A salary equal to half his earnings								13/4 See note A
No. 43	1712	Mason	Kinross	3 + 1									22/- See Note A

Note A—These sums are the contemporary sterling equivalents of Scots monies mentioned in the texts.

Note B—The 40/- was probably an "end-of-term payment".

for it would have been impracticable, without such help, for a woman to carry on the trade of a mason. An unusual variation appears, however, in the Glasgow Masons' Incorporation minutes of 1653, when a master, apparently at death's door, booked his apprentice with the following special conditions: " Because the said Robert (*i.e.*, the master) is not in health for the present, if it shall please God that he depart his life before the end of the apprenticeship, the said Thomas (the apprentice) shall pay to his said master's relict £10 yearly, each year of his apprenticeship which shall be to run thereof after the death of the said Robert, *and he to have thereafter all the benefit he can make to himself". In effect, the widow was to become a pensioner of her apprentice.*[1]

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Carr, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. R. E. Parkinson, H. C. Booth, Norman Rogers, E. Winterburgh and E. Ward.

The W.M. said:—

Brethren, first I have to record the fact that Bro. Carr's paper seemed to me to be of such importance to students of Masonic research that I have persuaded the Committee to relax the rule that papers must not exceed 10,000 words; but this must not be taken as a precedent.

I am usually so heartily in agreement with Bro. Carr's findings that it is almost a relief to find one small point on which I can join issue with him. On galley 7, para. 6, section (c), he says, " had there been some test of skill involved, the master could not have contracted to enter his apprentice "; I cannot agree that this is a sound deduction. This provision may well have been inserted to ensure that the master should *teach* his apprentice up to the required standard, which would, presumably, be quite a low one, well within the capacity of any properly-taught apprentice. We presume that the status of Entered Apprentice carried with it a higher rate of pay, and, if this is so, *some* standard of qualification must, surely, have been required to entitle him to that status, even if it were no more than the recommendation of his foreman or someone who had seen him at work.

I know, what most of you will only suspect, that Bro. Carr has put in many months of hard work in collecting the material for this paper, and has gone to infinite trouble (and, I may add, expense) to obtain this large collection of Masons' Indentures and Enrolments; so it is a great satisfaction that, for once, industry and patience have been rewarded by discoveries so exciting as the two Indentures of Mary's Chapel and Glasgow. I want to congratulate Bro. Carr upon a discovery of so much importance to students, and I can only lament that our late Bro. Knoop did not live to see so worthy a successor following in his footsteps.

Bro. Carr has given us a paper of an excellence which we have come to expect from him, and I have much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to him for his most valuable contribution to Masonic research.

Bro. B. W. OLIVER, S.W., said:—

With the greatest pleasure I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Carr, and would wish to be associated with our Worshipful Master's words of commendation and praise for the very valuable paper we have received this afternoon.

Bro. Carr traces apprenticeship back at least to the thirteenth century, but its practice must have been much earlier, and, as he has pointed out, " primarily a purely personal arrangement ", and this it probably remained long after the Town Guilds had prepared their code.

In analysing the examples of apprenticeship given us by Bro. Carr, we must always remember that the life of a mason was totally different from the life of a town craftsman. The mason rarely remained in a district for more than a year or so, and then he had to follow his work. In my native town of Barnstaple a certain number of craftsmen were designated " mason ", payment being made for the " mason and his man ". When a " freemason " comes into the town he receives a superior wage, as does his " man ", who might be a " journeyman " or an elder apprentice.

The reason why the records of such men were lost, or possibly never existed, becomes clear. Once the walling was finished, the mason and his apprentice moved on to find another employer; there was no reason to keep any record in the town, and the craftsman and his apprentice travelled with the barest necessities. It was far otherwise with the carpenter, who

[1] Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

could always find ample employment in his own town, where all but the most important buildings were of timber. The plasterers, painters, glaziers and the helyers were similarly situated.

The mason, having to move through the countryside, required to be free of all servitude, and so, when a boy joined him, that boy had to be free by birth ; it was quite unnecessary for either to have the freedom of a Town Guild.

Laws developed from customs, and it is not difficult to appreciate the jealously-guarded " immemorial customs " and landmarks of the mason, be he " rough waller ", " setter and layer ", free stone mason " or " freemason ". The tinners were amongst the very few trades whose working conditions in any way resemble that of the masons, and we have the example of the Tinners' Annual Assembly to regulate their affairs.

Bro. Carr's mention of apprenticeship to " mason and wright " confirms what many of us suspect—that the two trades were often combined ; possibly " mason " was frequently the equivalent of our modern " builder ".

The seven years' term of apprenticeship was probably a minimum. In the early mediæval period a boy was likely to join a travelling mason well before fourteen years of age, but he would not be " free of the craft " until he had reached the age of twenty-one. The early clauses of the Regius Poem indicate that boys of superior birth may become masons:—

> " For more ease then, and of honesty
> Take a 'prentice of higher degree,
> By old time written I find
> That the 'prentice should be of gentle kind."

The poem gives very strict guidance for the selection of an apprentice, and we are made to realise how highly the early craftsman placed the qualities essential in every apprentice.

Bro. R. E. PARKINSON *writes*:—

May I add my congratulations to the many which, I am sure, our Bro. Carr will receive for his masterly paper ; it will remain a standard of reference for many years to come.

It does not lend itself to criticism, but, as a token of my appreciation of his labours, may I append a few random references from Irish sources ?

At the end of the twelfth century, the Anglo-Norman invaders brought with them the pattern of a different civilisation, nothing, perhaps, being more striking than the establishment of corporate towns where, hitherto, apart from the Danish settlements of Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, towns in the accepted sense hardly existed. Within a generation of the invasion a host of little corporate towns was erected, in which the customs of Breteuil were the commonly accepted standard.

The " Laws and usages of the City of Dublin ", 1305, are set out in the *Chain Book* of the Corporation:—

> (vi) Villeins or betaghs who, by permission of the Mayor and commonalty, remain in the city of Dublin for a year and a day, are thereby freed of all claims from their former lords.
>
> (x) Responsibility of masters for apprentices and their acts. Citizens are also answerable for their sons, when they come to age, that is, when they are able to reckon twelve pence.
>
> (xlix) Arrangements for intervention by the Bailiffs in . . . disputes between masters and apprentices.
>
> (lxx) Protection for apprentices of parchment makers against maltreatment by their masters. Remedies for masters against apprentices who absent themselves.

Admission to the franchise of the city of Dublin was by birth, in right of wife or husband, by apprenticeship, or by special grace on the payment of a fine.

From the Assembly Rolls, Fourth Friday after 29 September, 1555:—

> (14) It is ordeyned, by auctortie aforesaid, that a maister mason, maister carpender, and so the master of every occupacion shall have by the daye, when he hath no meate nor drinke, fyftene pens, the jorneyman, xii.d. the prentice xd. ; and when he haithe meate and drinke, the master shall have by the daie vid. the jorneyman, iiii.d., the prentice iii.d. ; every laborer shall have by the daye, without meate and drinke, vii.d.ob., and with meate and drinke, iii.d.: and if any within the franches of this cittie do take more than is here ordered, he shall forfait (halfe of) the some he taketh, and the gyver shall forfeit as mouche, halfe to the accusor or informer, and halfe to the treasure of the cittie.

1569. Fourth Friday after 29 September.

(4) Where(as) certeine abussis is thoughte by the assemble to be in the fre masons of this cittie, being feawe in nomber, not permittinge others masons that be good craftsmen to occupie or labor in this cittie without exactinge and paying (as is affirmed) halfe ther daylie wages to the saide free masons; for advoidinge of which abbuse, it is agreed by this assemblie that suche forren masons beinge good craftsmen, as will come to Mr. Maior and Mr. Recordor, shall be by them licensed and permitted to worke in this cittie, and within the fraunches of the same till the next assemblie for proffe of ther workmanshipe and good demeanor, and beinge found then to be good workmen, and of honest conversacion, shalbe admitted free unto the fraunches of this cittie, puttinge ther billes up to the assemblie, and that the saide free masons, nor the master or wardens of ther corporacion, shal not vex, areste, or sue the saide forren masons in the meantime.

1584. Fourth Friday after 29 September.

(7) Forasmoche as inconvenience groweth by the abuse of (some) aprentyses in this cittie haunting of taverns and other victualling howses, wher they are procured by evyll disposed women to consume their masters goods, and ofte tymes are supported therin by the owners of the said taverns and victualling howses, to the utter destruction of the said apprentyses, and ofte tymes greate losse to ther said masters: it is therefore agreed, by the aucthoryty aforesaid that every cittizen of thie cittie supporting or permyting the aprentyses of eny of this cittie at eny tyme henceforth, wherby he doth myspend his tyme or consume his masters goods, that the supporter shalbe comytted xl. daies to Newgate, wihtout bail or mainpryse, and shall restore the duble valew of what shalbe proved to be so consumed or bestowed; and if Mr. Maior and Sherives for the tyme being shalbe negligent to execute this act, (they) shall paye as a fyne to the cittie v.li., tociens quociens.

1594. Fourth Friday after Easter.

Admitted to franchise, on payment of fine: Thomas Wetherby, currier; condition, to educate in his faculty one apprentice in every seven years, so long as he remains in the city, and to serve all freemen of the city before foreigners in his occupation, and also that he will not intrude on any other art or faculty therein.
("Pro fine quadraginta solidorum sterlingorum.")

1597. Fourth Friday after 29 September.

Richard Reyly was admitted to the franchise as apprentice to Thomas Slaman, mason, distinct from other craftsmen who had completed their apprenticeship; Slaman was in this year Master of the Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers.

1605. Fourth Friday after 29 September.

(7) Wheras certaine poore young men, being artysanes of this cittie, complayned that divers of them haveing served their apprentysehood with their masters, and after their longe service cannott be admitted to the brotherhood of their company unlesse they doe paye fouer poundes, sterling, or give a great dinner: it is therfor ordered and agreed, by the aucthorytie afforesaid, that every young artyzant that have servid his apprentysehood shall paie in lieue of the dinner for his admittans to his brotherhoode the some of twenty shillinges, sterling, and noe more; and yf he shalbe refused to be admitted for that some by the master, wardins, and resydue of that companye where he served, that then he may excercyse his owne trade himselfe without further admission.

While not exactly germane to the subject, I am tempted to quote the following from Stanihurst's *Description of Dublin, 1577*:—

> "The Maior of the Bull ring is an officer elected by the citizens, to be, as it were, capteine or gardian of the batchelers and the unwedded youth of the civitie. And for the year he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent brothel-houses and the like unchast places. He is termed the Maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the cornemarket to which the bulles that are yearly to be baited are usually tied; which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batcheler hap to marrie, the Maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegroome, upon his return from church, to the market place, and there with a solemne kisse for his ultimum vale, he doeth homage to the Bull ring."

In a series of papers read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, our late Bro. Henry F. Berry dealt with many of the twenty-five guilds of the city of Dublin. In vol. xxxv of the *Journal* (1905) is one on the Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose charter bore date at Dublin, 10th March, in the 23rd year of King Henry VII (1508).

Apprentices were to be free, of the English nation, and of good conversation, and to be bound for seven years, under indentures which were to be enrolled by the clerk of the guild, he receiving half a mark for the use of the guild. On having served seven years, the apprentice might be brought by his master and the guild to the guildhall of the city, to be admitted to the freedom of the same. None were to be admitted to said arts or to the freedom of the city without assent of the master and wardens; and none were to use the said arts within the city or suburbs unless they, on due consideration, found him fit to exercise the same.

Notwithstanding the restriction to the English nation, many of the names of those admitted to the freedom of Dublin were distinctly Irish.

In 1517, Barnaby Felde, a mason, was sworn on a book to observe and keep the statutes and laudable customs of the carpenters' guild; firstly, he was to pay 6s. 8d. for his ingress, so that he should not occupy two crafts, and should he do so he was to double the money of his ingress, so that he occupied not the "Kerwers" craft, as John Kerwers did. It is not easy to determine the exact fees paid on entrance to the guild, or whether the different crafts of which it consisted contributed different amounts. In 1517 a helier paid 6s. 8d. for ingress, while in 1529 a carpenter paid 5s. In 1537, Philip Hensey, whose trade is not mentioned, had to pay 10s. Irish, by three instalments of 3s. 4d. each, and to supply 1lb. of wax to repair the light.

In 1553, Murdoghe Archebolde became apprentice to Philip Butler for six years and one year of service. When William Sclattyr became apprentice in 1546, he agreed to serve for eight years.

M. D. O'Sullivan, M.A., in her *Old Galway* (Heffer, Cambridge, 1942) says:—

> "In Galway, as elsewhere, the apprentice to a trade was compelled to serve seven years, and at the end of that time he had to prove himself skilled to exercise his trade, mystery or art before his particular guild. During apprenticeship he was bound to serve his master faithfully and truly, not to frequent taverns or places of ill-repute, not to be out at night, not to play away his master's goods at 'tables, dyce, tennies, or any other unlawfull games, nor yet espowse maid, wyfe or widdowe, without his said master's lycence and consent duringe that tearme'. The master, in turn, undertook to provide the apprentice with board and lodging and clothing suitable to his calling, to chastise him if and when necessary, and to admit him a worker in his trade when the term of his apprenticeship was satisfactorily completed.
>
> "In 1585 it was laid down 'that no young man, prentiz or otherwise, shall weare no gorgious apparell, ne silks, either within or without ther garments, ne yet fyne knitt stockings either of silke or other costlie wise, weare no costlie long riffs thick and started, but be content with single riffs, and that also they shall weare no pantwofles, but rather be contented with showse'."

Altogether, as only to be expected, the craft organisations of the towns and cities of Ireland followed closely, although with a time lag of greater or less duration, those of England. Scottish influence, before the Plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century, was mainly the wild redshanks of the Western Isles, who gave so much trouble to Elizabeth's officers.

Bro. H. C. BOOTH said:—

I have been much interested in Bro. H. Carr's paper on Apprenticeship in England and Scotland, and congratulate him on the very large amount of information he has gathered together on the subject covering so many different trades. The paper is a mine of information, and must have taken some years of patient research and collecting.

So far as the Operative Masons and masonry generally is concerned on the thorny question of the relation of the ordinary Apprentice to the Entered Apprentice, this is well defined in language which must have been taken from the old Charges in the following Charge in the 1738 edition of the old *Constitutions*:—

> Charge IV of Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Prentices.
>
> All preferment among Masons is grounded on real worth and personal merit only, not on Seniority.
>
> No Master should take a Prentice that is not the son of honest parents, a perfect youth without maim or defect of body and capable of learning the Mysteries of the

Art, that so the Lords (or Founders) may be well served and the Craft not despised, and that when of age and expert he may become an *Entered Prentice,* or a Freeman of the lowest Degree, and upon *his due Improvement* a Fellow Craft and a Master Mason capable to undertake a Lord's Work.

This shows that neither time nor age came into it, but real workmanship and skill.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

Bro. Carr deserves our grateful thanks for the valuable information on the subject of the "Entered Apprentice", which he has now placed before us. It is true that Bro. Meekren and Bro. Douglas Knoop simultaneously appeared to show that apprentices and entered apprentices were two distinct classes or grades, and the inference was then drawn that the apprentice's seven-year indenture was followed by a further term of seven years as an entered apprentice.

This conclusion was never very satisfactory to me, for two reasons: First, the period of service after apprenticeship appeared to vary from three to seven years in different parts of England; and second, the implication was that a man could not be a master until he had served 14 years, *i.e.,* seven as apprentice and seven as entered apprentice. This would normally bring the workman to the age of 28 before he could set up on his own. Could one really credit this happening in the seventeenth century, when the expectation of life would be no more than 40 years, for it was such as late as the 1830's?

Bro. Carr now advances a theory which appears to fit the case much more reasonably, namely, that apprentices became entered apprentices about two or three years after they had been indentured, and they stayed thus until they became fellow-crafts or masters, which would be about seven years afterwards, *i.e.,* around 23 years of age. The "freak" cases which one meets could be those of orphans, bound to a trustworthy master by the authorities, say, from nine, or earlier, to 21. It should be remembered that, before the age of compulsory education, children were often placed at work before this age.

Bro. Carr states that there appears to be no trace of a minimum-age regulation in any of the Masons' Codes of Ordinances. Naturally, therefore, we are not justified in assuming that the seven years' minimum, which was the London custom, and which is also mentioned in the Schaw Statutes of 1598, would mean an apprenticeship from 14 to 21. It would seem to be of some value to know the ages at which some of the cases he quotes began their indentures.

His deductions regarding the registration of the entered apprentice appear to be quite sound, for it would be to the advantage of his master to enter him, if only for the purpose of being able to claim full wages in return for his training. Only when he had been passed fellow-craft or master would he be entitled to take contract work as a master.

There is still much to be done before a definite opinion can be formed, and I am sure that Bro. Carr has our best wishes in his efforts to clear up this problem, for which there is so much conflicting evidence.

Bro. E. WINTERBURGH said:—

W.Bro. H. Carr mentions in his extensive and most interesting paper on page 1: "The earliest definite reference to some kind of organisation amongst the London masons stressing an event in 1376, when four masons were elected to the Common Council to represent the 'mistery'." May I add some further details to this point, despite the fact that they are not so much connected with the apprenticeship in particular as with the meaning of mason at these times in general?

On the occasion of the listing the above-mentioned representatives, the Council Clerk made a mistake putting down: ffremasons Thomas Wrek, John Lesnes. There occurred the error. The clerk tried to eradicate the mistake, but was unsuccessful. He crossed out the names, adding the note *quia postea* in Latin (which means "because quoted later on"). On the parchments the clues of an erasing knife are clearly visible. After the correction it reads: MASONS THOMAS WREK, JOHN LESNES, JOHN ARTELBURGH and ROBERT HENWICK. This error in writing caused an interpretation, which had some importance in the history of Freemasonry. One was tempted to believe that in the mistery there have been represented, besides the Masons, also the Freemasons, which was not the case.

Bro. Conder, jun., a member of this Lodge, was at the same time P.M. of the Worshipful Company of Masons, in other words, an operative mason as they exist to-day. He investigated the old books of laws and accounting books of the company reaching back to the year 1620

and rectified the error. The words " Freemason " and " Mason " had the same meaning in these days ; there was no difference at all, otherwise the names would not have been the same in both versions. The company was at these times a so-called Fellowship of Prescription, according to Conder (*A.Q.C.*, 1904, 84) a voluntary society, which was not in possession of a charter by the King. But it was enjoying the same rights as the other guilds, and in 1472 a coat of arms was granted to it.

Bro. ERIC WARD said:—

On a subject about which there is so very much material, the question that must have faced Bro. Carr was what to leave out, and on the excellently summarised historical background I do not propose to comment, beyond making the suggestion that the 1563 Statute of Apprentices, with its great significance to apprenticeship generally, might have been given a paragraph or two.

When we come to the section on entered apprenticeship the position is different, for it so happens that I also have been working on this problem, and my findings on both English and Scottish entered apprenticeship are embodied in a paper which I hope I may present shortly. On the Scottish aspect, Bro. Carr and I travel together part of the way, and then our roads diverge, as, although he speaks of the incontrovertible evidence of Edinburgh, I hope I can show that much of it, even on the facts presented, can bear quite different conclusions. Fully to develop the arguments now would be wasteful, and I must, therefore, take a few pointers thus:—

On page 6 there is the statement " *all* available evidence on the subject indicates *beyond doubt* that entered apprentices were in some way further advanced than ordinary apprentices ". Some evidence and some E.A.'s yes, but by no means *all*. In *The Mason and the Burgh* we are told of fifteen E.A.'s who were entered in Mary's Chapel *before* they were booked in the burgh register,[1] and of no less than 122 out of 271 of whom there is no record of their *ever* having been booked in this register.[2] Therefore, during the seventeenth century, 137 apprentices, practically half the total, were first heard of when they entered the Lodge, and without any evidence whatsoever of their previous experience. Even if we allow for mistakes and omissions, surely this number is too great to be dismissed without some doubts. As Bro. Carr rightly remarks, averages can be misleading, but the whole thesis can be even more misleading if presented in a form suggestive that Edinburgh means Scotland. Hence, in contradicting Bro. Meekren's remark that booking may originally have been in the Lodge book, it seems to have been overlooked that he was writing of Aitchison's Haven, where no *burgh* apprentice books could have existed.

Again, on page 6, we are informed that " after apprenticeship it was *customary* to serve two years for meat and fee, *i.e.*, in the status of bound and salaried journeymen ". It is true that three years was called for by the Common Council Ordinances of 1585, but where is the individual evidence that any term of covenant service was customary for masons ? If it was, and particularly if that service need not be with the same master (as was allowed in indenture No. 43, p. 67), then the period of meat and fee marked an important step in the mason's career. So that what Bro. Carr calls the four-stage routine should really be a five-stage one.

But even that would not be sufficient, for on page 8, in a reference to masons working at Edinburgh Market Cross, it is stated: " It is probable that the Fellows of Craft were serving their years for meat and fee ". If by this is really meant that these F.C.'s were at the time working as journeymen wage earners, there is nothing more to be said. But, as framed, the observation seems to imply an obligation to which F.C.'s were committed. I cannot recall any custom, ordinance or regulation which required such service, and, indeed, as Bro. Carr himself put it, " It is clear beyond doubt that the Fellow Crafts were masons who had completed all their years of training and were no longer bound to anyone ".[3] The 1475 Seal of Cause stipulates the qualifications required of an apprentice to become " freman and fallow ".[4] Therefore, F.C.'s were freemen of their craft (as distinct from freemen of the burgh), but if they, as well as elder E.A.'s, had to serve a period for meat and fee, what was the difference between the two ? In fact, what was the point of becoming a fellow at all ? It is one thing for a craftholder to have drifted into becoming a servant through lack of money or inclination, but quite another for it to have been obligatory.

We then come to the two early instances when Mary's Chapel promised to enter apprentices within a specified time, and these are quoted to support the contention that, in general, the cost of entry into the Lodge was borne mainly by the master. They do not

[1] Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, pp. 29-30.
[2] Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, p. 54.
[3] Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, p. 48.
[4] Lyon, *History* (1873), p. 232.

appear to do so, but, in any case, we know from Schaw's 1599 Kilwinning Statutes, Aberdeen's Laws and Statutes in 1670, and the Melrose Minute of 1674, that those E.A.'s were themselves required to pay. But then follows a chain of arguments to indicate how entered apprenticeship originated, with the inference that it grew out of an Edinburgh Council Ordinance. This seems to me to be too great an assumption.

But to return to the promises. The first one I take to be the minute of December 18th, 1599,[1] wherein the Lodge promised "to enter Thos. Tailzefair prentiss to Thomas Weir" within six weeks of the application, *i.e.*, a record was made in the book of an agreement for Weir to have that apprentice. It says nothing of who paid, or at this stage of entering into the Lodge, but implies entering Tailzefair as an apprentice to an individual.

That the Lodge was merely regulating the number of apprentices which masters could officially take is shown by another minute of the same date,[2] when a John Watt was ordered to pay £10 Scots before he could be entered, and because his father already had his quota of three apprentices "enterit of befoir", Watt junior was to be entered *to the Warden.* So that this apprentice not only paid for himself, but was also entered or allocated to an individual who happened to be free to take another apprentice.

The second instance which Bro. Carr quotes, I assume, can only mean the minute of January 18th, 1600, recording the acceptance of William Bikcartoun.[3] If so, it seems that a mistake has been made, for, according to Lyon, this minute said nothing of entering to the Warden. It simply stated that the craft officials promised "to enter Wa. Bikcartoun prentisse to Thos. Smyth maisson in Leith" in nine months' time, and when so entered the master was to pay £20 S. *to the Warden* because he already had his full number of apprentices. Put another way, Smyth paid a fine to have one more apprentice than he was entitled.

These minutes of 1599 and 1600 are particularly interesting because they illustrate a phase through which the craft was passing, but this, I believe, can be seen in its proper perspective when compared with English entered apprenticeship and, indeed, English craft organisation generally. In drawing attention to some evidence which does not conform to the pattern presented as incontrovertible, I have merely touched upon the problem, as I maintain that the facts surrounding entered apprenticeship as an operative institution, even in Edinburgh, can be shown to have other quite different interpretations, and this will be the peculiar object of the paper which I hope to present. Let me hasten to add that such a view could not have been conceived without Bro. Carr's invaluable work, *The Mason and the Burgh,* but it seems to me that the latter is a means rather than an end. I wish to express my warm appreciation for a further valuable contribution to our knowledge.

Bro. H. CARR *writes* in reply:—

I believe that the point raised by the W.M. does not invalidate my argument. The question is "whether an apprentice, having served one, two or three years of his term, had to pass a test of skill before being made E.A.", and as there is *proof* that a master could enter into a legal contract to have his apprentice made E.A. three years later, I conclude that there cannot have been any test of skill involved.

Perhaps we will both be satisfied if I strengthen the phrase by saying that there was "no major test of skill" involved; but I should add that while there are numerous Lodge minutes indicating some sort of test as a prerequisite to the status of F.C.,[4] I cannot recall any such evidence relating to the attainment of the E.A. status.

Bro. B. W. Oliver's note on the essential difference between the mason and other building trades is most useful. As to the necessity for the "freedom of a town gild", I agree that this did not arise, except when the wandering mason, coming into a town as a "foreigner", proposed to set up as a master.[5] The whole system of "freedom" was specially designed to prevent such intrusion, and it was only relaxed in exceptional cases, *e.g.*, on Royal building works, and in London after the Great Fire in 1666, when all kinds of builders were in great demand.

Among the items supplied by Bro. R. E. Parkinson, the extract dated 1569 shows that the same conditions applied in Ireland, where foreigners were licensed to work for a period to prove themselves, and then were required to take the freedom.

I take this opportunity to thank Bro. Parkinson for the trouble he has taken in sending so many interesting items from Irish records (all new to me). Generally, they indicate practices very similar to those of England and Scotland.

[1] Carr, *Mason and Burgh,* p. 33, and Lyon, *History* (1873), p. 39.
[2] Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 39.
[3] Carr, *Mason and Burgh,* p. 33, and Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 73.
[4] See my *Mason and Burgh,* under "Essays", complete edition, p. 51.
[5] A somewhat similar bar existed against unfree journeymen, who were usually required to pay a special fee for license to work, or else their masters were required to pay for employing them.

To Bro. Ward's suggestion as to the Statute of Apprentices, 1563, I have referred to it whenever necessary, but limitations of space compelled me to exclude much useful material. The other points which he makes require more detailed answers.

First, "all available evidence . . . indicates beyond doubt that entered apprentices were in some way further advanced than ordinary apprentices . . ." Of course, I adhere to this statement, and obviously I refer only to evidence that bears on the subject. Does Bro. Ward suggest that they were of *equal* status, or that ordinary apprentices were of higher status ?

The "delayed bookings", which I noted very carefully in the *Mason and the Burgh,*[1] were simple deviations from the normal procedure, and in most cases they were punished by a fine. In the chapter on booking,[2] I showed how such breaches were dealt with by the Edinburgh Council, and it is clear that these are exceptions which prove that the rules were enforced and generally observed.

As to the large number of apprentices for whom there is apparently no record of their ever having been booked, there are a number of explanations.

(a) The registers are avowedly incomplete, and there are references to "plague and pestilence" and to preparations for war, which explain the absence of records during long periods.[3]

(b) My extracts from the Edinburgh Burgh records dealt only with *mason* apprentices, deliberately ignoring slaters, calsey-makers, *i.e.*, road builders, and other kindred trades, whereby identifications might have been rendered doubtful.

Most of the masters in these trades would have been members of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, and in the Lodge records they are automatically classified as masons ; but if their apprentices were booked to slaters, or quarriors, or any other trade, I ignored those bookings for the sake of accuracy.[4] Thus a number of men who ultimately appear in my records as masons do not appear at the booking-stage.

(c) Freakish spelling of Christian names and surnames often led to doubtful identification, and all such doubtful entries were excluded.[5]

(d) Actual omissions of bookings were by no means uncommon.[6] London records, 1309-1312,[7] yield a large number of cases of fines levied for omission of "booking", and these are exactly similar to the Edinburgh cases. They do not show that booking was *not* customary. On the contrary, they show that the custom was enforced, with substantial penalties.

I am deeply concerned by Bro. Ward's suggestion that I have presented my material in such a way as to imply that "Edinburgh means Scotland". In the *Mason and the Burgh* I was careful to insist throughout that the findings were to be taken as being applicable *only* to Edinburgh,[8] and in the present paper, despite the discovery of valuable additional evidence, I have still preserved a note of caution, saying that the evidence "tends to suggest that the Edinburgh practice . . . was known and followed further afield".[9] I am glad for Bro. Ward's sake to be able to reiterate the caution, especially as he appears to have overlooked the earlier warnings.

I am indebted to Bro. Ward for drawing attention to my carelessly-worded note on Bro. Meekren's essay, and that paragraph has now been re-written so as to prevent misunderstanding. But the point which I intended to make still holds good, *i.e.*, that the apprentice was not a member or a part of the Lodge until he had been made "entered apprentice".

Bro. Ward queries the evidence relating to the extended terms of service, *i.e.*, the years for "meat and fee" after the end of the contracted term of apprenticeship. Briefly, there are three mason indentures, Nos. 10, 34 and 43, from Norwich, Aberdeen and Kinross, and there are several more from other trades. For official regulations on the matter I cite:—

1585. *Edinburgh Burgh Records, 1573-1589,* pp. 412-413.
1599. „ „ „ *1589-1603,* p. 246.
1615. „ „ „ *1604-1626,* pp. 126-7.

[1] Carr, *Mason and the Burgh,* complete edition, pp. 29, 30.
[2] *ibid.,* pp. 8, 9.
[3] *ibid.,* pp. 6, 7.
[4] *ibid.,* pp.. 6, 7.
[5] *ibid.,* p. 7.
[6] *ibid.,* pp. 8, 9.
[7] *Cal. Letter Book D.,* pp. 35-179.
[8] *Mason and Burgh,* complete edition, pp. 8, 31, *et passim.*
[9] Page 57.

For mason trade and Lodge regulations on the subject, see: —

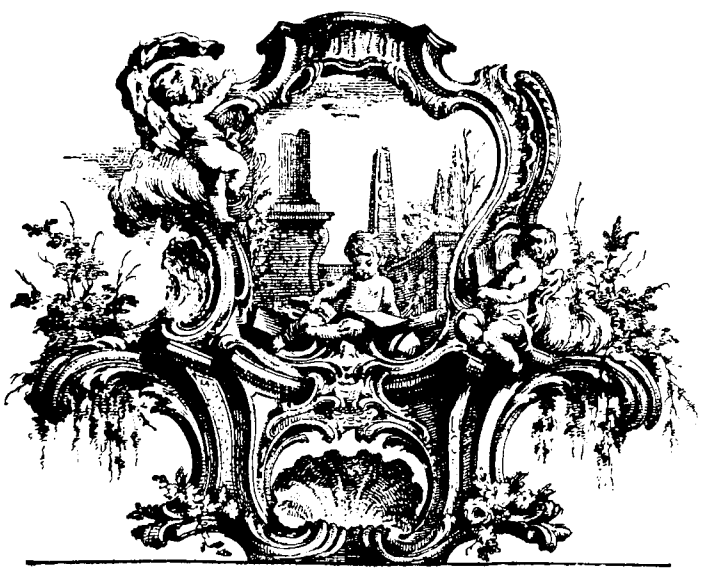
1613. *Glasgow Incorp. of Masons and Wrights,* Cruikshank, Glasgow, p. 63.
1674. Lanark Seal of Cause of Masons and Wrights, *Lanark Records,* p. 196.
1670. Aberdeen, Miller, *Aberdeen 1ter,* p. 62.

It seems hardly necessary to reply to Bro. Ward's next paragraph regarding " F.C.'s and the years for meat and fee ", since my text indicates that these are freak cases which are beyond explanation, probably because of wrong dating or mistaken identities.

Bro. Ward's final paragraphs are only partially relevant to the present paper. In regard to John Watt, who was ordered to be entered to the Warden (because his father had already taken three apprentices), it may be noticed that this was merely a device to avoid recording a master with more than his proper number of apprentices. In proof of this, the Edinburgh Register of Apprentices and the Burgess Rolls both record John Watt as having served *with his father,* and not with the " warden " to whom he had been entered. This point is specially important in the case of Wa. Bickartoun, whose master, Thomas Smyth, was ordered to pay " to the pnt warden w^{t} quhom he salbe enterit twenty punds ". Bro. Ward says that a mistake has been made (by me ?), and that there is no record of Bickartoun being entered to the warden. I assure him that there is no mistake, and I have quoted the relevant words, which are to be found in print in Lyon, p. 78, or in the invaluable transcript of the whole minute book, which is available in Q.C. Library.

I must now express my thanks to all the Brethren who have commented on the paper, and especially to our W.M. for his constant help and encouragement while I was engaged in this tedious, but very rewarding, work.

Outside the Lodge, I acknowledge my indebtedness especially to the Keeper of the MSS. at the London Guildhall for access to documents ; to Mr. P. Hepworth, the City Librarian at Norwich, who furnished a most valuable transcript of Norwich mason enrolments, now lodged in the Q.C. Library ; to Mr. C. T. McInnes, Curator of Historical Records, The Scottish Record Office ; and to Dr. Helen Armet, Keeper of the Burgh Records, Edinburgh, whose interest in my search led to the discovery of some of the most important indentures ; and, finally, to the several municipal authorities for permission to reproduce transcripts of hitherto unpublished material.



St. John's Day in Harvest

MONDAY, 25th JUNE, 1956

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Steward; and W. Waples, P.G.St.B.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. E. Sellen, C. W. Parris, H. J. Walker, John W. Duke, H. S. Cook, W. F. Barrell, G. Holloway, R. J. Crisp, T. W. Marsh, P. J. Watts, F. H. Anderson, R. C. W. Hunter, E. Ward, J. C. A. Raison, D. A. Warne, A. P. Cawadias, T. G. Martin, A. J. Beecher-Stow, E. L. Thompson, *Sir* George Boag, F. V. W. Sedgeley, H. L. Bradshaw, G. D. Elvidge, T. Billow, L. A. W. Pearce, A. Parker Smith, C. W. Davis, B. Foskett, W. H. Stanyon, L. Bedford, R. J. Wilkinson, G. P. Daynes, F. G. Hancocks, J. S. B. Wilson, K. K. Kcamaris, L. J. Richardson, T. F. G. Choat, T. A. Sanson, J. L. C. Dribbell, R. Gold, A. J. Young, B. Jacobs, C. W. Cowell, R. Hyslop, T. E. Tunnard-Moore, A. V. Magnus, H. Littlejohn, E. S. Goddard, A. R. Jole, H. Barne, W. J. Wyse, F. E. Barber and A. I. Sharp.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. W. Blank, Lodge 1743; S. Newman, Lodge 795; M. Lewis, Lodge 3170; J. W. Gibson, Lodge 4372; C. O. Lewis, Lodge 3016; W. G. Carter, Lodge 7189; L. A. Garrard, Lodge 4411; J. Sellen, Lodge 5625; E. K. Laskari, Lodge 7270; D. W. Cave, Lodge 4759; A. Kipps, Lodge 4611; S. P. Symer, Lodge 5736; S. Mendoza, Lodge 6479; J. Korn, Lodge 765; J. L. Cocking, Lodge 171; and A. G. Sharp, Lodge 357.

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.; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*, 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.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., J.D.; and G. Brett, P.M. 1494.

Four Lodges, one Provincial Grand Lodge, two Masonic Societies and forty-one Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

On the proposition of Bro. Ivor Grantham, seconded by the W.M., it was unanimously carried, "That the thanks of the Brethren be tendered to Worshipful Brother Frederick Edmund Gould, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, for his outstanding services to the Lodge as Local Secretary of the Correspondence Circle for the Province of Devonshire since 1936 and lately also for the Province of Cornwall, and for his active and generous support of the work of the Lodge since 1922; and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

Bro. Ivor Grantham called attention to the following

EXHIBITS

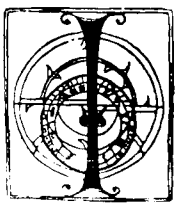
From the Grand Lodge Library and Museum:

The Petition of Michael Devon dated July, 1767, and
Several Masonic Certificates from the Grand Lodge collection.

Bro. Ivor Grantham read a paper by Bro. R. J. MEEKREN, entitled *Grand Lodge*, as follows:—

GRAND LODGE

BY BRO. R. J. MEEKREN



N a recent volume of the proceedings (*A.Q.C.*, lxiv), an incidental question was raised by Bro. C. D. Rotch in the discussion on the paper on *Scottish Masonic Records*, by Bro. G. S. Draffen, which the author, in his reply, emphasised, but did not answer. The question, as re-formulated by Bro. Draffen himself (p. 75), was: "Why was the Grand Lodge of England formed in 1717?"

Strictly speaking, it was the Grand Lodge of London, for until 1738 the claim to authority was limited explicitly to London and Westminster. We cannot afford to overlook any indication of the stages of the development of the Grand Lodge idea.

This question has never (as far as I know) been definitely raised before, which is curious. Of course, everyone who has approached the subject has without doubt had some conception that satisfied himself, but I suspect, in most cases, this conception was confused and vague. And also that it would very likely have been biased by prepossessions derived from our present-day organisation.

An answer, rather a superficial one, can be given from a fact known to everyone interested, but which, like the succession of day and night, is taken for granted without wonder or thought. That is, that in London in 1717 (or 1716) there were a number of lodges, four at least, and probably more, instead of only one. Accustomed as we are to the plurality of lodges in every town of any size, we have not seen that this was then abnormal. It is obvious, therefore, that if a more centralised organisation was desired it would of necessity have to be a joint undertaking. And further, that such organisation being instituted, it would require some designation to distinguish it from the lodges forming it. Two such designations were apparently used at first, so we may judge from Anderson. The familiar "Grand Lodge", but also "General Lodge", as was pointed out by Bro. E. E. Thiemeyer, now a good many years ago (*A.Q.C.*, xlii, 188). I think this alternative title, very soon discarded, is significant for what was in the minds of the participators in the movement.

However, there is, I believe, sufficient material close at hand from which a more comprehensive answer to the question might be obtained—material long known, often referred to, but which has never been put together for this purpose. Naturally, no direct answer is to be found. It is evident enough, when considered, that the official or semi-official account evades the question, for Anderson's suggestion (a *suggestio falsi* ?) that the lodges in London were "drooping" because of the neglect of the aged Sir Christopher Wren is a reason from the land of moonshine. It has been accepted by generation after generation of Masons because, as I should suppose, the members of the Fraternity at large have approached their official history in the spirit of small children listening to a fairy story. What they were given in the first place was a myth—a "political" myth, using the word "political" in its wider sense, which their successors, who were left in the dark as to the real circumstances, took as a relation of facts in child-like trust due to the atmosphere of *gramarie* and mystery that surrounds Freemasonry.

In attempting an answer to our question, we must proceed step by step to try to recover the series of events which had been sedulously left in obscurity. The facts are all known, and many appear of no significance, having no particular relationship to each other or to anything else.

There is one definite inference we can draw to begin with, sufficiently obvious. As the leaders in the Craft in the early eighteenth century were real men in a real world, Englishmen, with practical common sense, conservative, slow to move, but capable of taking very prompt and even drastic steps when the need required, we may confidently assume that there was an adequate reason for the formation of a Grand Lodge, even a compelling reason; and that this was obvious to everyone at the time is shown by the adherence almost at once of so many to the new or reformed organisation. And we may further conclude that though this reason was patent to all the respectable and intelligent members of the Craft, it was one about which the less said the better.

THE EXTERNAL ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND

But, to begin with, we must go back to the statute passed in the time of Henry VI, A.D. 1425, as a kind of culmination to a series of laws which attempted to control wages. Anderson, in the first *Book of Constitutions,* has drawn the attention of successive generations of Masons to it, first on page 34, then in a note to be found on pp. 35 and 36, and finally discusses it in a postscript (p. 57).

This law must have had a very far-reaching effect on the external organisation of the Mason Craft. What that organisation may have been need not now be considered. That there was organisation (or organisations) of some kind the law is itself a witness. Salzman, in his recent book, *Building in England,* p. 42, expresses a doubt as to whether the assemblies prohibited by the law could have been held, or, if they were held, he says, "It is equally difficult to believe either that they promptly ceased on the issue of this prohibition, or that the law was entirely a dead letter". And he adds the important observation, "Yet I have failed to trace a single prosecution under this Act, nor has anyone else, so far as I know, been more fortunate."

With this conclusion I think we must agree. This law could never have caused the destruction of the organisation. Prohibitory laws never do, or "hardly ever". But it could send it underground. It could, and probably did, check all external developments.[1]

But I think Mr. Salzman, like many Masonic scholars, conceived the assembly, after the fashion of the legendary one at York, as a sort of Masonic Witenagemot; whereas it is to be doubted if the actual assemblies comprised more than a relatively small number of men—those living in a district of ten or twelve miles' radius, together with such masons from elsewhere who might at the time be working in it. I should imagine that if there were fifty or sixty men present it would be quite exceptional. Indeed, it may be that the *Legend of the Craft* was originally composed as propaganda of the same kind as Anderson's *History,* to support the institution of assemblies as an organ for the control of the mason's trade and its members.

THE AMBIGUITIES IN THE TERM "LODGE"

Now, in Scotland, at the end of the next century, we find in existence the institution of permanent lodges with purely trade interests. There is ample material in Gould's larger *History* and Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* to give a sufficient idea of these, but it has been summed up very conveniently by our regretted Bro. Knoop and his collaborator, Mr. Jones, in *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word.* Lyon, as almost, if not all, other authors have done, took the permanent trade lodge for granted. Without critical examination, Gould and all the earlier writers assumed (while admitting that there was little or no evidence) that the same type of lodge must, as a matter of course, have existed in England, too; while the assembly was quite generally held to be purely legendary.

When we take into consideration the cloud of shades of meaning the term "lodge" has been given, our argument must almost of necessity be equivocal and fallacious unless we select the one appropriate to our purpose—and stick to it. And also to make it clear by definition or context. My difficulty here is that I shall have to deal with more than one of the entities that have been so called. My readers, therefore, are warned to look for some guide in the context to make sure of what I mean. The lodge type that appears in the earliest Scottish records (and later ones also) is what Knoop and Jones called territorial, though perhaps for convenience and clarity it might better be called the trade lodge. This I shall do in what follows. This type of lodge had a continued existence, it had records of its meetings and business, and it was primarily concerned with the trade interests of its members.

While it is true that there is mention of the lodge in early English records (not "Lodge" records, it must be remembered), building accounts, contracts and the like, the lodges which are there mentioned were certainly either houses or sheds for the accommodation of the masons on the job, or else workshops (or both), and if any lodge organisation or rules appear they are merely such as must exist tacitly or explicitly whenever a number of men are working for an employer. If anything further existed, if the Masons at Canterbury or York, for example, also settled their own affairs in it (as probably on occasion they did), there was no record, no indication, and it was all quite adventitious. The workshop (or workshop-dwelling) lodges may, therefore, be dismissed, even though it appears fairly certain that the term was derived from them.

Permanent trade lodges of the Scottish type do not appear in England till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and then we really know only of two, Alnwick and Swalwell. Bro.

[1] The following notorious examples may be instanced: The Mafia in Italy, the Human Leopards in West Africa, the Tien ti Hui (Golden Lily Society or Hung League) in China, and the Witch Organisation in Europe. These have all been prohibited by governments, and the prosecutions of the laws against them have been rigorous and ruthless; yet all of them still exist, even the Witch Organisation, which, according to Miss Margaret Murray, still celebrates the Black Mass in London.

Waples stated, incidentally, in his paper on the latter Lodge (*A.Q.C.*, lxii, 80) that there were others in the County of Durham, and I am sad that he has not given his reasons for so thinking. The existence of other such lodges has been suspected. That York was once of that type—in the late seventeenth century or even earlier—and Chester more probably, also the *Accepcon* in London much earlier ; but there is no evidence. When we first hear of these lodges they have no control over the mason's trade and no interest in it, except a half-sentimental, historical one. In any case, they are relatively a good deal later. The Scottish type was in working existence—established—at the end of the sixteenth century. The oldest of the English instances—the Accepcon—is first heard of in 1631 ; not as a new thing truly, but how long it was in existence before this we do not know. (Conder, *Masons' Company*, *A.Q.C.*, ix, 28.) It has been generally assumed that this was a lodge attached in some way to the Company, which did control the trade, but it was certainly not a lodge of the Scottish type.

The relationship of lodges, using the word in its general sense, to the assembly is not, I think, without importance ; that is, whether the latter succeeded lodges in point of time, being therefore a sort of inchoate Grand Lodge, or whether it preceded them. The answer, I would suggest, is that it was prior to permanent lodges, but was subsequent to the ritual lodges of the traditional ephemeral type. I made the suggestion some years ago in an appendix to my paper on the Aitchison's Haven Minutes (*A.Q.C.*, liii, 173) that the assembly was really the annual meeting—Head Meeting Day—of an established lodge, at which every mason within a certain distance was bound to appear. I still think that within the period covered by the early British records this suggestion holds good. But so far as the other documentary evidence goes, that is, the Old Charges, this conclusion will have to be modified somewhat. The Old Charges patently assume that the assembly was the chief, indeed the only, organ of the Craft, excepting, of course, all ritual procedure. The reference to lodges are obviously to the workshop, houses or sheds occupied by the masons at their work. And as the Old Charges, as a whole, are older than any extant records of permanent lodges, the presumption is that the organisation therein adumbrated is also earlier than the advent of the trade lodges. And it seems quite possible that the latter could have arisen out of the local assemblies simply through it having been found convenient, or necessary, where the number of men employed was relatively large, to call and hold additional meetings, half-yearly or quarterly, for this in time could hardly fail to produce a continuing organisation.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL LODGE

What, then, could have been the origin of the non-operative type of lodge, more or less permanent or continuing, which is found in England about the beginning of the eighteenth century ? The distinctive characteristic of this type of lodge, which merely for convenience I will call the Social Lodge, was that, though its membership might include operative masons, it had, as an organisation, nothing to do with the mason's trade. If we take the lodges at Warrington and Chester, and perhaps York, with the *Accepcon* in London, as being permanent organisations—and, very naturally, everyone has hitherto done so—then the origin of this type must be put back into the seventeenth century. I leave aside the lodge at Rook's Hill, for, as Speth observed many years ago, it looks far more like an annual assembly for the district than what we would call a lodge. (*A.Q.C.*, xi, p. 180.)

That it is probable that the social lodge had come into existence in the latter part of the seventeenth century, I shall try to show. But I am not at all sure that the lodge at Warrington, or even the *Accepcon*, was a permanent lodge. I would draw attention to what Dr. Plot says in a very familiar passage, which I here cite from Gould (*History*, 1st Edn., Vol. ii, p. 164):—

> " 86. Into which *Society* when they are admitted, they call a meeting (or lodge as they call it in some places) which must consist of five or six of the *Ancients* of the Order . . . "

If we take what is here actually said, without any prepossessions as to what it was intended to mean, it appears that such meetings were not always and everywhere called lodges. And, besides this, the impression is strongly given that they were called without any reference to a superior permanent organisation. Had there been such, it is highly improbable that Plot should not have heard of it and mentioned it. From this it would appear that there was no organisation such as we would call a lodge existing in Staffordshire. And if not there, the lodge at Warrington, and even what Ashmole speaks of as the lodge at Mason's Hall in 1682, may have been of the same ephemeral character, that is, a convenient (and traditional) number of masons, gathered out of a larger number known to each other, for the purpose of admitting, accepting or making masons. Whether called lodges or something else, or without specific designation, this embryonic organisation appears to be primitive and archaic, and, as I should judge, comes down from an immemorial past long antedating the mediæval world and its social and economic organisations and struggles. But, however closely connected with our specific problem, there is no need to go further into the matter here.

Now, the Act of Henry VI was directed against the "yearly Congregations and Confederacies made by the Masons in their General Chapiters assembled", because they were evidently trying to better their own position. I should think, too, that the custom of assembling once a year to settle their own disputes, and discipline such as had offended against the customs of the trade—every trade and occupation had such customs, much of the same kind essentially—was far earlier than the Statutes of Labourers, and that it offered an obvious opportunity to enter into compacts "not to work but at their own Price and Wage", demands that were not unreasonable, considering the depreciation in the value of money that followed the Black Death. It is not impossible that trade lodges such as later appeared in Scotland might have arisen in England at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but such an extension of organisation obviously was nipped in the bud by the series of laws affecting labour, and that thereafter the organisation of the mason craft—the private organisation, that is—remained in the relatively primitive stage out of which the Scottish trade lodge had developed in quite different legal and social circumstances. In England, individual masons in the towns would find a substitute for the lodges of the Scottish type by becoming members of gilds that included men of various trades, some of them quite incongruous; London was really almost the only place where there were a sufficient number of masons to form a company of their own.

We can only guess what happened in districts away from towns, such as parts of Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset and Devon, and doubtless in other counties, where good stone could be easily won, and was the common building material, not only for houses and cottages, but also for barns and cowsheds. But there are no records whatever respecting such erections. My own conjecture, for what it may be worth, is that the masons in such districts continued the most primitive form of organisation—held their annual assemblies at some traditional spot on a traditional day, and formed lodges *ad hoc* whenever required for admitting or accepting apprentices out of their time, and possibly on occasion other applicants too, into the society or fraternity.[1]

Though it is on the verge of irrelevance, a reference must be made here to the archaic ritual which, as I suppose, was the sole business of such temporary lodges. It was this ritual that was the nucleus, in a sense, of the organisation. Perhaps rather the living germ from which organisations sprang, for it was this common experience, coupled with the mutual obligations that were part of it, that held them together as a group. And not the working masons only, who had in addition, their common trade interests, but also (though later) non-operatives. And here I must say I do not think there was much interest in the ritual itself, save in exceptional cases. It was there it had to be performed, and that was all. Properly speaking, I suppose, it was a superstition—a man to be accepted or made, or whatever the term in use might have been, just as his wife would insist on having her baby christened with little or no idea of the meaning of the ceremony, but with full assurance that it would be a magical protection against fairies and witches.

We may, therefore, legitimately infer that when, later on, lodges arose in England of a permanent or continuous nature, it was for very different reasons than those that led to the development of the permanent trade lodges in Scotland.

THE RISE OF NON-OPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP

The phenomenon of non-operative membership in the fraternity is more remarkable than appears to us with our natural prepossessions. That there should be an occasional honorary member in a craft or trade organisation is normal enough, and I believe a good many instances might be collected of honorary members of gilds. But the influx of non-operative members into the Masonic Fraternity is something else entirely. The motives for it that have been occasionally advanced are quite improbable and inadequate to account for the proportion of such membership in both countries at, let us say, the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The cases of Sir Robert Murray, Colonel Mainwaring and Elias Ashmole may afford us a hint, each occurring in time of war or civil disturbance. It has not often been noted, and when spoken of but little dwelt upon, that the proportion of masons among men whose occupations or businesses take them from home and into other countries is much greater than among men of like condition or occupation who stay at home. And putting this fact, which was, I believe, as true two or three hundred years ago as it is to-day, with another, we may see what one powerful motive may have been. I refer to the troubles and unstable conditions in Britain in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These conditions were especially uncertain for men of the upper classes, who were often forced to take sides in political affairs in sheer self defence. It was often impossible to remain neutral, and yet adherence to any particular party might at any time lead to loss of property and

[1] Not as "Entered apprentices", but as Fellows and Masons; as at Warrington and York, and later, Alnwick and Swalwell.

even of life. To belong to a widely spread fraternity with a reputation of mutual assistance might well have seemed a kind of social insurance of a kind not thought of to-day, chiefly because unnecessary. This would at least have been a real motive in a continuously disturbed state of society.

THE UN-ACCEPTED MASONS

There is one other condition that should be borne in mind in order to have a true picture of the situation, and it may as well be disposed of here. There is no doubt that there were many working masons who were not of the fraternity, not only in England, but also in Scotland, where the full weight of the organised trade lodges was directed against them. In their brochure *The Scottish Mason,* Knoop and Jones refer to the use of the word "Cowan" by the masons of the lodges to designate three classes—Cowans by trade, masons who had picked up their knowledge, and masons who had served an apprenticeship, but had not been "entered". These latter, or perhaps the last two classes, were otherwise called "losses" and even "Lewises". *The Mason's Confession* calls them "drops" (presumably "eavesdroppers"), and defines them much as Kilwinning did in the early eighteenth century (with some impropriety seeing that "cowaning" was a trade in itself) as "masons without the word", which implies that they had not been entered. This should be sufficient to indicate the existence of such a class in Scotland. In England, because of the lack of information, this is more indefinite, though the probability is great that the class of lawfully apprenticed men who had never been "accepted" was of longer standing and more numerous in proportion than in Scotland. That the masons of London, at least, were generally in this class is to be inferred from the fact that only a minority were members of the *Accepcon.* And an incidental expression in the *Sloan* MS., "yt a free brother hath been there or a free brother coming", speaking of places where masons were employed, would imply that there might very possibly be none. I would suggest the possibility that in or near the larger towns this class was in a majority, while in smaller places and rural districts where the fraternity was still alive, every mason belonged to it as a matter of course. I suppose also that, as a general rule, there were no permanent lodges in such districts.

As this is only a complementary detail of the picture, it does not seem necessary to go into the matter further, though a good deal more might be said.

LONDON AND THE GREAT FIRE

The next step in the argument is to consider the effects of the Great Fire of London in 1666. This came between Ashmole's initiation and his attendance at the meeting of the *Accepcon,* as recorded in his Diary. We know definitely that all restrictive regulations in the building trade were suspended, and that many men came to London to seek employment. Among the carpenters, bricklayers, tilers and the rest there must have been some masons, and we may safely assume that a certain proportion of them had been "accepted". I should think it very probable there might also have been some from Scotland.

The situation thus produced must in various ways have been abnormal. First, we know that something in the nature of a lodge of accepted masons existed, as it were, in the bosom of the Masons' Company, but we know also that it meant nothing at all so far as trade control and employment went in London, whatever other purpose it may have served. Secondly, the powers of the company in this respect, whatever they may then have been, would not extend to or affect the immigrant masons, being as they were in suspense by virtue of Act of Parliament. Thirdly, that these new-comers were out of the reach of those institutions, lodges, assemblies or what not, that had exercised control over them in their original domiciles. And finally, it is unlikely that so many masons had ever before been congregated in so restricted an area. And as a further consideration arising from this, they would represent most of the existent forms of organisation, as well as the many variants of the traditional usages and ritual.

Thus the situation that must have resulted would be two groups of working masons, those of the company, and the "foreigners". The former it is hardly to be doubted, would have feelings of hostility towards the latter, but as there was plenty of work for all of them, this hostility would probably have remained in abeyance. Besides, in both groups, there would be those who belonged to the fraternity—not many possibly among the London men, but among the most influential. Of the immigrants, my own opinion would be that the proportion of "free brothers" or "accepted masons" would be considerably larger than among the London men. These accepted masons of both groups would be under certain obligations to each other and their influence would tend to prevent hostility from becoming acute. However this may be, whatever control the company or the *Accepcon* might have had over their own members, they would have none over the incomers. And they, coming it may be from all over Great Britain, would be far from homogeneous, and individually would be free from any restraint but their own personal adherence to the traditions of the

fraternity. This may well have been sufficiently effective among the great majority of them, yet we can hardly suppose that there would be none who would not succumb to the inducement of a good dinner and plenty to drink in return for assisting in a temporary lodge at the making of masons of those whose character or antecedents were quite unknown to them.

In the state of affairs indicated, any six or seven accepted masons, whether operative or non-operative, could at any time, in full accord with the old traditional usages of the fraternity be it remembered, form a true, or just and perfect lodge, and therein proceed to accept (make, admit, or initiate) new men, who thereby themselves also became, technically and legally at least, true and perfect masons, with the right, when they might choose, to carry on the process of propagation. Once started, the process could continue at an ever-increasing rate of acceleration.

THE AFTER EFFECTS OF THE BUILDING OF LONDON

In time the extra population of working masons would gradually depart as work got less, but the non-operative masons they had made would remain. Some of these would be eminently respectable, perhaps the greater number, gentlemen, clergymen, lawyers, burgesses and so on. But there were others. Recall the complaints of *Verus Commodus* and Prichard, as well as others less generally known and not so definite. These references have been to a large extent disregarded either as purely invented or greatly exaggerated. But was there no truth in their statements that tailors, weavers, vintners, drawers and other " inferior Tradesmen, Porters not excepted " (which last one would hardly think was a trade) had been admitted to the Society ? What we have to keep in mind is that once disreputable men were entered into the fraternity, there was at that time nothing at all to prevent them keeping on and introducing more and more of their kind, like bacteria in a culture tube—London being the tube. The old organisation had become ineffective, had palpably broken down, the checks that craft *esprit de corps* had once afforded were no longer operative. I think that during the last years of the seventeenth century and the first of the eighteenth, the situation had become, or was rapidly becoming, so demoralised that the stupidest and thickest-headed conservative would have been aware that something would have to be done to prevent the old Society becoming entirely demoded in the eyes of the general public—an appanage of beggars, sharpers and possibly thieves.

That by 1709 the general public had become sufficiently aware of the existence of the fraternity and its possession of secret means of recognition is sufficiently proved by Steele's allusion to it in the *Tatler* without any explanation, as an illustration to his satirical account of the " Pretty Fellows ". Later, there was a considerable number of references, mostly critical or hostile. *Verus Commodus* and Prichard rather give the impression that the introduction of undesirables was subsequent to and a result of the formation of the Grand Lodge. This is an absurd misrepresentation, for it was the chief preoccupation of the new organisation to check irresponsible admissions. But curiously, these contemporary impressions and assertions have been taken at their face value, and the implicit assumption would seem to be that the re-organisation in London in 1717 had no antecedents, and " just growed " like Topsy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW ARTICLES

I have to confess that I do not know whether any competent authority has reviewed the date of the *Harleian* MS. No. 1942 in recent years. Bro. Milborne suggests to me that our late Bro. Poole may have done so in his revision of Gould's *History*. Hughan and Gould, others concurring (but others again dissenting) agreed to 1670. To some extent what follows depends on that date, for if this is later than—let us say—1667 or 1668, I would suggest that the " New Articles " which first appear in that manuscript, originated with some far-seeing Brethren who were able to envisage the disorder that would result from the influx of relatively large numbers of outside Masons. But there is no evidence, only a great silence till the end of the century, scarcely broken by Ashmole's Diary and Aubrey's note. Hughan's opinion, cited by Gould in his *Concise History*, p. 117, that the New Articles " appear to have been agreed to by some Company or body of Freemasons having jurisdiction, in one form or another, over a number of lodges " is, to use the former's own favourite phrase in dissent, " merely fanciful ". For all the facts bearing on the point go to show that with the prohibition of the Assemblies there could hardly have been any such Company or body having jurisdiction anywhere in England, with possible minor exceptions in remote country districts, un-noted and probably unknown to anyone not immediately concerned. The ritual lodges, ephemeral as they were, were absolutely independent and owed no allegiance or duty to anyone, but only to the tradition which those who formed them had received.

It seems very likely that the projector (or projectors) of the reform embodied in these Articles was a member of the Masons' Company of London and, of course, of the *Accepcon*. But the proposals embodied in the Articles were also, at that juncture, impracticable. For one

thing, it is not the way of the English to make changes until the need for them is obvious to everyone ; and for another, and chiefly, because there was no authority anywhere to enforce the proposed reform. The only possible authority under the circumstances was the consent of a substantial majority, and, as the abuses consequent on the situation were only in embryo, as it were, this could not then emerge. Nevertheless, I think that the scheme advanced had a definite influence later on in shaping the reforms inaugurated in 1717.

The Articles are well worth consideration. They do not seem to have received more than superficial treatment at any time. They have often been reproduced, and I suppose as convenient a reference for most readers will be Gould's *History* (Vol. 1, p. 88) or Crowe's Revision of Gould's *Concise History*, p. 144-5. I have followed the transcript of the *Harleian* MS. in Hughan's *Old Charges*, first edition.

There are six of these New Articles, appended to a set of Old Charges of the usual type, and numbered in sequence following them. The last of these contains the form of oath to be administered to the entrant when he is accepted. The third and fourth provide, rather blindly, although the intention is clear enough, for registration of everyone who was already a member of the fraternity or who should thereafter become one. The reason given for the entering of these names " in parchment in a roll " is that the " whole Company and Fellows may the better know each other ". This seems to indicate that the author was familiar with the list of the accepted Masons " in a faire inclosed frame with lock and key " mentioned in an Inventory of 1665 in the archives of the Masons' Company.

The first, second and fifth articles all deal with matters already provided for in the Old Charges, but with further details, evidently added to make them more stringent. The old requirement was that the entrant was to be free born, of respectable parents and able-bodied. The new one adds that he is to be of good reputation and law-abiding. This looks like an attempt to remedy slackness on that point.

The Old Charge said, " You shall not . . . make any one mason without the privity and consent of five or six of your fellows ". The first of the New Articles puts it differently. " 26. Noe person (of what degree soever) bee accepted a free Mason, unless hee shall have a lodge of five free Masons ; at least, whereof one to bee a master, or warden, of that limitt, or devision, wherein such lodge shalbee kept, & another of the trade of Free Masonry ".

There are a number of implications to be extracted from this brief statement. It is not to be supposed that " the privity and consent " of five or six masons of the Old Charges (it is in the 15th article of the *Harleian* MS.) did not imply the forming of a lodge, though this is not mentioned. The fact that it is specifically required in the New Articles is rather to be understood as a reinforcement and a more definite statement of the old traditional usage which had been slackly observed in some cases, and which, with increasing laxity, might come to be ignored entirely. It is also obvious from the parenthesis that the introduction of non-operatives of all social ranks and conditions was expected and provided for. At the same time, the insistence upon the presence of an operative mason, one " of the trade of Free Masonry ", would appear to show an intention or desire to preserve a living connection of the fraternity with the operative craft out of which it had sprung. A further possibility appears to be suggested that in the place or locality for which the New Articles were proposed, the non-operatives were already numerous and perhaps in a majority.

The purpose of one other requirement, that one of those present was to be a master or warden of the limit or division, may be surmised by taking it with the fifth of the new articles. This first of all re-enacts more definitely the authority of the Annual Assembly. The Old Charges require that every mason is under obligation to attend the assembly under reasonable conditions, such as knowing when and where it was to be held, to be living within a certain distance (which varies in different exemplars) and not being ill or absent from his domicile. And it also, by implication, indicates that complaints, quarrels, and infraction of Masonic rules and customs were there to be dealt with. That is, the assembly was a court, in the mediæval sense of the term, analogous to the annual assembly of the tin miners or of the minstrels or, for that matter, of the manor courts. The fifth of the New Articles says " 30. That for the future the sayd Society, Company & Fraternity of Free Masons shalbee regulated & governed by one master, & Assembly, & Wardens, as ye said Company shall think fit to chose at every yearely generall assembly ". It is evident that these Wardens are not officers of the same type exactly as our Wardens of Lodges, or Grand Wardens. They could not have been because their number was apparently indeterminate and their functions quite different. We can hardly avoid the inference, taking the two articles together, that what was proposed was the division of the whole territorial area over which the " one master & Assembly " had jurisdiction (and the word " one " may be significant used in this connection) into convenient, well defined districts, and a Warden appointed for each, and that his function was to be present at every lodge formed in his district for admitting new members, and also, of course, to consent to the admission. Presumably, he was also to give the newly accepted Mason a certificate and to report to the " one " Master, who again was apparently to report to the Assembly, for so the second article seems to imply. The Wardens, therefore,

were to be responsible men, who would veto improper and unqualified candidates and see that the ancient usages were not neglected or infringed upon.

The later versions, as the *McNab* MS., and the Roberts print, omit the word " Assembly ", and the former says that there are to be two Wardens only. These changes would seem to show adaptation to a different state of affairs than existed in 1660 or 1670, notably in the formation of lodges of the social type.

The arrangement set forth in the New Articles in their earliest form, does not seem very workable, though some of the gaps would be filled by the proposed system of certificates and registration. But it must be remembered that anyone proposing reforms naturally, and indeed inevitably, starts with the state of affairs actually existing, and from this we must infer, that aside from the ephemeral " ritual lodges " no lodges existed.

THE NATURE OF THE ACCEPCON

What, then, was the *Accepcon?* It has been supposed by everyone, including myself, that it was a lodge ; but was it ? It was a group who had been accepted, their names were recorded, and presumably the list of them placed where anyone might see it, but did this group have regular or even irregular meetings ? I think, since reconsidering the New Articles, that, it did not, but that when there were to be admissions a requisite number of those qualified were collected to form a lodge for the purpose and that everything else was under the control of the Masons' Company. When Ashmole recorded his attendance at a lodge, so he speaks of it, in Masons' Hall in 1682 (twelve years later than the assumed date of the *Harleian* MS. No. 1942), he gives the names of nine who were present—he calls them Fellows—making ten with himself. Did the *Accepcon* number no more ? In his paper on the Masons' Company (A.Q.C. IX, p. 28) Conder gives a list of 34 names (by some slip calling them 32). But Conder adds that his list is very far from being complete. However, the argument is inconclusive, as even if the *Accepcon* were a lodge, and all the members were notified, there might still be many absentees. A stronger argument appears in a fact which Conder shows and Rylands, in the discussion, emphasises, though without drawing any inference from it, that the Company had control of all financial matters connected with the " accepting " of members of the Company and others. The Lodge, if lodge it were, would be left without any business to transact and its only function a ritual one—which a lodge *ad hoc* could perform as well. Rylands (*A.Q.C.* IX. p. 48) added that he was inclined to think there were no subscriptions or dues, and " that if a meeting were held without the admission of new members, those present made themselves " a club " as it was called, and paid share and share alike "—for the refreshment expenses one presumes. But apparently he did not see the significance of this. A group of Masons who pay nothing and who have nothing to say about who is to be initiated is hardly a lodge in any sense we ever give to the term.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL LODGE

But we know that thirty odd years later there were lodges in London, which we may describe as permanent, even if, in many cases, they were short lived, as it is very probable they were, considering somewhat later conditions when it appears that lodges were constituted and erased in a most casual manner. It does not seem a long time for such an evolution apparently so radical—but many changes can take place in thirty years, as anyone over fifty knows by experience. The period of the late decades of the seventeenth century—and the early ones of the eighteenth—was the era of the clubs. They were so much in vogue that very few respectable taverns were without one or more meeting regularly on their premises. They were easily formed, and apparently as easily ceased to exist. A few men collected by chance found their mutual society and conversation so congenial that a regular club to meet every week, or twice a month, was proposed. Others would join. Certain formalities were common—as for instance having a chairman or president, distinguished by wearing his hat while the rest were uncovered, and so on. What more likely in such an atmosphere than that a few masons, whether operative or non-operative, should form a club, and having done this, they should adopt some formalities appropriate to their masonic character. Thus the English or, as I would designate it, the social form of lodge could have arisen, entirely different from the Scottish type interested primarily in trade affairs.

Such club lodges, naturally, could also initiate anyone they wished to have as a member, seeing that any six or seven of the members could form a " ritual " lodge for the purpose, very much as the *Philo-Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas* did in 1725 and later, in spite of the protests of the Grand Lodge. This would (if the idea had not already arisen through other causes) connect the accepting or making masons with a more definitely organised group than the older and ephemeral type of lodge, and this again might re-act in the development of formality in the proceedings of such masonic clubs.

There is also another purpose such groups could have served. A non-operative, who got himself initiated, for whatever reason, in one of the old type of lodge, as Dr. Stukely did, would face a difficulty if he wanted to make any use of his Masonry. He would have had certain means of recognition communicated to him. But very few men would have sufficient power of observation to take them all in in the process of the initiation, or to remember them afterwards. And as the lodge immediately disbanded, the initiate might never have had any further contact with those who admitted him. In the case of an operative mason there would be no difficulty, for he would be in daily contact with other masons, as a matter of course, and even if he were in a place where many working masons were not members of the fraternity, he could almost always find one who was, who would answer his questions and instruct him. But most non-operatives would probably find it a matter of inconvenience, if not of real difficulty, to find an instructor. Masonic clubs or social lodges would meet this difficulty, and this would help to account for the fact that the lodges in the early years of the Grand Lodge, and indeed all through the eighteenth century, seem to have regarded mutual instruction as an important, if not the principal purpose of their communications. Such clubs as I suggest might have arisen would not un-naturally, in fact very naturally, have come to be called lodges, because like the older casual lodges, they could make Masons even if they did not actually do so. With our ideas of regularity, it is difficult to realise such a state of affairs in which there was no authority external to the group, and clandestinism did not exist, simply because every mason had the inherent right, without restriction, to assist at the making of masons in any place or at any time without regard to anyone but those immediately concerned with himself. It is in some such way as this that the new type of social lodge could have come into existence.

It is true that the circumstances that arose in London did not exist anywhere else, so that the development of the social lodge elsewhere would have to be ascribed either to other motives or to imitation. However, we know of only three or four that may, in the seventeenth century, have been of this type—the three that have been earlier mentioned. Of these three, there is nothing to show the character of the lodge at Warrington in 1646. For anything, we are told, it may have been a casual lodge. On the other hand, the tradition of an annual assembly may have led those who were present, and perhaps others, to have met once a year for a feast. The same thing might have come about at Chester,[1] for there again there is really nothing to show that there were meetings other than to form a lodge to make free masons. At York—but the record is not of the seventeenth century, though we can fairly assume that it had had an earlier existence—we do find a lodge meeting at fairly frequent intervals. But these " private " lodges again may have grown up round the annual general lodge. However, this is merely a side issue, for what I am trying to show is how in London, in the space of thirty or forty years, the custom grew up of forming lodges of more or less permanence—lodges, not one lodge.

THE GRAND LODGE AS AN ASSEMBLY

Now we come to an examination of the early records of the Grand Lodge, and if my reconstruction of preceding events is approximately (let us say) correct, there should be traces of them to be observed by the discerning eye. The old Fraternity depended upon the *esprit de corps* of the members of a highly skilled trade, but under the conditions postulated this was no longer effective, for the operatives were already in a minority. The interests of the non-operatives were quite different, and, I expect, far from homogeneous.

Now in the early years of the eighteenth century, the better class, the respectable and intelligent, among the masons in London would have (one would think probable) a tendency to form or to join one of the lodges, which, as has been suggested above, had been working towards permanency. It is possible that the necessity of reforms was discussed here and there. And as all Masons, or at least all who had gained some knowledge of the traditions of the fraternity, were familiar with the fact that the Assembly, or an Assembly, was the only legislative body known in Masonry, the calling of one was, perhaps, one of the questions considered. This gives some light on the preliminary meeting of the four old lodges, when it was resolved to hold the Annual Assembly. Anderson here suggests that it had been held previously, but this is highly doubtful, unless many years before this the *Accepcon* had had an annual meeting and feast.

But unless all Masons in the district or jurisdiction (to use a modern term) were notified, any decisions made could hardly be valid. Presumably, then, means of greater or less efficiency were adopted to call an Assembly on St. John's Day, 1717. It may have been through such lodges as were known to be in existence, or by advertisement in newspapers. At least, following

[1] In their valuable paper, *The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester* (*A.Q.C.*, xlv, p. 68), Bros. Coulthurst and Lawson show the existence of a society, company or gild of masons at Chester in the seventeenth century, but the evidence they adduce does not prove the existence of a permanent lodge. But to discuss this is outside the limits of the present paper.

Anderson, an Assembly was called, and presumably a reasonable number of Masons were present, though we can hardly suppose it to have been large enough to be really representative from a legalistic point of view, considering the limited accommodation of the tavern where it met. We learn no more, beyond the names of those elected to the offices of Grand Master and Grand Wardens until 1721, when Payne presented to the Assembly what Dr. Stukeley called "a new sett of articles to be observ'd", which Anderson said, in 1723, had been compiled in 1720, and which he published under the heading of "General Regulations". That during these three years they were not the subject of some discussion seems more than improbable; while that Anderson could have materially changed or amended them of his own motion, without protest from Payne at least, is surely impossible. We may, therefore, take them as embodying the reforms proposed and the means to put them into effect as approved, in principle at least, by those who were present at the meetings.

But a difference of opinion evidently did arise, as appears from the Minutes of Grand Lodge, actually the first extant and probably the first recorded. It would be aside from our purpose to discuss this point fully, but this much must be said about the question raised. The new body or organ began as an Assembly, with an elected (Grand) Master at its head. In six years a second body, a sort of "upper house" had been evolved, in the first place probably as an executive, but which was fast becoming, or had already become, the paramount power. This was the body of the Masters and Wardens of the particular lodges. This body, it is said, had ordered in January, 1723, the printing and publishing of the Constitutions which had been "before approved in Manuscript" by it. The book had thereupon been published and put on sale the following month. The question raised was the validity of this order to publish. And it must be said that according to the Regulations as published, this action was *ultra vires*. It was a great innovation, to say the least, and according to the last article it should have been submitted to and approved by the Assembly. But a decision was avoided on the point by the parliamentary device of moving the previous question, though the Assembly, nevertheless, went on record as denying "the power of any person, or Body of men" to make innovations without the consent of the "Annual Grand Lodge"—that is the Assembly. But the victory was only verbal and formal—the Grand Lodge in the other sense—that is the Grand Master with the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges in their Quarterly Communications—went on their way to complete power. The process was inevitable. The term "Grand Lodge" was then ambiguous and used without discrimination both for the Assembly of all masons and the body of the officers of lodges. And though this latter fairly represented the lodges, it could not be said to represent the masons who were not lodge members who, to begin with, were probably quite in the majority. From the first Assembly, in 1717 until 1723, the new or reformed organisation had, it is sufficiently evident, undergone a process of rapid evolution. As the Assembly evidently became more numerous and unwieldy an executive was needed, and this, in the nature of human institutions, would arrogate to itself more and more power of control. It must be remembered, too, that up till 1721—and probably till 1723 or so—all lodges represented in the Assembly would be self-constituted.

Even as first published, the Regulations remained rather chaotic and certainly unsystematic, for they embodied in a mixture what we would call Articles of Constitution and matters properly of the nature of By-laws. However, the crucial points are more or less grouped in the earlier Articles. Interesting as it would be to follow the traces of this constitutional evolution, we must confine ourselves to those enactments that embody the scheme of reform. The first regulation, then, makes the Grand Master, in effect, the Master of every Lodge, so far as the necessities of time and space allowed. In consequence, the elected Masters of Lodges became, in effect, no more than his special deputies to act when he was not present.

The fifth and sixth articles of the Regulations taken together forbid the casual admission of applicants; notice has to be given, all members advised, and unanimous consent is required. This obviously abolishes the ancient type of casual ritual lodges, though a trace of the old procedure was left, in that a lodge could initiate a man without his becoming a member of it. And they also, by implication, forbid what was originally (and is properly) understood by clandestinism, that is, initiating a candidate by some of the members of a lodge without the knowledge of the remainder. This prohibition arose out of the enactment, for under the old rule, the consent of those actually present was sufficient.

It is worth noting that these Regulations embody the essentials of the Harleian New Articles, taking into account the necessary modifications due to the great changes in the situation which had come about in the forty-six or seven years that had elapsed since they were first proposed. The "one Master and Assembly" became the Grand Master and the Grand Lodge, and whoever it was who originated these terms, they were excellent and effective advertising. The chief difference between the two schemes was the abandonment of the territorial divisions and their wardens, and putting the responsibility upon the Master and Wardens of the Lodges of seeing that the precautions against the admission of unfit men were taken. This was a much more workable plan, but one that, of course, could not

have been proposed before the advent of permanent particular lodges. The key enactment was the prohibition of "irregular" lodges, that is, lodges formed without the consent and authorisation of the Grand Master, and through him of the Assembly. Regular lodges, that is, *lodges under a rule,* thus came into existence.

That these new requirements were acceded to without dissensions would be too much to expect. Tradition and old habits are not abolished in a day. In November of the same year a resolution was passed at a Quarterly Meeting reaffirming the substance of Regulation XII and, according to Gould, another in 1724. There were complaints of the formation of irregular lodges, and without doubt many more were formed that the Grand Lodge never heard of. It took years for the old traditions to die out entirely. And there would also be the detrimentals who, as a matter of course, would pay no attention to these restrictions upon their activities, and, besides these, there would also be men who, while agreeing at one time to the need for the reforms, would on occasion forget all about them. These we have always with us!

I am also inclined to think that the operative masons, such of them, that is, who had been accepted into the fraternity, would tend to draw into themselves and ignore the reformed organisation entirely. At least, I have heard of a strong prejudice among masons, expressed in very contemptuous and rather opprobrious terms. Such was the tradition received by my informant, who was apprenticed to the trade in his youth and later in life became a Free Mason in Canada. And the age of his chief informant carries this traditional dislike back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and, as there seems to be no special reason for its arising then, it could possibly derive from the formation of the Grand Lodge. Then, again, there was the group called Honorary Masons referred to by Dr. Desaguliers in 1730. These, by the title, would seem to be masons who had set up a rival organisation which was to exclude all operatives and probably other "low people". And it may have given rise to the baseless assertion frequently made of a purpose on the part of the Grand Lodge to crowd out all the operatives. As for some years an operative mason was chosen as one of the Grand Wardens, it would appear, on the contrary, that there was an intention or desire to maintain the connection, in this also following the New Articles.

But, it may be asked, if these were the conditions under which the Grand Lodge system was inaugurated, why was not at least some indication given of them in 1723, when Anderson published his new version of the old legend of the craft and brought its history down to the year 1722? I am not quite sure that there are no indications, but it is true that there are none on the surface. Anderson has not been altogether fairly treated. He has been criticised as if he had written a history in the modern conception of what history should be. He was, I am sure, not an historian at all, but wrote as what to-day would be called a propagandist. The new reform needed a background, and he supplied one. If it was as impossible in its details as a stock drop scene at the back of the stage in a theatre, it served the purpose. He re-wrote the legend of the craft; whether the criticisms offered in the communications of the craft prior to 1723 were mainly directed against the Charges, the Regulations or the "history", we do not know—but Anderson, in the latter, wrote as a journalist to-day might tell the story of King Arthur's birth or Ulysses' experiences among the Phaeacians. He had the gap to fill between the Assembly at York and Grand Master Montagu. In filling this in he touched on the law of Henry VI against the masons' assemblies and plausibly showed that they were a dead letter from the beginning, and in doing so observes what Salzman has re-discovered, that no action was ever taken under the law. Which, incidentally, makes one wonder how much more he knew that he did not tell. He makes an observation that in the reign of James I "the Lodges of Free-Masons in London much dwindled into Ignorance", but gives only a suggestion of a reason which is not even plausible, and later on gives us to understand that in London the lodges were "drooping" without even a suggestion of a reason.

Perhaps he gave so much space to the law of Henry VI against the assemblies because there was a floating opinion among the masons in London that the whole business of calling an assembly was illegal and technically a felony. And this may have been advanced by those who raised objection to the reforms. If so, the "Postscript" on page 57 of the original Book of 1723 would have been very much to the point.

As I take it, the whole fraternity in London was well aware of the conditions actually existing, and neither the leaders nor the rank and file had any desire to have them described in cold print for the world to discuss and deride. Following the homely proverb, they did not want the Masonic dirty linen to be washed in public. Yet I expect the facts were fairly generally known. It was years later that *Verus Commodus,* in his *Letter to a Friend,* described the situation very much as I have reconstructed it from the circumstances that gave rise to it, and Prichard, in 1730, as noted earlier, also alludes to it. The reformation could not reach its full effect until the detrimentals and their corrupted traditions died out, which would take, perforce, a good many years.

In 1738, Anderson published his *New Book*, which contained a much-worked-over version of his *History*. If in 1723 he produced a history of architecture, in the second attempt he provided what is really, when examined, a legend of Grand Masters to replace the old legend of the Craft. At the end of it—before he comes to what was then recent history—he hints delicately that things got into a bad way, partly through the negligence of the officers of lodges and partly through the Society not having a Noble Grand Master, and then lays part of the blame on Sir Christopher Wren, who was not noble, but only gentle, so that with his age and infirmity he was not much to blame, after all.

To illustrate the emphasis Anderson placed upon Grand Masters in this legend, I will offer one instance. He cites the New Articles, which it is generally supposed he took from the Roberts' print. If this was his source, he read in the fifth of the New Articles that for the future the Society was to be governed by "one master" and an undetermined number of wardens, but he wrote "one Grand Master". So also the first article ran: "No person . . . be accepted a Free Mason unless he shall have a lodge of five Free-Masons at the least", which he modified into "be made or accepted . . . unless in a regular lodge". Grand Masters and regular lodges go together, and, before the advent of the former, the latter could not and did not exist. As all lodges were thereafter, in theory, to be regular, in order to obtain an appropriate background for the reforms the Grand Masters had to be antedated, and so a procession of them was painted in on the drop scene of the Masonic stage.

Anderson did his job very efficiently, for the myth he created has "held the eyes" of Masons so that they "might not see" for over two hundred years, in spite of the fact that he and his work have been severely criticised from the very beginning. It must be said, though, that earlier criticism was very shallow. The reason has been, I think, that there was a blank which he filled with an imaginative construction which had a certain coherence, such as, let us say, the sequence of events related in Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. His picture has drawn our attention from the fact that the questions to which we should have demanded an answer were left unanswered and, indeed, ignored.

In conclusion, I might point out again that if my reconstruction is in accordance with the real facts, the transformation of the fraternity from a loose, inchoate, traditional institution —if it may be called so much as that—into the highly organised and fairly efficient legislative and executive machine we know to-day was made step by step in full accord with the custom and law of the time and place. The Assembly was the legislative body for so many as could reasonably be expected to attend it, and it was sovereign and independent. But in London the Assembly rapidly grew into an unwieldy mass meeting, inefficient in legislation and incapable as an executive. The elective body of Masters and Wardens inevitably (with friction and bickering doubtless) became the real power and, once the older generation died out, became really representative of the whole fraternity. But to trace this out, and to account for York and perhaps Chester and Warrington, and the desire among masons outside the London area to join the new organisation, go beyond the question to which I undertook to provide a tentative answer.

I have again to thank Bro. Milborne for his valuable assistance and suggestions, most of which I have followed, and also for the practical help in verifying my references and, more than that, in making a fair copy of the MS. I am not sure, however, how far he agrees with my argument, but, then, I do not at all expect that the reconstruction of the circumstances under which the Grand Lodge evolved will meet general approval, though I trust it may be considered worth discussion and putting on record.

At the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Meekren for his paper, and to Bro. Grantham for the delightful and clear manner in which he had read it, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. G. S. Draffen, J. R. Rylands and Norman Rogers. Owing to the lateness of the hour, it was impossible to continue the debate.

The W.M. said:—

Brethren, as Bro. Meekren himself says, no reason seems ever to have been formulated for the emergence of Grand Lodge. We are all so accustomed to Grand Lodge as an almost time-immemorial body that it never occurred to us that its first formation must have had a specific cause. Bro. Meekren has done the Craft much service in putting forward his most provocative theory, even if it is of a more hypothetical nature than we have come to expect in papers read in this Lodge; and I hope that, in consequence, our discussion will be more than usually interesting.

With regard to the " Assembly ", it seems to me that Bro. Meekren confuses what must surely be two different things: first, the Assembly spoken of in the Old Charges, which was apparently intended to be a non-secret gathering attended by Sheriff, Mayor, Knights, Squires and Aldermen, and, secondly, the " Chapters and Congregations " prohibited by the Act of Henry VI, which obviously could not have been held in presence of the Sheriff or Mayor, and which we may presume to have been semi-secret meetings of Operatives acting as a Trade Union. But as the only evidence we have for the existence of either form is that of the Old Charges and the Act, it seems useless to speculate further.

To edit the work of another is both difficult and thankless, and we owe Bro. Grantham our warm gratitude for the skilful manner in which he has selected the reading version of the paper, and for the excellent way in which he has delivered it.

I have much pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Meekren for his most interesting paper, and to Bro. Grantham for preparing and reading it.

Bro. B. W. OLIVER, S.W., said:—

It gives me great pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Meekren for his excellent paper. We accept that " Grand Lodge " was a new title. " General Lodge " or " General Assembly " seems a natural enough description for its beginnings. For the Devon Tinners, it was " The Assembly ", " The Great Court " or " The Tinners' Parliament ".

Poor old Bro. James Anderson has been dealt some very hard blows by modern Masonic historians, and one is grateful to Bro. Meekren that, at the end of his paper, he pays tribute to the good work done by Anderson ; yet at the beginning he belabours him right soundly! Is Bro. Meekren quite fair when he says: " Anderson's suggestion that Lodges in London were drooping, because of the neglect of the aged Sir Christopher Wren, is a reason from the land of moonshine " ?

Admittedly, little proof is forthcoming that Wren was himself a Freemason, but, even if he was not, he must have been in the closest possible touch with the Operative Masons, and their well-being must have depended greatly on his recognition of their Lodges.

Of course, the name of Sir Christopher Wren was too well known for Anderson to miss the opportunity of using it ; but is he not really telling us that Wren's life work was nearing its end, the rebuilding of the City almost completed, and that as the number of masons working there dropped, so, perforce, their Lodges were " drooping " ?

As Bro. Meekren so rightly says, there was " an adequate and a compelling reason " for the formation of a governing body, if the Lodges were to be prevented from degenerating into mere clubs, and if the Landmarks of Freemasonry were to be preserved.

I would have preferred Bro. Meekren to say, " that the reason was so obvious at the time, the need to mention it did not arise ", rather than his " it was one about which the less said the better ".

One must agree with the conclusion reached, that early Lodges were not of the permanent character they are to-day, but were formed where, for the time being, a number of Masons were assembled, until its members were dispersed to form new congregations at new meeting places.

As the paper points out, London, from the year 1666, was especially favourable to a more permanent set-up. For a period of at least fifty years, Masons from many parts of the country were in much closer communion than had ever before happened for so large a number.

Amongst early Lodges recorded in the Provinces are many in the Cathedral Cities, where a permanent staff of Masons would be employed, and it should be noted that they were soon willing to receive a Warrant from the new organisation ; so it would seem that not only in London was felt the need for a central and controlling body.

Bro. Meekren's papers are always stimulating. A previous one of his " The Lodge ", stimulated me to write a short paper on the " Tinners of Devon ". I have no doubt this present paper will set many of us searching our reference books and finding that we have been given a new outlook on some of the problems he has suggested.

I heartily second the vote of thanks to Bro. Meekren for his excellent and valuable paper.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

One cannot help but respect Bro. Meekren's work, and especially that on the Aitchison's Haven minutes, and his deductions therefrom regarding the " Two degree theory ". But, in this paper, I have really failed to understand what he is trying to prove, except that he is " trailing his coat ". Certainly, I have a better idea, after hearing Bro. Ivor Grantham reading a summary than I had after reading the rough proof six times. Bro. Meekren does not try

to propound an answer to the question in his opening paragraph, and on this there is much more evidence than he has given.

First of all, much as we may think that Anderson fabricated some of his historical details in the 1738 *Constitutions*, yet we must agree that the transition from Operative to Speculative Freemasonry was a slow growth, extending over many generations, as it was, also, in Scotland. The ceremony of acceptance, for instance, must have undergone some changes, the evidence for which extends from the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. of 1696 to Smith's *Pocket Companion* of 1735, the Charge in which must surely have been the result of many decades.

It is true that *Verus Commodus* (1725) and Pritchard (1730) give the impression that the undesirables were subsequent to, and the result of, the formation of Grand Lodge ; but was either of these a good example to quote, for *Verus Commodus* was an attack on the Freemasons in favour of the Gormogons ? In any case, surely they misrepresent the position, for it was the chief preoccupation of the new organisation set up in 1717 to check irresponsible admissions, as Grand Lodge minutes progressively show.

What was the position in the first six years ? The meeting at Grand Lodge in June, 1721, was stated to have been attended by between two and three hundred (Robbins, *A.Q.C.*, xxii), and Anderson stated that sixteen Lodges were then represented. Dr. Stukeley mentions in his Diary that " amongst others present at the Dinner were the Duke of Montague, Ld. Herbert, Ld. Stanhope & Sir And. Fountain ". He also said that *he* was made a Freemason at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock Street (a Lodge not now in existence), when " there was difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony ". He follows, " Immediately upon that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members." Notice, however, that the " it " mentioned must have been the Lodge, for he adds, " After this it became a public fashion, not only spread over Brittain and Ireland, but all of Europe." Does this not support Anderson to some extent ?

Again, in *Early Masonic Pamphlets* (p. 37) is discussed the possibility that Lords were members of the Fraternity before 1710, and it would seem (p. 30) that the existence of Accepted Freemasonry was known to more than the members of the London Masons' Company. Does not Dr. Plot, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), state that the custom of admitting men into the Society of Freemasons was " of greater request " in that county, though it was " spread more or less all over the nation " ? Yet, there are no records of Lodges in that county at such an early date.

When we examine the Engraved List of Lodges of 1723, along with the Grand Lodge Minute Book of that year (*Q.C.A.*, x), we find that 52 Lodges are named, of which the dates of constitution of no less than 26 (half) have not been ascertained. Hughan stated that a careful scrutiny of this 1723 List pointed to the existence of five " Time Immemorial " Lodges being then on the List, and this statement is quite true, for there is one before the fourth of those supposed to have formed Grand Lodge (*vide* Lane's *Masonic Records*, p. 4).

Grand Lodge Minute Book shows 16 of these 52 Lodges as making no return, the other 36 having a total of 732 members, *i.e.*, an average of over 20, but with a range from nine to 71 members—and we must realise that this does not imply that all the members were registered, for, even in the nineteenth century, non-registration persisted.

One can scarcely credit that the number of new Lodges attached to Grand Lodge grew in the six years from 1717 to 1723 from four (or even the six of Multa Paucis) to 52, but rather is it conceivable that there were more in London than we know of, and that existing Lodges attached themselves to the new organisation.

It is true that the Original Grand Lodge was formed to control the Lodges " within the Bills of Mortality ", as, directly, it does those to-day within this 10-mile limit, but it was not long before this jurisdiction extended to country Lodges, the first being in 1724.

Bro. Meekren makes great play about the " Roberts Articles ", but has he ever considered that they applied to one part of the country—say, the North-East—and not to the whole ? Further, Knoop and Jones stated that the Lodge at Chester to which Randle Holme III belonged was, like that at Warrington, not an occasional Lodge, but of a more permanent character (*E.M.P.*, p. 1), and we must not forget that there was a Provincial Grand Master of Cheshire as early as 1725.

Now for the answer to the question propounded at the beginning. All the evidence goes to prove that there were already, before 1717, a number of Lodges in existence both in London and the country. Grand Lodge was undoubtedly formed in 1717 for the same purpose as that advanced for the formation of the Antients' Grand Lodge in 1751, when, according to the Declaration, the Lodges met " to revive the Ancient Craft ". A perusal of Grand Lodge 1st Minute Book (*Q.C.A.*, vol. x) will convince the reader that the first few decades were devoted to the setting up of the organisation on a sound basis, which was again strengthened by the Union of 1813 and its extended regulations.

If this paper is designed to prove that the General Assembly of 1663, mentioned in the Roberts' Print, developed into the Grand Lodge of 1717, the evidence is far too vague to be acceptable, though Bro. Meekren has performed a worthy task in gathering it together.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN said:—

I am sure we are all very much indebted to Bro. Meekren for his most interesting paper. It reminds us—perhaps with something of a jolt—that all we really *know* about the foundation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717 could be written on one side of a sheet of notepaper.

I rather think that this paper poses more questions than it answers. It is Bro. Meekren's view that Anderson's suggestion that the Lodges in London were (in 1717) "drooping" is a *suggestio falsi*, but is this the case? I am in agreement with Bro. Meekren when he suggests that, after the Great Fire of London in 1666, there would be a large influx of building tradesmen to London, and I see no reason why the masons among them should not have formed their own private Lodges. Indeed, each particular building may have had its own private Lodge. Since Sir Christopher Wren was the architect for the greater number of these buildings, it is not impossible that he did call "General Assemblies" to discuss the progress of the various works and to arrange equitably rates of pay, etc., irrespective of whether the men were employed in cutting the stones for St. Paul's Cathedral or any of the other numerous Wren churches. After the reconstruction of London it would not be unnatural for the mason trade to "droop", particularly if the itinerant masons were to return to their home towns. Mind you, Anderson may well have been making a "shot in the dark", but at least it has the basis of possibility, if not probability.

It seems to me that the crux of the question lies in the fact that the Assembly in 1717 was probably composed very largely of "non-operative" rather than operative masons. Why? Here we would appear to have a number of men with no direct connection with the mason trade taking an active part in resuscitating a well-nigh derelict operative guild.

What was their objective in so doing? In my view, these early "non-operative" Brethren took over an almost defunct organisation and successfully grafted on to it a system of philosophy which, for its symbolism, drew upon the mason trade. An examination of the surviving "rituals", such as the *Edinburgh Register House* MS., the *Chetwode Crawley* MS. and the Kevan MS., show a very crude ceremonial of, at the most, two degrees—a ceremonial, in fact, which could be gone through completely in the matter of little more than three-quarters of an hour in its entirety, and yet, within the space of fifteen years, or even a shorter period, it had expanded to three full-blown ceremonies, each taking at least an hour to work. One of these ceremonies, moreover, is completely different from anything practised by the pre-1717 Brethren.

In his opening paragraph, Bro. Meekren states that it was I who posed the question which forms the subject of this paper, and he reminds us that I did not answer it. In my view, the Grand Lodge of England was formed with the deliberate intention of spreading that "peculiar system of philosophy", now known as Freemasonry, to as wide an extent as it was possible to do. And we know with what success their endeavours have met. If we want to know the reasons behind the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, I think we will have to turn our attention to the private lives, religious upbringing, theological outlook and philosophical views of such eminent men as Dr. Desaguliers and his fellow members of the Royal Society. In my view, Freemasonry as we know it to-day simply did not exist in 1717. Who devised it, and why, is still unknown, but my guess is that, having devised it, tested it and found it good, they looked round for a suitable vehicle with which to spread its tenets, and, as a result, grafted their system of philosophy on to a dying guild which had in it a crude Admission Ceremony, conducted in secret, thus giving the progenitors of the new philosophy a fertile soil in which to sow their seed.

Bro. ERIC WARD said:—

I am sorry that Bro. Meekren did not summarise his conclusions, because occasionally I find difficulty in following him, and may have misunderstood his reasoning.

Thus, I fail to see why the author, having as I think rightly pointed out that the Statute 3, Hen. VI, c.l. 1425, was directed at relatively small local gatherings intent on increasing wages, should go on to say that "it could and probably did check all external developments", and then later, *e.g.*, under "New Articles", revert to the old idea that the assemblies prohibited by this statute were super-territorial organisations, and that the whole craft was in some way suppressed. The statute clearly speaks of chapters, plural, and contains nothing to suggest any difference from the annual gatherings of all crafts in their local halls. Indeed, it seems to me that this statute, linked as it obviously is with that of 1423 [1] and, still earlier, the London City proclamation of 1383 [2] prohibiting congregations in any crafts, was directed not at the whole craft of masons, but at that section mainly comprised of permanent wage earners. This is because in the London Masons' 1356 Ordinances [3] there is a clause

[1] 4, Henry V, c. iv.
[2] Riley, *Memorials*, p. 480.
[3] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 249.

dealing at length with work to be taken by contract, which meant that some masons were even then employers and hardly likely to conspire to increase wages. The point I am trying to make, namely, that it was not the action of assembling but the anti-wage-freeze agenda therein implied that was the cause of the trouble, is illustrated by the ferocity of a Proclamation issued in Bristol *c.* 1450 [1] against all covines. It required that masters of crafts were not to permit journeymen and apprentices to commune in their halls without special licence from the masters, and those servants who presumed even to enter these halls were to be treated as " riotters and conventiclers against the King's peace and his laws " and sent to the King for punishment. Everyone, masters who permitted and servants who committed, were to be regarded as equally guilty and treated as felons.

The reason why Salzman did not discover prosecutions was that the 1425 Statute was a stupid law which the masons could laugh out of court, for whenever the same King caused them to be impressed for his work, *e.g.*, Eton College in 1441,[2] he automatically connived at promoting assemblies.

Incidentally, since Bro. Meekren has become a convert to the omneitous metropolis school by suggesting London as the only place where there were sufficient masons to form a company, I must point out that such an operative organisation exclusively masonic existed in Bristol at about the time of the above proclamation and statute, and seems to have continued thus until 1571, from which date it lost prestige for another reason, along with the companies of the Carpenters and the Tylers. In 1672 it was very much alive and had new ordinances approved by the City Authorities. Thus, the Act of 1425 did not abolish the organisation, nor that of London.

Apropos the latter, Bro. Meekren remarks on p. 3 that the powers of the Company were (*c.* 1666) in suspense by virtue of Act of Parliament and therefore would not extend to immigrant masons. Nevertheless, in 1677[3] the masons not only petitioned the City Authorities to enforce their control, but ordered the Clerk to present foreign masons and constrain them to take the freedoms. In 1693-4 [4] a further petition was accepted by Act of Common Council.

In the passage on Unaccepted Masons, Bro. Meekren seems to link Scottish *cowans* with London Masons not of the Accepcon. I cannot see the validity of the connection by any shade of meaning. In London it was of little consequence to the Masons' Company whether or not operative masons joined the Accepcon, which clearly was an institution supernumerary to the main body concerned essentially with the trade. In Scotland it was impossible for an operative to be a member of a lodge without being " accepted ". Nor can I see the connection between those of the London Accepcon, *c.* 1682 (exclusively Fellows), and the members (E.A.'s and F.C.'s), operative or otherwise, of Scottish contemporary Lodges, and still less can I imagine provincial journeymen masons engaged in rebuilding London after the fire being able to join the select Accepcon.[5] That they might have become attached to some kind of trade organisation is more than likely, but the very large numbers who were found to be not paying dues to the Masons' Company at the search of 1677 [6] gives a fair indication. This would not preclude their forming social clubs or lodges after the *fashion* of the Accepcon, but that opens up another very different story.

Finally, the mention of cowsheds and barns in the stone counties of Somerset, etc., in mediæval times. These were generally roughmasons' work, for good freestone has at all times been too valuable to lavish on such humble edifices, and if any organisation existed amongst their builders pre-1700 it must have been of an insignificant kind. On the other hand, I believe that it is to the great freestone quarries employing hundreds of masons and supplying vast quantities of material for royal and ecclesiastical buildings that we should look, rather than London or any city, for the genesis of a national regulating body. Even so, I cannot see why there should be any direct link between such a body and the first Grand Lodge of Free-Masons.

I most heartily congratulate Bro. Meekren on producing an ingenious chain of hypotheses, containing so many interesting, if nevertheless weak, links.

Bro. JOHN RYLANDS *writes*:—

May I join in the thanks which I know will have been accorded in full measure to Bro. Meekren for his excellent and provocative paper ? I suspect he is prepared to be argued out of some of his conclusions if we can show better reason, and we may, therefore, feel that to some extent he puts us on our mettle.

[1] *Great Red Book of Bristol,* Bristol Rec. Soc., vol. iv, p. 145.
[2] Knoop and Jones, *Mediæval Mason*, p. 92.
[3] Knoop and Jones, *London Mason 17th c., A.Q.C.*, xlviii, p. 14.
[4] Knoop and Jones, *London Mason 17th c., A.Q.C.*, xlviii, p. 15.
[5] Sykes, *A.Q.C.*, xlviii, p. 99.
[6] Knoop and Jones, *London Mason 17th c., A.Q.C.*, xlviii, p. 14.

Bro. Meekren, one may presume, does not suggest he is placing before us a series of acknowledged facts from which he draws inescapable conclusions. Nor would he claim, I imagine, that his thesis is tightly argued. But it is part of the historian's craft to formulate hypotheses, to submit them to critical consideration, and even to challenge the formulation of alternatives.

Critical consideration I must leave to others better qualified, but with the utmost fraternal cordiality I do suggest that other conclusions may be drawn from the same facts and the same reservoir of facts. For example, I feel that some will disagree with his suggestion that Anderson's several references to the laws of Henry VI may be of major significance. And as participators in the discussion may perhaps be allowed a certain freedom of speculation, I offer a hypothesis which seems to me much more reasonable, though I refrain from going deeply into chapter and verse at present. Bro. Meekren has raised an issue so stimulating that an essay on the same subject giving different conclusions might usefully be attempted, and I hope to be permitted to offer something on these lines in the near future.

My suggestion, in short, is that the first Grand Lodge gathering was largely convivial in conception and object. There was, of course, the background of fraternity based on the avoidance of controversial issues, and there was the background of architectural interest to which I refer below. Not much of an excuse or reason was needed for a feast ; a very slight community of interest in a group of men could have been quite sufficient, and the success of the occasion may itself have been an adequate reason for deciding to make it an *annual* affair. The " decision " to revive the Quarterly Communication seems suspiciously like a back-dated afterthought. One could almost infer this from Anderson himself in his 1738 history. He says the first assembly was held on St. John the Baptist's Day in 1717. The next assembly of which he gives account was held a *year* later, on the 24th June, 1718, and the third and fourth on the same day in 1719 and 1720 respectively.

To my way of thinking, that first gathering was almost accidental, and there cannot have been more than a score or so concerned. I doubt if there will have been as many as fifty or sixty. None of the references indicate so large a number, and twenty seems nearer the mark. It was a successful occasion, and they agreed to meet again ; very likely they agreed to report on how they were faring—but I do feel there is room for the suggestion that the notion of a *governing* body, as distinct from an annual or quarterly *assembly,* was a notion of later growth which took rise some time *after* the first meeting.

It tends to be assumed that the notion of a central authority over the lodges within the Bills of Mortality existed *before* the first assembly, and that parties interested came together to give form and acceptance to that notion. I do not think we can trust Anderson here ; he was concerned to establish such authority for certain purposes, and Bro. Meekren is at some pains to search for independent evidence on this subject. I do not think he will find anything positive, but we must suspend judgment until something clearer emerges.

On the subject of the rise of non-operative membership, I find no difficulty in constructing a theory which, to me at all events, seems satisfactory, and for which some evidence can be adduced from Anderson. I agree heartily with Bro. Meekren when he says that Anderson has not been altogether fairly treated, and I am glad that this worthy Brother is, after the modern historical fashion, being to some extent rehabilitated and given credit for good work. His writings will bear more and more critical examination. It was undoubtedly the custom of the " Authentic School " in the early days of the Lodge to accord Anderson scant courtesy, chiefly on account of his *Legendary History,* and his (to our modern taste) annoying habit of conferring Grand Mastership on nearly any and every legendary and historical figure of note from Creation to Montagu. If you successfully impugn the credibility of a witness on one count, you throw doubt on his reliability as a whole. Nevertheless, some of his statements may be true, and it is here that Bro. Meekren does good service in emphasising that Anderson wrote rather as a propagandist and not as an historian.

But towards the end of his traditional account, Anderson *is* writing history ; he is dealing with contemporary events and with personages and happenings of his own day. We do not as a rule cast doubt on his concluding paragraphs. The problem is always to sift Anderson ; is there a point where we can say that he changes from traditional myth to acceptable history ? And is that point farther back in the account than we have been accustomed to think ? Or is there a whole portion where, as it were, history and legend are skilfully interwoven to give an easy transition from one to the other ?

Bro. Meekren suggests, rightly as I think, that Anderson wrote as a propagandist. But if we accept this view we must bear in mind that we have to postulate for Anderson a " cause ". Bro. Meekren's " new reform " concept does not satisfy me in this respect. I would seek for something more, and I think it may be found in a movement for the deliberate conversion of Freemasonry into a symbolical moralising system.

I do not propose to follow up this line of approach here, but rather to return to Anderson's more reliable historical section, where I see no difficulty in accepting the emphasis he places on the change of taste in architecture. I do not think we pay enough attention to

this. The denigration of the Gothic in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is too well known an attitude to be denied. The literature of the period is full of it and many quotations can be given. The fact is that there was a growth of interest in Western Europe in the classical style of building, of which Vitruvius was the ancient master and Palladio the great reviver. Architecture and building, in the Augustan style, became not only a fashion, but a consuming and lasting interest. I feel that an excellent case can be made for the simple theory that men of education, of fashion, of culture, of position, found their way into the remnants of the building lodges to study such aspects of architecture and building, in its theoretical, mathematical, philosophical and even practical phases, as these remnants could communicate. Nor do I see difficulty in combining such efforts at study, possibly often frustrated, with contemporary social and convivial activity.

I sometimes wonder if we do not attach altogether too much importance to our Old Charges ? This may be gross heresy, but Bro. Meekren himself hints as much towards the end of his excellent essay, when he refers to Anderson's efficient myth-creation. The masonry to which the Charges refer, that is, in respect of actual building, has little enough to do with the style of architecture on which our modern symbolical masonry is based. Indeed, the styles are in some respects almost incompatible. Our masonry is essentially Palladian ; the masonry of the Old Charges is probably in its highest flights the Gothic and the predecessors of the Gothic. I would like to elaborate this theory at some length, but it would perhaps be out of place in the present discussion, and I hope to deal with the subject fully in the near future. But the point should be noted ; it is of fundamental importance. Many of our investigations have been based on what may well turn out to be the mistaken assumption that the building-masonry of the old operative lodges and of their ancient documents is essentially of the same kind as the building-masonry on which we moralise in our modern speculative craft. Yet, apart from plain walling, it might almost be said that the square or oblong stone plays little significant part in the typical Gothic, and if wish to moralise on the Orders of Architecture and their Pillars, we must seek elsewhere for our examples. Nevertheless, it could be added that if our Freemasonry has a philosophy, then that philosophy is unusually eclectic.

There seems to have been a tendency, in recent years, in our studies of Old Charges, operative customs, practices among stonemasons in the centuries preceding the eighteenth, and so forth, to overlook the very pronounced emphasis placed by Anderson and his contemporaries on the Classical or Augustan style. We tend to overlook the unmeasured contempt freely expressed for the " Gothick Rubbish " constructed by the very masons who were presumably amenable to the Old Charges. I would assert, and am assembling evidence to demonstrate, that "*accepted*" masonry (that is, non-operative) derives directly from the movement towards the neo-classical in architecture, which movement was one of the many products of the Renaissance, and, further, that "*speculative*" masonry (that is, moralising or symbolical) was not an evolution in any ordinary sense, but a more or less sudden twist given to the development of " accepted " masonry. I suggest now, and hope to demonstrate later, that this more or less sudden twist was the deliberate contrivance of a small group of " accepted " masons in the early eighteenth century.

We have to be careful in the use of such words as " movement ", " organisation " and " objects ". In the days of the Old Charges, masonry was not a " movement ". It was a trade, with some of the attributes of a profession. A movement has objects. Not until after 1723 or thereabouts could masonry be said to have become a movement, and not until several years later did it, as a " movement ", possess " objects " which could be clearly defined.

Nevertheless, Bro. Meekren brings into prominence much existing evidence which, when considered in unusual juxtapositions, begins to show new light around. There can be no quarrel with most of his facts, but there may well be divergence of view about his inferences and conclusions. His essay is stimulating and provocative ; it leaves me with the feeling that Bro. Meekren has started a new chase, in which many of us will gladly join, to learn more and still more, from existing evidence, about the origins of our beloved Craft. I, for one, am willing to accept the fraternal challenge, and shall seek an early opportunity to join in the fray.

Bro. MEEKREN *writes* in reply:—

That the hypothesis set forth in the paper would meet with approval was far from my expectation, and the prognosis was not at fault—though my critics were reasonably gentle with it.

There seems to have been some puzzlement on the part of several of those who took part in the discussion respecting the object in view and what the argument was intended to prove. There was even a suggestion that I had not answered the question with which I began. But

how should this question be answered except by suggesting circumstances and conditions which would have made some controlling organisation imperative ?

It is possible that the fault is mine in not making myself sufficiently clear. On the other hand, it may be the radical and far-reaching novelty of the hypothesis. It is always difficult to take in a new idea that tends to upset all that has hitherto been taken for granted, or to see all its implications. After reading the comments and criticisms, I think that my Brethren have not appreciated the enormous difference the supposition would make that previous to 1660 or somewhat later there were no lodges in existence in the sense of the " regular " lodges we are familiar with to-day. " Occasional " lodges, as Anderson calls them, which were formed once to initiate a candidate, and in an hour or two broke up, never to meet again. And Anderson says (in the third chapter of the 1738 *Constitutions*) that in the time of William of Orange the lodges were mostly of this type ; while if there were any of a more permanent character they were self-constituted.

No comment was made on what I said at the beginning of the paper respecting the fact, unique so far as we know, that there was more than one lodge in London, and that no one of them could take steps to call a general meeting of the members of the Fraternity, that is, an Assembly. And if conditions at the time were such as I have reconstructed them, any attempt to find a remedy would have to begin with an Assembly. For all Masons then would be more or less familiar with the Old Charges (as we are not), and these could only be interpreted in this sense—at least, so I hold. The Worshipful Master raised this point, and I am glad he did, for it is important in the argument. The traditional (or mythical) Assembly at York in the days of Athelstan is, I am inclined to think, a " projection " back into the past of the current usage of the period when the Charges and the Legend were first put into writing and magnified, as such projections almost always are. What the Congregations and Chapters of the law of Henry VI really were is quite uncertain, and I suspect those who drafted the law may themselves have been somewhat hazy about it. This, however, does not at all affect the fact, as Speth pointed out in 1893 (in his paper on the Assembly, *A.Q.C.*, vi, 163), that the Book of Charges was valid evidence showing the usage of their period, and so were strictly historical. And I would add that if at the time of the more recent copies the Assemblies or Congregations had fallen into disuse, yet they could not have failed to produce in the minds of the Masons of their period (whether operative or non-operative) that the Assembly, if and when one was held, was the proper masonic court for deciding all disputes, judging all offences and amending old laws, or introducing new ones when such legislative action was advisable. This is all that the argument in the paper requires. Perhaps one should say an Assembly, for, as Speth also points out (at page 177), the " assemblies were not for the whole country . . . but for divers provinces ", and that in the *Cooke* MS. they are " distinctly called congregations of masonry ", and that " every master of this art scholde be warned by fore to come to his congregation " ; obviously the one for the locality to which he belonged or the one where he was domiciled for the time being. This view was concurred in by Bro. W. H. Rylands and Dr. Begemann, but the whole paper should be read.

Another expression of mine seems to have been misunderstood. When I cited Anderson's statement that the lodges in London were " drooping ", it was not the condition itself that I questioned parenthetically, but the suggestion that the " drooping " was due to Wren's neglect of his supposititious duties as Grand Master. I am more than ready to believe that Anderson was quite right, and that the lodges, that is to say, masonic activities, had been falling off. But I should ascribe this failing interest to the very conditions which I supposed to have come into existence, or were coming into existence, and that the more respectable members of the fraternity—non-operative members—were withdrawing on account of the increasing influx of undesirables. Again, non-operative undesirables, of course.

There is another thing that may be mentioned here. I said Anderson was a propagandist rather than a historian, which suggestion seems to have met with some favour. But I submit that we may admire the skill with which a piece of plausible propaganda has been constructed without thereby being precluded from criticising it in detail. Incidentally, I think Anderson has been much too severely judged in another matter, but that is " another story " entirely.

Bro. Rogers says that there is more evidence than I have brought forward. So there is, a good deal more. In the palmy days when one could write a treatise and called it a paper it might have been possible to have been more exhaustive, but in these days reasons of space and cost do not permit this. I tried to select a representative set of evidential items sufficient for a *prima facie case*. Frankly, I do not quite know how to deal with Bro. Rogers' comments. I trust he will pardon me when I say that they seem to be mostly entirely beside the mark as criticisms of my hypothesis. I can only suppose that they were composed in haste. For example, I cannot see why *Verus Commodus* and Prichard should not be good witnesses for the fact for which alone I cited them. And with regard to the " New Articles " of *Harleian* MS., 1942, these have always been taken as being local in their original intent, but there has not been any agreement as to the locality for which they were first propounded, and I thought it had been made quite clear that I supposed the locality for which they were first

proposed was London and, presumably, Westminster ; that is, the locality where the need for reform had become, as I argue, very acute by the end of the seventeenth century.

Bro. Ward seems to have quite thoroughly misunderstood me, and I have tried to see what defect in my exposition could have been the cause of this. Perhaps it was the use of the word " organisation " in somewhat different senses in the paragraphs under the sub-heading, " External Organisation in England ". Perhaps I had better try to put what I wished to convey in other words. In the first place, I said " in England " to exclude Scotland where there was what I meant by " external organisation ", where permanent lodges existed, which were to a varying extent authorised by the civil powers. When I said that the enactment of Henry VI could not have destroyed the organisation, it might have been better to have said " destroyed the fraternity ". What I meant was the private organisation—the forming of " ritual lodges ", casual or occasional, and ephemeral. What effect the law would have had on the assemblies I should think depends on whether they were sufficiently external to be known to the public generally. If they consisted of only thirty or forty men, and met apart from the towns, on the moors or the downs, they could very well have passed unnoticed. What I meant to convey was that such organisation as that in Scotland could not have developed under this law. The authorities might ignore the inconspicuous assemblies, but they could not have connived at the formation of permanent " trade lodges ", and still less have given them any recognition or authority. But otherwise such a development might just as well have occurred in England as in Scotland except for this law, and the other enactments that had preceded it.

One other thing I must mention in justice to myself ; I did not say London was the only place where there was a sufficient number of masons to form a company or guild of their own, but that it was " almost the only place ". Probably I should have said, " London was one of the few places where there was a sufficient number ". I thought at the time that the proviso would be all that was necessary, especially as it was conditions in London that I proposed to discuss.

In regard to the suspension of restrictions on immigrant workmen after the Great Fire, the period was at first set at seven years, or for so long after as until the said buildings shall be fully finished. There was also provision for such immigrants as had worked for seven years at the rebuilding, and desired to remain in London, to take up their freedom as if they had been apprenticed there. This accounts for the steps taken in 1677 to force such men to take up their freedom or leave the city, to which Bro. Ward refers. Of course, the law could not have affected the Guilds and Companies then existing, for they did come within its purview. I did not say that the law abolished anything ; what I did say was " that it could, and probably did, check all external developments " such as the trade lodges, which appear to have been the rule in Scotland.

Respecting the unaccepted or uninitiated masons, I do equate them with those tradesmen who were stigmatised as cowans by the members of the Scottish lodges as a term of contempt, who actually had been legally apprenticed, though they had never been entered in a lodge. We do not have much information about this class, possibly not very large, but certainly existent. Lyon mentions John Crumbie, who decided to regularise his status by being entered into the Lodge in Haddington in 1697, and Bro. Carr has brought to light that of John Young, mason in Stow, who was entered and passed in the Haughfoot Lodge in 1706.

I think the supposition that " provincial journeymen masons " might wish " to join the select Accepcon " is not at all relevant to the argument, and I certainly had no idea of suggesting that they did. The immigrant masons had either been accepted or they had remained outside the fraternity. In the former case they would have had nothing to gain by joining it, for they were already initiated. In the second case, if they belonged to the class of uninitiated but qualified masons, they presumably had found no advantage in getting themselves accepted, and why should they want to do so merely because they had come to London, where there was work in plenty ? All that I said, and all the argument required, was that among the newcomers there would almost certainly have been some accepted masons.

What I supposed, and it is no more than a supposition, was that under the circumstances some of these incoming accepted masons formed lodges (temporary, casual lodges, of course), to make masons of certain non-operatives who, through curiosity or for other motives, desired initiation. And I further supposed that much, if not the greater part, of the subsequent masonic activity in London was among the non-operatives, for, having been accepted, they had the same right as their initiators to form lodges to initiate others. These suppositions fill a gap where we have no information whatever, but they reasonably account for the number, considerable, or perhaps large, of non-operative masons in London in the second decade of the eighteenth century.

It would be very interesting if Bro. Ward would develop his suggestion that it was in the large quarries we should look for the genesis of a national organisation. Yet it was in London, and for London and Westminster only, that the Grand Lodge was instituted. According to the traditional law, no wider claim than this could have been made, and I think it is a very

important point that the new organisation that emerged was the outcome of action taken in accordance with the law and usage of the craft. If, in not very many years thereafter, it covered a wider territory, it was not due to any aggressive claims on its part, but to the willing and, apparently in some cases, eager adhesion of lodges outside its lawful jurisdiction.

In regard to Bro. Draffen's suggestion that assemblies may have been called by Sir Christopher Wren, I admit the possibility if we premise that he had been admitted to the Fraternity. I doubt its probability, though, even with this supposition. In any case, my hypothesis is concerned with the activities of the non-operative masons. For the control of the trade interests of the operatives the Company of the Masons in London was quite sufficient, and there is not the slightest indication that the Assembly that evolved in the Grand Lodge ever dreamed of meddling in these matters. If the operative masons (who had been admitted to the Fraternity) formed lodges in the period between 1660 and 1700 or so, it was for the purpose of initiating outsiders, that is, non-operatives. For their own interests, as employed in the rebuilding of London, there would be no use whatever for lodges. At least, I am unable to see any reason for their forming them, or what purpose it would have served.

When Bro. Draffen speaks of " resuscitating a well-nigh derelict guild ", I think he must have been speaking loosely. The word " guild " is improper and very misleading as applied to the loose organisation of the Fraternity. A guild was local and monopolistic ; the Fraternity was neither. Nor is it quite clear, except in a vague way, what meaning " derelict " may have in this connection. My own view is that in London it had been having an orgy of activity, and a good deal of it very undesirable. In fact, in Dr. Stukeley's phrase it had taken " a run, and ran itself out of breath ". This seems to me to be much more apposite to the activities before than after 1717, though it is quite possible that the disreputables continued to make masons while the new organisation was gathering strength enough to check them.

I wish Bro. Draffen would work out his own idea respecting the motives underlying the institution of the Grand Lodge. Toland, in his *Pantheisticon,* described an organisation somewhat similar to what I suppose Bro. Draffen to have in mind, only he invented his ritual entirely *de novo.* And that such ideas were current in various quarters seems to be indicated in Stukeley's *Order of the Book,* which apparently died at birth, and Robert Samber's so-called *Masonic Formulæ* (transcribed by Armitage in *A.Q.C.,* xi, 108), which apparently never came to birth at all, so far as we know. And there have been many interpreters and would-be teachers since, philosophical and mystical after their kind. I am tempted by the reference to the early ritual forms to depart from my subject, but must refrain. Two things only will I say. The first is that Regulation xi, both in the 1723 and the 1738 *Constitutions,* and with the note to the latter, should be very carefully considered, *with* its implications. The second is somewhat personal: it is that the hypothesis in the paper had formed itself in my mind as a secondary result of my investigations respecting the original forms and subsequent development of the ritual into the variant forms that exist at the present time. The question that arose in the discussion of Bro. Draffen's paper was only the occasion for mine, because, as a matter of fact, I had formulated the hypothesis more than ten years ago.

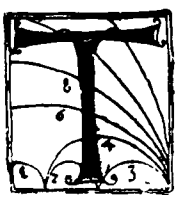
That there was conviviality at the early meeting of the Grand Lodge I am quite ready to believe, and with liquid refreshment at least if not solid, for this was a notable custom of the period. But all the indications point to more than conviviality or an interest in the prevailing style of architecture. There was no need for a Grand Master for that. And Payne, in 1718, at his installation as Grand Master for the first time, asked the Brethren to bring any " old *Writings* and *Records* " that they might have in their possession " in order to show the Usages of antient Times," and Anderson adds that the same year " several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced ". And in 1721 Payne, at the end of his second term as Grand Master, produced an old MS. of the *Constitutions* alleged to be over 500 years old, and also read over " a new sett of articles to be observed ". This on the authority of Stukeley's Diary. These two items of information must surely be connected with each other. And as the General Regulations of 1723 are said by Anderson to have been approved at the same meeting in 1721 they must surely be the same new articles read over by Grand Master Payne. It is true that Anderson takes credit to himself for having " digested them ", but, as I said in the paper, I cannot conceive that he could have made any material alterations without protest, for there would have been many who had heard them read two years before. We may, therefore, safely assume that we have them essentially as they were agreed upon in 1721. And the significant features that they embody are the assertion of the authority of the one Master and Assembly of the *Harleian* new articles, under the guise of the Grand Master and the Grand Lodge, of the *Book of Constitutions,* with the consequent curtailment of the ancient right of every mason, " with the consent and privity of five or six of their fellows ", to form a lodge and make masons.

However, I hope that Bro. Rylands will work out his own ideas on the subject, especially in regard to the effect of the fashionable admiration of the classical and pseudo-classical styles of architecture. That the operative masons shared this admiration appears certain, for the five orders are mentioned in a number of the old catechisms, and, indeed, they were known, not

among the masons only, but in Scotland to the wrights also ; for in the Institution of Wrightship, the MS. of which was discovered with that of the Institution of Free Masons, the five orders are mentioned by name and a brief explanation given of them. Yet I must confess that I do not find that they were much more than named in any Masonic ritual, unless it be in Preston's Lecture of the Second Degree.

There is an early precedent in the annals of the Lodge for discussing the arguments and conclusions advanced in one paper by another. The paper by Speth that I have already mentioned was avowedly the answer to one given by Gould in the previous year, in which he argued that the Assembly spoken of in the *Cooke* MS. was really the Sheriff's Tourne, and not specially Masonic at all. And if Bro. Rylands, or any or all of the other Brethren who seemed to have alternative theories, can make a more convincing pattern out of the scraps of evidence I have put together in my paper, I shall have no hesitation in " scrapping " the hypothesis therein advanced.

FRIDAY, 5th OCTOBER, 1956



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; *Sir* George Boag, P.Dist.G.M. (Madras), *as* J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B.,* P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A.,* P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.D.; N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., J.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.,* P.G.D., P.M.; and J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P.,* P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. S. Abrahams, F. Bernhart, E. Ward, E. L. Thompson, D. Rushworth, W. A. White, G. Holloway, G. Norman Knight, T. R. Sandford, T. W. Marsh, J. W. Harrison, R. C. W. Hunter, F. E. Gould, A. J. Beecher-Stowe, A. Parker Smith, W. J. Wyse, R. Gold, J. Hamilton Jones, D. St. K. Anderson, A. R. Jole, P. J. Watts, I. A. B. Wilson, H. W. Pope, J. Criticos, G. F. Pallett, K. K. Kcamaris, A. I. Sharp, C. W. Parris, M. R. Wagner, G. D. Elvidge, J. Yahuda, H. W. Piper, A. Lever, R. Walters and C. J. Van de Watering.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. C. Buckingham, Lodge 4787; K. V. Dineley, Lodge 5448; C. Taylor-Cooke, Lodge 2475; D. V. Reid, Lodge 6285; E. Pitcher, Lodge 649, N.S.W.; and J. Semken, Lodge 357.

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.; 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.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.,* Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.; and Arthur Sharp, *M.A.,* P.G.D., Steward

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The Master referred to the loss which the Lodge had suffered by the death of Bro. WILLIAM JENKINSON, and the Brethren stood to order in silent respect to his memory and in sympathy with his widow.

The Master read the following:—

IN MEMORIAM

Brethren,—Since our last meeting I much regret to have to announce the death of Bro. William Jenkinson, *O.B.E.,* on 27th September, 1956. Bro. Jenkinson was not personally known to many of our members because he had lived for so many years in Northern Ireland, but he joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924 and became a full Member of the Lodge in November, 1934; he resigned about a year ago, owing to ill-health. Our Brother was Secretary to the County Council of Armagh and a recognised authority on Local Government Law and Administration. In Masonry, he was Past Provincial Grand Secretary of Armagh and the Representative of the Grand Lodge of Venezuela at the Grand Lodge of Ireland. He was a member of most of the other degrees in Armagh and of the Irish Lodge of Research No. 200, and was well known as an authority on Irish Masonic Jurisprudence.

I ask you to rise and express our sense of the great loss which has been experienced both by the Craft in general and our own Lodge in particular, and our sympathy with his Widow in her bereavement.

The Master presented to Bro. FREDERICK EDMUND GOULD, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, an illuminated copy of the Resolution of Thanks voted to him at our June meeting. Bro. Gould replied thanking the Lodge for honour done him.

One Library, three Lodges and sixty-one Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

On ballot taken, after the Proposal papers had been read, Bro. FRANK BERNHART, L.G.R., was duly elected a member of the Lodge. Bro. Bernhart was conducted into the Lodge and welcomed by the W.M.

Bro. F. BERNHART read an interesting paper, entitled *Kronauer's Liber Amicorum,* which was illustrated by the exhibition of the book itself on the Epidiascope, which was kindly worked by Bro. T. W. Bastin.

KRONAUER'S LIBER AMICORUM (1783-1792)

(AN AUTOGRAPH-BOOK OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FREEMASON)

BY BRO. F. BERNHART, L.G.R.

THIS book was sold to the Austrian Court Library in 1909 by a Mr. Merz, about whom nothing is known, as far as my information goes; it is now in the keeping of the National State Library in Vienna.

The facsimile which is before us to-night is one of 200 produced by Max Jaffé about 1932. The greater number of these (160) went to the United States of America; what happened to the remaining 40 is not known, except that the one before us is part of the Library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and there is another copy in the Library of Grand Lodge.

Until very recently, practically nothing was known about Bro. Kronauer, but I am informed that he was born about 1743 in Winterthur (Switzerland), and died on the 2nd March, 1799, in Vienna. His wife, Sophie, was born about 1747, and died on the 6th May, 1830, also in Vienna.

Kronauer earned his living while in Vienna (it is not known what year he arrived there) as a teacher of the French language. In 1785 his name appears in the list of members of the Lodge "Crowned Hope" in Vienna.

That his name is to-day very widely known is not on account of his outstanding qualities, either as a Mason or otherwise, but simply owing to the fact that his *Liber Amicorum* contains entries of Brethren whose names have become household words, both in our history and outside.

Kronauer himself seems not to have been too pleasing a character; this is clear from one or two contemporary books, and also from his own entries in other *Libri Amicorum*, such as the following:—

> J. G. Kronauer, from Waldeck near Winterthur in Switzerland, by His Roman Imperial Majesty's Lower Austrian Government privileged teacher of the French language.

Rather a long and pompous signature for a Brother's *Liber Amicorum*! This entry is written in German; another, nearly as pompous, exists in Latin.

All in all, I think he tried hard to collect in his little book the entries and signatures of the great ones of his time. He succeeded only in part, *e.g.*, Mozart, Count Thun, etc.; but the majority are from the rank and file.

During the period 1780-1785, when Freemasonry in Vienna reached its highest peak, eight Lodges were in existence, among them "Zur wahren Eintracht" (True Harmony), an "Austrian precursor of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge" (*v. A.Q.C.*, xiii, pp. 72-76), the Master of which was the famous scientist, Ignaz von Born. Another was the Lodge "Zur Wohlthätigheit" (Benevolence), in which Mozart was initiated on 14th December, 1784. At the end of 1785, these eight Lodges were, on the order of Emperor Josef II, merged into two—"Zur Wahrheit" (Verity) and "Zur Neugekrönten Hoffnung" (New Crowned Hope), of which latter Mozart became a member.

I may be permitted to give here a translation of a circular, which has nothing whatever to do with Kronauer and his book, but which, I think, is not very well-known; it was sent out by Lodge "Zur Wohlthatigheit" to all her sister Lodges in Vienna, and is now in the Vienna State Archives. It reads as follows:—

> Proposed: Musician Mozart. Our late Secretary Br: Hoffman forgot to inform you about this candidate, his name was forwarded to the W. District Lodge 4 weeks ago, and we desire to initiate him next week, if none of our W. Sister Lodges have any objections.
>
> Orient Vienna, 5,XII,5784
>
> Schwanckhardt: Secr.

This is rather an interesting document ; it shows how nearly Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart missed becoming a member of our Brotherhood. What a thought ! No " Magic Flute," no " Gesellenreise," etc. !

Perhaps I may be allowed to add here another little bit about Mozart, the epitaph written and recited in Lodge by the poet, Bro. Hensler (known as Ignaz Alberti) :—

His life was worthy, generous and kind ;
A perfect Mason, wise and true—
Darling of Music !—for his lofty mind
Led us to realms of thought anew.

The bond is now dissolved ! With him shall go
The Masons' blessing, dauntless, grand,
And our fraternal love shall guide him so
To the divine harmonious land.

Quietly we followed where he led before,
To seek for that which fate has taken ;
Oft to the widow in her home he bore
Uncounted gifts, by all forsaken.

He built his fame upon the orphan's love,
To naked poverty his cloak he gave ;
For no reward except from God above,
Which travelled with him to his grave.

The angels sang when our Wolfgang was born,
Their skill alone he could outspan :
But more to him meant thanks of men forlorn ;
He ne'er forgot—he too was man!

But to return to Kronauer's book ; there follows now a translation and, where possible, a description of each page, and a short pen-picture of the Brother who signed on that page. Some of the silhouettes in this book were extracted from a woodcut collection of Hieronymus Löschenkohl (Vienna, 1783) and stuck into the album.

It gives me great pleasure to express my most sincere thanks for the enormous help I received from W.Bro. Gustav Kuess, Librarian of the Grand Lodge of Austria, and Bro. Dr. Rex Stansfeld, who did all the Latin translations for this paper, and from more Brethren than I can mention here ; only with their help was I able to write what I now submit to you.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE ENTRIES IN THE AUTOGRAPH-BOOK

Page 1 r. Dedication in German. To the Very Worshipful, Worshipful, and beloved Brethren and Freemasons. Dedicated by B. Kronauer, 5783.

The cypher writing at the bottom is in German and reads (with some errors) as follows: " This page is dedicated to all who have been, are and will be. Your sincere brother J. Baurnjopel."

Baurnjopel was Orator of Lodge " Constancy " in Vienna, and was a Clerk in the Imperial and Royal Bohemian and Austrian Court and State Office or Chancery.

Page 2 s. A silhouette portrait (unnamed).

Page 2 r. A poem in German descriptive of a Mason's character. Signed " J.B." I at first assumed that this entry was by Ignaz von Born (and not that on page 8 r., which was reputedly von Born's, but where the initials are clearly " L.B."), but later information leads me to think that neither are by him. His silhouette, however, appears on page 8 s. I am inclined to believe that several of the silhouette portraits were pasted into the book at a much later period, perhaps even after Kronauer's death. Kronauer does not mention von Born in his index of names at the end of the book, and I cannot believe that a man of Kronauer's character would have omitted his name from the index if he had signed the book.

(For details of von Born, see Bro. B. H. Brough's paper in *A.Q.C.*, xiii, p. 72.)

Page 3 s. Pictures of various Masonic emblems, and below the *Latin aphorism*, " Hold to learning and do not forsake it ; guard it, for it is your life." Signed P.J.H. (We were unable to discover who is hidden behind these initials.)

Page 3 r. Memento mori (no signature or initials).

Page 4 s. An unnamed silhouette portrait.

Page 4 r. *Aphorism in French:* The objects which we see every day are not those we know best.
Vienne, 10th Febr., 1783. J. Kraus
Conductor of the Swedish Court Orchestra.

Page 5 s. *Latin motto:* Take Nature as your guide.
21st March, 1786. Br. Otto v. Gemmingen
W.M. of Lodge "Charity", Or. Vienna.

(Inset, a silhouette of von Gemmingen.)

This Brother was Court Chamberlain in Mannheim, and from 1782 Ambassador of Baden in Vienna. His full name is Otto Heinrich Freiherr von Gemmingen-Hornberg; he was born in 1755 and died in 1836; he was a well-known dramatist of his time in Germany. In 1782 he joined the Lodge "Crowned Hope", and on 8th February, 1783, he and seven other Brethren founded the Lodge "Charity," in which, as W.M., he initiated Mozart on 14th December, 1784. After the reform-decree in 1785, his Lodge was one of those which united to form the Lodge "New Crowned Hope", of which he became Orator (equivalent to our Registrar). After 1787 he disappears from the membership lists. He was a friend and patron of Mozart, and one of the important Freemasons of Austria.

Page 5 r. *Latin aphorism:* Oh, how illusive is Vanity.
Baron L. v. Engestrom
Member of the Lodge "Crowned Hope", Or. of Vienna.
Vienna, 9th March, 1784.

(This Brother was Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of Sweden.)

Page 6 s. A third degree Tracing Board.

Page 6 r. A Magic Square, and Cabalistic calculations on the names Johannes Georgius Kronauer and Johannes Gruk, and five Latin words. The apparent Latin sentences below are not translatable; they look like a formula of the Alchemists, but that cannot be verified. Nothing is known about Johannes Gruk.

Page 7 s. Two Magic Squares, and Cabalistic calculations on the name Christophorus Froschmayr; his full title was Edler von Scheibenhoven, First Lieutenant; he was a member of Lodge "Constancy" in 1782.

Page 7 r. *In Latin:* My strength is in silence and hope.
In German: For this picture, at my request, the smallest space in your Autograph-book in token of friendship from Joseph Nestor, member of Lodge "William", Or. Hildesheim, 19th September, 1789.

Page 8 s. Silhouette portrait of Ignaz von Born.

Page 8 r. *Latin aphorism:* He who combines the instructive with the pleasant, and the pleasant with the instructive, commands approbation.
Monogram: LB.

This is sometimes considered to be by Ignaz von Born, but I am of opinion that the initials are clearly "LB" (*v. supra* under Page 2 r.).

Page 9 s. *German inscription:* The Master of the wise, Spirit of all Spirits
Surrounding a globe, with a cross coming out of its centre, the whole encircled by two palm branches. Text, Matthew 5, v. 13 ("Ye are the salt of the earth", etc.), but I cannot find any connection.

Page 9 r. *German sentence:* Roll on, you days of my life, useful to me, and not in vain for my fellow-creatures' happiness.
Vienna, 16/2/1785. Jos: B: v: Riedheim (Joseph Freiherr von Riedheim), W.M. of the Military Lodge "Three Red Ribbons" at Tarnow, Galicia, and Imp. and Roy. District Commissioner.

Page 10 s. *Latin sentence:* I do not long for the moon, being in the splendour of the sun.
Pressburg, 29/12/1785. Your sincere Bro: and friend
Fr: Nobile di Hauslab,
W.M. of Lodge "Security",
First Lieutenant of Archduke Ferdinand's Regt.
(Franz Edler von Hauslab).

Page 10 r. Blank.

Page 11 s. Two Military water-colours ; unsigned.

Page 11 r. Pen-drawing, a short pillar, on which sits a bird holding a palm-leaf ; against it leans an anchor ; on either side a bush.

Signed: A. Bartsch f.

Bartsch was Court Counsellor and Keeper of the Imperial Collection of Etchings. In 1785, Secretary of the Lodge " Crowned Hope ".

Page 12 s. *German couplet :*

Please give Brotherly Love, and thoughts, and all
To the one whom you Brother in your order call.
In the Orient of Vienna Etzelt v. Lewenfels
20/5/1786. W.M., Lodge " New Crowned Hope ".

Page 12 r. Silhouette portrait of an Officer.

Page 13 s. Symbolical drawing. *Latin phrase :* In memory of Salat, 1787.

Salat was Imperial and Royal Hungarian-Transylvanian Court Agent. E.A. in Lodge " Crowned Hope " in 1785.

Page 13 r. Silhouette portrait, without signature.

Page 14 s. Pentalpha with G. *Two Latin sentences :*

They know their own Sun, their own stars.
My strength is in silence and hope.
Friederich Munter, from Copenhagen
Member of Lodge " Garland of Rue " in the Orient of Gotha.
Vienna, 16/10/1784.

Page 14 r. *Latin aphorism :*

If fortune wills, you will, instead of an Orator, become a Consul:
If again she wills, you will become, instead of a Consul, an Orator.
Vienna, 11/9/1784. F. P. Weber (Franz Phil)
Member of Lodge " True Harmony ", Or. Vienna.

He was Imp. and Roy. Court Secretary. In 1785 he was D.C. of the same Lodge, and proposed Joseph Haydn, who was initiated 11/2/1785.

Page 15 s. Symbolical drawing ; not signed.

Page 15 r. *German aphorism :*

Even if the heavens fall
It can bring death to the wise, but never frighten him.
Orient Vienna, 9/1/1787. Bourgeois
W.M., Lodge " New Crowned Hope ", Or. Vienna.
Captain and Auditor of the German Noble and Arciere Life Guards.

(In 1785 he was a member of Lodge " Crowned Hope ".)

Page 16 s. Picture of a coat of arms.

Page 16 r. *German couplet :*

Sad hours cause to nil (nobody)
The sufferings wounds do heal.
Or. of Vienna, 11/5/1791. Rieselbach

Rieselbach was Controller and Secretary of the Imperial Tobacco Duty and Excise, Laibach (now Lubliana). He was shown in the members' list as absent M.M. in 1792. He became a founder and Treasurer of Lodge " Charity and Constancy " at Laibach.

Page 17 r. *French verse* (of little interest).
Manersdorf, 19/2/1787. Pierre Schwartzleitner

Page 17 r. *German verse* (of little interest).
Pressburg, 27/9/1785. Joseph Zistler
W.M. of Lodge " Security ", Or. Pressburg.

(Pressburg is now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Zistler was Conductor of the Orchestra of the Cardinal-Primate Batthyany. In 1779 he was S.W., and in 1781 Deputy Master, of Lodge " Security ".)

Page 18 s. *Latin aphorism:* Love God because He is God, and your neighbour for God's sake, if you wish to reach your goal.

Pozsonii, 29/9/1785. Emericus Udvarnovsky
Deputy Master of Lodge "Security", Or. Pressburg.

Pozsony was another name for Pressburg. Udvarnovsky was a Government clerk, and was S.W. of the Lodge in 1781.

Page 18 r. *German aphorism:*
In man you find heaven, hell, God,
But only after your passions are dead.

Pressburg, 29/9/1785. Simon Petrus Weber
Orator and Member of Lodge "Security", Or. Pressburg.
Printer and Dealer in Books.

Page 19 s. *German sentence:* Do not dwell upon the shell.

George Karl Zillak (Zillagh)
Pressburg, 29/9/1785. Member of Lodge "Security", Or. of Pressburg.
Builder and Contractor, initiated in the above Lodge in 1782, D.C. in 1783.

Page 19 r. *German poem* (of little interest).

Vienna, 23/4/1788. As a sign of the reverent memory and sincerest brotherly love from Ehrenreich Christoph Richard Hans Freyh. von Hirschfeldt, Premier Prussian Lieutenant and member of Lodge "Lime-Tree", of Leipzig.

He was secret emissary of the Founder of the Order of the "Asiatic Brethren", Freih. v. Ecker und Eckhofen, for whom he was very successful, especially during the two years 1784-1786, when he was able to convert many brethren. He was an enthusiastic follower of the "secret sciences", an ardent alchemist. He kept up a big establishment, gave big receptions, dinners, etc., which brought him endless money difficulties. (*cf.* Besetzny, *Die Sphinx,* Wien, 1873.)

Page 20 s. Symbolical design. Two lines in cypher, too short to solve.

In Kronauer's index there is an entry No. 70, under the name of "Tarok", but I have not been able to find out anything further.

Page 20 r. A floral design, and Rosicrucian symbols.
German aphorism: Remember here the sacred secret of the grape and ear of wheat — remember death, and learn to know death through your intellect in the material.

At the Orient of Vienna
3/3/5786 11/1/1746. Your humblest Br: :
Baron v. Ecker and Eckhofen
Member of the Lodge "Shining Polar Star", of the Scottish Rite, Or. Hamburg.

Here is an entry which we cannot pass without comment. Hans Heinrich Ecker, etc. (1750-1790), is described as a Rosicrucian and Founder of the Order of the "Asiatic Brethren". In 1781 he was W.M. of Lodge "The Seven Heavens" in Vienna, but for his efforts to convert Brethren to his Order, and apparently for his success in doing so, he was expelled. The above entry belongs to the time when he was no longer an Austrian Brother. This is perhaps one item showing that Bro. Kronauer was not too particular who signed his book, as long as it served him. (*cf. Abafi,** iv, 342, and v, 18 f.)

Page 21 s. *Latin aphorism:* In silence I hope for salvation.

16/5/1787. Johann Nepom Török
Accountant at the Imp. and Roy. War Accountancy Dept.

Member of Lodge "New Crowned Hope", in Or. Wienn. Member of the Lodge until 1793. (*cf.* Wr. Frmr-Zeitung 1937, 33.)

Page 21 r. *German aphorism:* The wise one perceives at Adonyram's grave the fate destined for him by Jehovah.

Vienna, 23/9/1785. Ant: Groppenberger

Member of the Lodge "The Three Eagles", Or. Vienna. Agricultural Paymaster. (*cf. Abafi,* iv, 270, 272.)

* Ludwig Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Osterreich-Ungarn,* Budapest, 5 vols., 1890-1899.

Page 22 s. Blank.

Page 22 r. *In German:* At the utmost borders of the great light—is—darkest night.
G. L.....t
27/11/91

In French: Neither King, nor God!
But happier than either!

Page 23 s. The text is in cypher, but the year 5785 is in mirror-writing; rather a curious combination. It consists of eight lines descriptive of "The free man from my Republic".

Dreamed and sketched
Vienna, Oct., 5875. by Paul Malvieux

Nothing further is known to me about Paul Malvieux; right at the end of the book the name Malvieux appears again, but without Christian name (*v.* 62 r.), so it gets us no further.

Page 23 r. *In Latin:* Know thyself. (The Greek form was engraved in letters of gold in the Temple of Delphi.) On the right a seal has been pasted in, bearing Latin words which may be translated, "Seal of the Right Reverend Head of the Hermits".

Joannes Nepo. Richter
13/10/1784. Canonicus Gnesnensis et Wladislaviensis.

He was a member of Lodge "The Palmtree", and in 1785 was Orator of the Lodge. (*cf. Abafi,* iv, 319, 321.)

Page 24 s. A female portrait, encircled by a snake with its tail in its mouth. The three Hebrew words are from Exodus, iii, 14: "I am that I am." The other drawing is probably a monogram of Abramson.
1/7/1788.

Page 24 r. The Hebrew words signify, "Whoso trusteth in the Lord, Loving-kindness shall encompass him". And below, "Amen".
In German: Happy is he who knows the pure light of the Sun.
With respects
Abramson, Royal Prussian Court
Medailleur from Berlin.
Vienna, 1/7/1788.

Page 25 s. Symbolic pictures, within an indented border; the Latin words appear to refer to each picture, and would seem to mean:

If you loose the immovable, and make the unbound fly, and seize the flying moment, wealth shall make you live safely.

There is no signature or suggestion of authorship.

Page 25 r. The German words mean literally, "Here the dog is buried", but the meaning really is "Here the difficulty begins".
Vienna, 25/9/5784. Dedicated to his friend and Br:
(in cypher) Franz Brabbée
Member of Lodge "Constancy", Stockbroker.

This is a rather interesting personality. He was first an actor at the National Court Theatre, afterwards became a stockbroker, and as such became well known and rich. He spoke seven languages, and was an expert on the clavichord and 'cello. He was probably a founder of Lodge "Constancy" in 1779, and was its Secretary in 1781. He died on 29/9/1831 at the age of 73, and from the papers he left, his grandson, the writer Bro. Gustav Brabbée, was able to produce valuable historical Masonic papers. (*cf. Abafi,* iv, 319, 321.)

Page 26 s. *In German:* To be happy, on this changeable earth, where everything is in an everlasting whirl, is the privilege of the Sage. The Adept will never reach it. His pains show an alarming passion, and the happiest success of his pains would only be a productive source of new unrest. Happiness must come from the heart—outside circumstances only provide more or less lustre.
Vienna, 23/10/1784. Seele
Nature — Art Member of Lodge "Eugenie the
Sunshine — Oil-lamp Crowned Lion"

According to Kronauer's index at the end of the book, under No. 17, Seele was a Doctor of Medicine from Danzig.

Page 26 r. *Latin aphorism :* The end crowns the work.
Vienna, 1/12/1786. Kritzinger
Member of Lodge " The Three Eagles ".
Captain in the Infantry Regiment
" Ferdinand Toscana ".

Born in Vienna in 1743 ; became a member of Lodge " Constancy " on 7/11/74, after having been passed F.C. in Stettin. (*cf. Abafi,* ii, 182, 186 ; iii, 219 ; and iv, 265, 269.)

Page 27 s. *Latin aphorism :* I bear all the elements ; I am earth, fire is in my bones, air is in my nostrils, my belly supplies water.
In French : Remember, my dear and esteemed friend, your faithful and sincere Brother Ehrnstein
Deputy Master of Lodge " Constancy "
Vienna, 9/9/1784. Doctor of Medicine.

The Latin words seem to be a corrupt hermetic formula. Kronauer's index, No. 24, shows that he was also Treasurer of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Austria. His full name was Joseph Anton von Ehrenstein, M.D. (*cf. Abafi,* iv, 113, 181 and 320.)

Page 27 r. *In German :* The light which shines from the other side of the river is strong enough to encourage and cheer the upright man ; and yet weak enough to prevent the fanatic and foolhardy from rushing into it. We will go along, my friend, prudent and good on our way to the river, and we will land worthily in the land of abundant Light and Peace.
Vienna, 13 Oct., 1784. Jacob Fauth
Professor of Theology in Heidelberg.

Page 28 s. Drawing of a Temple to Mens Bona, and the *Latin sentence :* Good Conscience, if thou art a Goddess, I give myself to thy priestly service.
9/3/1784. Bernh. Sam. Matolay

Bernhard Samuel Matolay von Zsolna, Imp. and Roy. Court Agent, Chancellor of the Sachsen-Meiningen Legation. Initiated in 1776 in the Viennese Lodge " Crowned Hope ", Secretary a year later, and from 1778 Orator and Treasurer. Last mentioned as Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Austria and Deputy Master of his Mother Lodge. Afterwards a Rosicrucian, one of the leading Freemasons of Austria at that time. (*cf. Abafi,* iii, iv and v.)

Page 28 r. *In Latin :* What's the use of this ?
Vienna, 25/10/1784. Reiter

Imp. and Roy. Bohemian and Austrian Court Agent ; Member of Lodge " True Unity " in Vienna.

Page 29 s. & r. A long poem in German in praise of Masonry, of little interest and without signature or date.

Page 30 s. *Quotation in Latin :* To believe is a mental act, not a law but an act of God, which God gives or denies when and to whom He will ; not to believe is the denial, not the transgression, of a fundamental Divine Law. (Hobbes, *Leviath.,* ch. 26.)
20/10/1784. In memory of fraternal love,
Josephus de Retzer
Member of Lodge " True Unity ", Or. Vienna.
Imp. and Roy. Court Secretary and Book-Censor.

Joseph Friedrich von Retzer (1754-1824) was an Historian, a Masonic Poet and an outstanding member of Lodge " True Unity " ; also an Illuminatus. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Hobbes' actual words in Chapter 26 are: Faith of supernatural law is not a fulfilling but only an assenting to the same, and not a duty that we exhibit to God, but a gift which God freely giveth to whom He pleaseth ; as also unbelief is not a breach of any of His laws, but a rejection of them all, except the laws natural.

Page 30 r. *In Greek :* I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth.
10/11/1784. Achka
in memory of himself
Member of Lodge " St. Joseph " in the Orient of Vienna.

Attached is a silhouette of Laurenz Leopold Haschka. Haschka (1749-1827) was a Poet, and in 1797 Curator of the University Library of Vienna. He was initiated in 1781 in Lodge " St. Joseph ". During the time of Leopold II and Franz II he became a tool of the reactionary Secret Police. (*cf. Abafi,* iii and iv.)

Page 31 s. *In German:* The world is a theatre. You arrive, look round and pass away, and you will be forgotten whoever you may be. You are happy if this is no concern to you, and it will be so, if Wisdom and Virtue live peacefully under your roof.

30/10/84. To you in memory of your friend and Br:
Leopold Alois Hoffmann
Professor in the Hungarian University.
Member and Secretary of Lodge " Charity ", Or. Vienna.

As Secretary of the Lodge, he forgot to circularise Mozart's application for Initiation, and a special dispensation had to be granted for the Initiation. Later he became an embittered enemy of the Craft and an informer for the Secret Police. (*cf. Abafi,* ii and iii ; *Freimaurer Museum,* vii ; and *A.Q.C.,* xxvi, 254). At this point is inserted a silhouette of Joseph von Retzer.

Page 31 r. Emblematical drawing with *German inscription:*

Strive for Wisdom, Virtue, peace at heart!
This only is happiness, the Owl tells incessantly.

1/11/1784. J.M.W.
Professor at Freiburg.
Member of Lodge " True Unity " in the Orient of Vienna.

Johann Maria Weissegger von Weisseneck was Professor of World History in the University of Freiburg. He joined Lodge " True Unity " as a F.C. in 1784. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 32 s. *In Latin:* Let us leave something behind which may bear witness to our having lived.

Vindobona, 13/1/87. Hackel
Russian Imperial Court Counsellor and
Governor for the Duke of Gallitzin.

Page 32 r. *In English:* Patience and tranquillity of mind contribute more to cure our distempers as the whole art of Medicine.

Vienna, 30 March, 1787. Your true and sincere friend
and Br: in the O:
Wolfgang Amadé Mozart
Member of Lodge " New Crowned Hope," O: of W:

Page 33 s. *In Latin:* In making new friends, do not forget the old.

Vienna, 1/4/1787. Jo^{s}. Szegedi

Imp. and Roy. Court Secretary at the Hungarian-Transylvanian Court Chancellery, 1785. Member of Lodge " Crowned Hope ". (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 33 r. Drawing of a Lodge Carpet, or Tracing Board.

Page 34 s. *In German:* Be happy,
Love without disquiet,
Own without satiety,
Demand to enjoy,
Make others . . .
But never be so yourself.

Born in Berlin. Dedicated by a friend and Br:
H. T. Löwen

Vienna, 26th Sept., 1784.

Page 34 r. *In Latin:* The greatest reward of well-doing is to have done it. Sen.

9/9/84 In memory of fraternal love
at the Orient of Vienna. Fr: Koefil
Member of the Lodge " True Unity " in Or. Vienna.
Professor in Lemberg.

Dominik Siegfried von Kofil, Professor in Vienna 1774-1784, 1796 Government Councillor. In 1784 was Orator of Lodge " True Unity ". An Illuminatus. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 35 s. Blank.

Page 35 r. *In Latin:* I am happy to be praised by you, a praised man.
In witness of fraternal obedience
I have written this at Vienna
9/10/1784. Your faithful and sincere Brother
Stephanus Andreas Haslinger
Court Agent.

Page 36 s. *In Italian:* Eggs and love and union.
In Latin: In memory of fraternal love.
12/2/1787. Adam Bartsch

This appears to be a second entry by the Brother who did the drawing on Page 11 r.

Page 36 r. *In Latin:* Under this sign lies hidden no uncertain virtue.
Vienna, 24/6/1785. Joh. Georg Haradauer
Member of Lodge "Hope" in O. of Vienna.

Johann Georg Haradauer was Imp. and Roy. Bridgebuilding Inspector. In 1775 he was Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Vienna; in 1778, S.W. of Lodge "Hope". He resigned in 1779 and joined Lodge "Friendship" in Warasdin. (*cf. Abafi,* ii and iii.)

Page 37 s. *In German:*
Wide open, like God's mountains,
Is the Sanctuary of Freemasonry;
Joyful and blessed to enter therein,
It is open eternally to every noble man,
But it will never be profaned,
By one who shuns the midday sun.
Orient of Vienna, Dedicated to a friend and Br:
27/XI/1791. by Joh. Michael Horvath
W.M. of Lodge "Crowned Hope".

There seems something queer about this entry, for Lodge "Crowned Hope" became "New Crowned Hope" in 1785.

Page 37 r. Blank.

Page 38 s. A symbolical painting. In a cave a figure sits before an open book, on which is written in *German:* "To the best art which ever blossomed, full of Wisdom, Beauty and Strength." Behind the book is a nook in the rock, with a light and a skull, and above the *Latin inscription:* "I am used up by serving." On the table-cover beneath the book are Sq. and C.s in F.C. position. There is no signature, name or date.

Page 38 r. *In German:* Remain always in good health, my friend.
This is the sincere wish of Brochowski and Rottermund.
Vienna, 18/2/1787.

This book shows that both were Cavalry Captains in the Austrian Army and members of Lodge "New Crowned Hope". According to *Abafi,* iv, 214, Thadaus von Brochowski was holder of the Maria Therese Cross (the equivalent of the Victoria Cross).

Page 39 s. *In French:* . . . through love any miracle is possible.—Henriade.
Vienna, 26/2/1787.
Baron von Calisch
Member of Lodge "Crowned Hope" in O. of Vienna.
Clerk in Holy Orders, Augsburg Confession.

Appears in the members' list of Lodge "New Crowned Hope" in 1793 as an absent member.

Page 39 r. *In German:*
Only the spirit makes your happiness,
Outside things are only the chance for burden and sorrow.
A satisfied mind can sweeten the bitterest gall,
As a quiet mind flows out of all depression.
26/11/86. Wentzel Paar
Count and Court Chamberlain.

W.M., Lodge "Crowned Hope", in 1785. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 40 s. *In Latin:* Seek Wisdom in the traces of Creation, imprinted thereon by the Creator.
Vienna, 2/3/86. Johan v. Bohuss
Captain.

In French: Nature acts, we talk.

Johann Bohus de Pethofalva, Captain of an Hussar Regiment till 1780. Theosophist and Magus, holder of the highest (7th) Rosicrucian Grade. Initiated in Lodge "Crowned Hope" in 1780. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 40 r. *In German:* The yoke of foolish arrogance adheres to our souls; as long as we are its servants, there will be something missing for ever and ever.
19/11/86. Wenzel Count Sauer
Court Chamberlain, Privy Councillor and Governor of the County of Tyrol.

In 1776, member of Lodge "Three Lilies", Temesvar, Hungary. In 1782, member of Lodge "Crowned Hope", and in 1785 of "True Unity", both in Vienna. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.) There is a discrepancy in Kronauer's statement that in November, 1786, he was a member of "Crowned Hope".

Page 41 s. *In German:* The shadows on the sundial and a friend in disguise are the same. Both are only visible as long as the sun shines. May it never be dull weather, but if fate so decree, may you have friends who are even then visible, is the wish, to the venerable owner of this book, of his sincere and devoted servant
18/10/86. J. H. F. Muller
Member of the Imp. and Roy. National Theatre.

Page 41 r. In German: A human being only becomes a human being by education.
Vienna, 6/6/87. G. Straus

Gottfried Strauss, teacher at the Protestant School in Pressburg (now Bratislava). (*cf. Abafi,* v.) Member of Lodge "Security" at Pressburg.

Page 42 s. Pen drawing stuck on this page, marked "Engraved by J. Adam". No other signature. The significance of the picture is not clear.

Page 42 r. Another Lodge Carpet, or Tracing Board, unsigned.

Page 43 s. *In Latin:* Horace, *Odes,* i, 13, 1.17 (Conington's translation).
Happy, happy, happy they
Whose living love, untroubled by all strife,
Binds them till the last sad day,
Nor parts asunder but with parting life!
At the Orient of Vienna,
19/3/84. Written in memory of himself
Lang
Member of Lodge "Crowned Hope" in O: of Vienna.
Councillor to the Prince of Leiningen.

Friedrich Wendelin Lang was in 1782 a member of Lodge "Crowned Hope", and in 1783 a Founder of Lodge "Charity". (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 43 r. *In Latin:* I choose the better.
Vienna, 23/11/86. de Herbst

Philip von Herbst, Ensign in the Regiment Ferdinand von Toscana. Member of Lodge "The Three Eagles" in Vienna in 1781. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 44 s. Female silhouette. No name or identification.

Page 44 r. *In German:* The hearts of friends are like pendulums. They all oscillate within the circle of Friendship, but with different speeds. One beats lively, another lazily, and a third not at all, depending on how near they are to us.
Vienna, 5/9/86. Deurer
Protestant Preacher.

Initiated in Lodge "True Unity" in 1785. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 45 s. Signature only: Franz von Mukusch und Buchberg, Vienna.

He was a Lieutenant in the Callenberg Infantry. A member of "True Unity" in 1783. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 45 r. *In Latin:* Horace, *Odes,* iii, 3, 11.1, 7 and 8 (Conington's translation).
The man of firm and righteous will.

. . . . . .

Should Nature's pillar'd frame give way,
That wreck would strike one fearless head.

Quoted in memory of friendship
Daniel Fabian
Secretary of the Principality of Transylvania.

Page 46 s. Emblematical design, without name or signature.

Page 46 r. *In Latin:* Whatever you do, do cautiously, and look to the end.
Vienna, 21/9/1786. Frater v. Seeliger

Johann Seeliger, 2nd Lieutenant in the Regiment Ferdinand of Toscana. In 1782, member of Lodge " The Three Eagles ", Vienna. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 47 s. Silhouette portrait of Joseph Fran: Ratschky.

Page 47 r. [A wheel of life] *In Latin:*

Peace produces riches,
Riches, pride,
Pride, scorn,
Scorn, discord,
Discord, war,
War, poverty,
Poverty, humility,
Humility, peace.

[*cf.* The old English Wheel:

War begets poverty,
Poverty, peace,
Peace begets riches,
With abundant increase;
Riches beget pride,
Pride is war's ground,
War begets poverty,
So goes the round.]

J. F. Ratschky
13/11/1784.

Joseph Franz von Ratschky (1757-1810), State Councillor, censor, poet and author. In 1783 a member of Lodge " True Unity ". He wrote the words for Mozart's " Gesellenreise ". He was a contributor to the Viennese *Journal for Freemasons.* (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 48 s. *In Latin:* A friend is known
by love,
by habit,
by face,
by fact.

30/7/84. J. B. Wilkowitz
Orator and member of Lodge " Crowned Hope " in the Orient of Vienna. Chancellor at the Episcopal Consistory at Linz, in Upper Austria. Died in 1785.

Page 48 r. *In English:* Life is a jest, and all things show it.—Gay.
Orient of Vienna, 23/11/1784. Hiesberger

Leopold Hiesberger (1758-1845), Imp. Court Clerk and Libretto-writer. Joined Lodge " True Unity " as an M.M. in 1784. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 49 s. *In French:* All men owe a tribute of their activity to the public, and ought to force themselves to leave an honourable trace of their existence.
[Signature illegible]

A small Cabalistic design.
In German: Herein all secrets are hidden. Happy the man who can understand these hieroglyphics.
Vienna, 1/4/89. [Signature illegible]

Page 49 r. A German verse of exhortation.
Vienna, 19/6/1791. Dedicated in memory of Johann v. Scheidlin

Von Scheidlin was a banker from Nuremburg.

Page 50 s. Silhouette portrait of Aloys Blumauer.

Page 50 r. *In Latin:* Horace, *Odes,* ii, 10, 22 (Conington's translation).
Be brave in trouble; meet distress with dauntless front.
Vienna, 18/11/84. Written in memory of Blumauer

Aloys Blumauer (1755-1798), book censor, and from 1793 a book-seller; a famous poet and author. Initiated in Lodge "True Unity" on 24th April, 1782. He was Editor of the Viennese *Journal for Freemasons*; twelve quarterly numbers were issued 1784-86. His collected works (amongst them many Masonic poems) appeared in several editions. He was an Illuminatus. (*cf. Abafi,* ii, iv and v, Biography by Hofmann-Wellenhof, etc.)

Page 51 s. Silhouette portrait of Johann v. Alxinger.

Page 51 r. *In Latin:* Excellent is the harmony of Brethren. This displeases.
Alxingerus

Johann Baptist v. Alxinger (1755-1797), Doctor of Law, Court Secretary, poet and author. Member of Lodge "St. Joseph" from 1779, later Orator, and in 1790 Deputy Master. Illuminatus. (*cf. Abafi,* ii, iii and iv.)

Page 52 s. *In Hebrew and Latin:* And Melchizedek King of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the Priest of the Most High God. And he blessed him.—Genesis, xiv, 18.
Orient of Vienna, 24/4/85. Professor Michaeler
Librarian of the University of Vienna, member of Lodge "True Unity", Or. Vienna.

Karl Joseph Michaeler (1735-1804) was Professor of History at the University of Innsbruck. He was initiated in 1777 in Lodge "The Three Mountains" at Innsbruck; joined "True Unity", Vienna, in 1783. He was the author of *Resignation of a Catholic about the Papal Bulls against Freemasonry,* a tract which appeared in 1782 in Nurnberg. He was a contributor to the Viennese *Journal for Freemasons.* (*cf. Abafi,* iv, v.)

Page 52 r. *In German:* I believe that one would find light much sooner, if one would only search for it in one's own soul.
Vienna, 9/4/1785. Fernand Loibel
[Apparently signed with a nickname]

Johann Martin Loibel, Councillor at the Hungarian-Transylvanian Court Accountancy Office. He was initiated in Hermanstadt, Transylvania, and came to Vienna in 1781. From 1782-3 he was a member of Lodge "The Three Eagles", W.M. of Lodge "The Palm-Tree" in 1784, and G.D.C. of the Grand Lodge of Austria, member of Lodge "Truth" from 1786-9, and W.M. of the Rosicrucian Lodge "Love and Truth" in 1791. (*cf. Abafi,* iv; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart and the Viennese Lodges,* 1932.)

Page 53 s. *In English:* An honest man is the noblest work of God.—Pope.
And the Principal of an Frank-Mason.
Oedenburg, 2/10/1785. Charles Rakvitz
Pasteur de l'eglise luth.

Protestant preacher, and member in 1785 of Lodge "Security", Bratislava. (*cf. Abafi,* v.)

Page 53 r. *In German:* What is light? Where do we look for it? Inside the Lodge, or out? Perhaps in vain here below.
Or. Vienna, 20/6/89. J. de Luca
M.M. and member of the Lodge "Crowned Hope".

Ignaz de Luca, Professor of Law at the Viennese University. Later, Imp. and Roy. Councillor, Geographer, Statistician and Historian of Literature. In 1784, member of Lodge "Charity". (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 54 s. German quatrain, of little interest.
As a humble memento to my admirable friend and Bro. in the Order.
Franc: de Rodius, German Noble Guard.
Member of Lodge "The Three Eagles".
In the Orient of Vienna, 8/10/1785.

Page 54 r. Another entry by the same Brother, five weeks later. Symbolical drawing and inscription in French of little interest.
Vienna, 17/11/1785. Francois de Rodius
German Noble Guard.

Franz de Rodius was a First Lieutenant.

Page 55 s. and r. An anonymous Germany entry, and two anonymous silhouettes, one concealed under an elaborate paper screen. Dated Vienna, the 6th of the Summer Month, 1786. No clues as to authorship.

Page 56 s. *In French:* Man is like ice towards the truth,
He is like fire for lies.
Or. Vienna, 3 October, 1786. Bro. Ludovicus
of the Golden Lilies.

Page 56 r. Entry in French, of little interest.
17/9/1786. Greblas
Member of Lodge " Crowned Hope ", Vienna.
Private Secretary to the Prince of Lichtenstein.

Theobald Wallaschek von Wallberg, Secretary of the reigning Prince Louis of Lichtenstein ; later, Director of the Ducal Forestry. Technical writer. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 57 s. *In German:* Remember your brother and friend.
25/9/1786. Anton Grassi
Member of Lodge " Consistency ", Or. Vienna.
Director, Imp. and Roy. Porcelain Factory.

He was a member of the Academy of Arts and an outstanding artist. Some of the best statues in the park of the Imperial Palace " Schönbruun " are his work. He was a friend of Mozart. (*cf. Abafi,* iv.)

Page 57 r. *In Latin:* And behold the veil of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.—Matt., xxvii, 51.
16/10/1785. Koch
Member of Lodge " True Unity ", Or. Vienna.

Dr. Joseph Koch, barrister. He was raised at the same time as Leopold Mozart (the father) on April 22nd, 1785. (*cf. Abafi,* iv ; O. E. Deutsch, *Mozart and the Viennese Lodges.*)

Pages 58 s. to 62 s. Kronauer's index of names, in chronological order. The writing seems poor for a teacher of the French language. Entry 48 has been scratched out and is illegible. Entry 42 seems to have been written by the author of the entry, quite a different handwriting—perhaps Baron von Ecker and Eckhoffen did not trust our friend Kronauer to put in all his titles!

Page 62 r. A water-colour of Diogenes, which looks as if it had been stuck into the book, with a German rhyme about Diogenes, signed " Malvieux inv. & del." Was this George Ludwig Malvieux, part owner of the iron works in Brezowa, Hungary, a well-known Freemason of his period ? In 1774 he was Orator of Lodge " The Three Eagles ", in 1776 Warden of Lodge " The Palm-Tree ", and in 1783-4 Warden of Lodge " St. Joseph " ; he is still shown as an absent member of the latter in 1793.

Page 63 s. Blank.

Page 63 r. *In Latin:* What the shoulders can carry, and what they will not.
16/5/1792. [Signature in cypher] Thunn

This is probably Franz Joseph Count Thunn-Klosterle-Hohenstein (1734-1801). He was Court Chamberlain, acting Court Councillor, Knight of the Order of St. Stephen of Toscany. He was a Mystic and a Mesmerist, and from 1763 a member of several Viennese Lodges. (*cf. Abafi,* i, iii, iv ; G. Brabbee, *Sub Rosa* ; Dr. E. Besetzny, *The Sphinx,* Vienna, 1873.)

Page 64 s. *In German:* Rabbi Alieser Schamuenssohn said: Respect your Apprentices like yourself ; esteem your Fellowcraftsmen as if they were your teachers ; honour your Master as if he were placed above you directly by God Himself.—From the original text of the *Precepts of the Fathers,* 4th chapter.
Vienna, 21/3/1786. Wenzel Epstein
With a silhouette portrait between the date and the signature.

Wenzel Epstein von Ankerberg (1758-1824) was Government Secretary and Court Councillor, a well-known numismatist, collector of paintings, author and chess master. He wrote the preface to Mozart's " Maurerfreude ". He was Warden of Lodge " Crowned Hope " in 1785. (*cf. Abafi,* iii, iv ; O. E. Deutsch, *Mozart and the Viennese Lodges.*)

Page 64 r. A symbolical water-colour, with a German quatrain, of little interest; there is no signature.

Page 65 s. Blank.

Page 65 r. Another symbolical water-colour, with a German inscription, signed "Andr. v. Beck", 29/12/1778, of whom nothing is known.

Page 66 s. Blank.

Page 66 r. A symbolical drawing, showing an Altar, with sword and compasses crossed on the Vulgate, opened at the first verses of St. John's Gospel. No signature.

Page 67 s. Drawing of a jewelled Maltese Cross, and a crowned eagle superimposed.

The book concludes with a short further list of names, in a different writing from Kronauer's. This last entry was apparently written at a much later date.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Bernhart for his paper, and to Bro. Bastin for so kindly working the Epidiascope, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. F. L. Pick, E. Winterburg, H. Carr and R. Gold.

The W.M. said:—

When I first came across this little book in our Library, I was fascinated by it; but owing to my ignorance of German, much of it was hidden from me, and I (in part selfishly) wished that it could be made available to me and to all others who are interested in the sparkling days of Mozart's Vienna. I showed it to Bro. Bernhart, who readily agreed to produce a paper about it. It has entailed a tremendous lot of hard work, and could only have been done by a Brother with willing collaborators in Austria.

If the actual contents of the book are somewhat disappointing, I suppose that was to be expected from an autograph book; but the information which Bro. Bernhart has been able to accumulate about the signatories will help to fill the gaps in our knowledge of Austrian Freemasonry before the days of its persecution.

This paper would have been impossible without Bro. Bastin's kind assistance at the epidiascope, and in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Bernhart for his paper, I would also include our thanks to Bro. Bastin for his help.

The S.W. said:—

It is with great pleasure that I second the vote of thanks, for Bro. Bernhart has very agreeably broken new ground, which will surely lead many of us to search old Books of Friends and Autograph Albums in the hope of finding as interesting material, and it is pleasant to know that this book resides in its native city.

I am thankful, too, that Bro. Bernhart has quoted the interesting circular with regard to the Candidature of Mozart. Its circulation to Sister Lodges is a pleasing feature that could, with advantage, be copied to-day by neighbouring Lodges.

With some surprise we find that many of the Craft were interested in the "Secret Sciences" and "Rosicrucianism", as I suspect were also many of the English Brethren, which may well have affected the Craft Ritual as handed down to us. Some seem to have exceeded the proper bounds and suffered expulsion.

Ant. Groppenberger's aphorism: "The wise one perceives at Adonyram's Grave the fate destined for him by Jehovah—raises the question whether "H.A." was intended, and also whether there was a material exposition in the Third Degree.

The quotation from John Gay: "Life's a jest and all things show it", gives me pleasure, for John Gay was born in my native town of Barnstaple, where in the Ancient Grammar School are still to be seen the desks at which he studied under the mastership of Robert Luck.

The paper shows immense industry in collecting so much information on the personalities in the book, for which we must be very grateful to Bro. Bernhart, and our thanks may well be expressed in one of the aphorisms quoted:—

" He who combines the instructive with the pleasant, and the pleasant with the instructive commands approbation ".

Bro. FRED PICK *writes*:—

Many English readers of this interesting paper will be unfamiliar with the social and political background of Freemasonry in Austria and the adjacent states, especially as it was inexpedient to re-publish that part of *Gould's History* in our late Bro. Poole's edition. I hope it will be possible to include in the published version a little more background as well as a few illustrations.

Freemasonry in Austria appears to have had a few very necessary influential members with the general body drawn from the official and minor military classes while it had constantly to face the hostility of the Roman Catholic Church. During Kronauer's time it was tolerated, though in Bavaria the Elector forbade in 1785 the taking part in Freemasonry of any of the officials. More than half a century later we find Metternich, himself the son of a Freemason, as the opponent of the Craft and transferring to distant parts of the Empire officials guilty of the " crime " of being connected with a Lodge in Vienna.

Kronauer appears to have been something of a lion hunter and it would be interesting to speculate what he would have done, given the opportunities of a Boswell. As it is, we have some interesting side-lights on Mozart and others and, as a Provincial Grand Secretary, I can assure Bro. Bernhart that Bro. Hoffman has his counterparts to-day. Some of the contributors appear to have been dabblers, if nothing more, in the welter of additional degrees and curious philosophies so common at the time, and several of the quotations ring familiar to to-day's members of the S.R.I.A.

Bro. E. WINTERBURG said:—

An interesting feature of Bro. Bernhart's paper about the Kronauer Autograph Book is the fact that he brought to life by his notes all these personalities who are immortalised in one or the other way in this remarkable book, but still more interesting for Freemasons are the additional remarks of his own regarding one of the greatest men of these times, *i.e.*, Bro. Mozart. The custom to have an autograph book or album, as it is called in England or the " Stammbuch," as we know it in Austria, was at its peak during the Regency and early Victorian period in this country and during the so-called Biedermeierzeit in Austria and Germany. Rhymes, sketches by pencil and pen, watercolours showing mostly flowers, but in the majority silhouettes were the usual contents of these books, and it may be of interest to mention that the latter were an English invention as the Licence No. 1100 dated 24th June, 1775, and granted to a certain Mrs. Sarah Harrington shows.

The correct name of this art was shadowgraphy. The capital of the silhouette on the Continent in the eighteenth century was Vienna, and a quite considerable part of our knowledge of universal and masonic history of this country, we owe to the silhouettes stuck into albums such as we have seen to-day. Kronauer was, as we heard in the paper, not very successful in collecting entries of the great ones in his little book, but the mentioned Hieronymus Loschenkohl (1780) German born and living in Vienna came probably to help and with silhouettes out of his collection Kronauer's book may have been completed.

For Freemasons it is interesting again that a strong rival of Loschenkohl, the Frenchman Francois Gonard, who lived in Vienna at the same time, published in 1781 an album about 1,000 elaborately cut silhouettes of personalities of the Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemia nobility, among them friends of Mozart, whose pictures were unknown before. Some of them, *e.g.*, Otto von Gemmingen, Ignaz von Born, Count Wenzel Paar and Baptist Alxinger, were quoted in to-day's paper as members of the Craft.

There exists only one copy in the Viennese National Library, but not earlier than 1922 a book was published in Vienna by the writer Victor Klarwill, which contained about 120 of Gonord's silhouettes, most of them Freemasons, a fact which Klarwill mentioned in the historical notes to every single picture, adding the name of the respective Lodge.

Bro. CARR *writes*:—

We are indebted to Bro. Bernhart for an interesting paper. He has shown what many students have long suspected, *i.e.*, that there is a wealth of source-material for Masonic

historians to be found in the most unexpected places. This " Bruder-Buch " is a typical example. It shows, *inter alia,* that the Craft, which had been established in Vienna since 1742, had managed to gain some very respectable adherents, despite the Royal opposition of the Empress Maria Theresa, who died in 1780. Apart from the few famous men who signed Kronauer's album, the remainder may have been, as Bro. Bernhart says, " rank and file ", but they included men of science and learning, court officials, musicians and diplomats, and generally it would seem that, under the benevolent rule of Joseph II, Viennese Masonry was gaining ground in the very best circles.

For me, one of the most interesting points in the book is the small collection of Hebrew inscriptions, with the signatures of several known Jews and a few doubtful ones. After centuries of religious and racial oppression, Joseph II instituted a series of liberal reforms 1781-1782, which were intended to raise the status of the Jews so that they were to become almost equal to his other subjects. The measures were by no means complete, but a great number of restrictions and disabilities were removed, and tolerance became a fashionable virtue.

The " Bruder-Buch " shows that Jews were participating in the Masonic life of the capital, and the Hebrew inscriptions suggest that they were under no pains to hide their adherence to the ancient faith.

Bro. ROBERT GOLD *writes*:—

We must be grateful to Bro. Bernhart for introducing this autograph album to a wider circle than has hitherto known of its existence. This album throws indeed an interesting light on the sort of persons who were members of Lodges in Austria in the years 1783-1791. It appears that there were 95 individuals who made entries in the album containing some writing. Of these, 76 are identifiable as members of the Craft, although it can probably safely be assumed that most of the remainder were also Masons ; 13 were visitors to Vienna from places outside Austria-Hungary ; two from Sweden ; the rest from German-speaking parts. The languages in which the entries were made (apart from German) are noteworthy ; there are 36 entries in Latin, 10 in French, three in English (including that of W. A. Mozart), two in Hebrew, two in Italian and two in ancient Greek. Therefore, it can be seen that over half the entries are in languages other than the writer's mother tongue ; if these were the rank and file of Masonry in Vienna, as Bro. Bernhart suggests, it shows a level of education amongst members of Lodges there which is certainly very remarkable.

Of the 95 entries containing writing (disregarding sketches and drawings without words), 81 give the writers' names, including nine identified as Masters of Lodges. Two of the anonymous entries are of interest: one on p. 22, because it is dated 27.11.1791, the latest date appearing under an entry, *i.e.,* in the period after the death of the Emperor Joseph II, when, under his successors, repressive measures began to be taken against Freemasonry and when the writer apparently preferred that his name should not appear in such an album. These repressive measures led to the dissolution of the last Lodge on Austrian soil about 1793, from which date no Masonic Lodges functioned in the Austrian territories of the Habsburg Empire until after its collapse in 1918. The other anonymous entry of interest is that on p. 55, which has been attributed to a woman, Gabriele von Baumberg, a poetess, who writes that she has accepted the owner's invitation to make an entry into his album because she is in a way related to him, as her uncle (a Freemason) calls him Brother! The silhouette hidden under a paper screen on this page is that of a woman.

Seven entries are from members of the Lodge " Security " in Pressburg, which, presumably, Bro. Kronauer visited when he collected these autographs. Pressburg is a town about 30 miles east of Vienna, which was just inside the Hungarian half of the Habsburg Empire. In this connection it might be of interest to point out that Pressburg acquired significance for Austrian Freemasonry in the years from about 1874 until 1918, because whereas Masonic Lodges were not permitted in the Austrian half of the Empire, they were lawful in the parts over which the Habsburgs ruled as " Kings of Hungary ". In consequence, several Lodges were founded in Pressburg which were composed entirely of persons from Vienna. And during that period of 40-odd years all Freemasons from Vienna had to make a 30-mile journey to Pressburg to attend Lodge meetings, which were prohibited in the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

I think Bro. Carr is mistaken in attributing both Hebrew entries in the album to professing Jews ; one (on p. 52) is, in fact, by a Roman Catholic theologian, but therefore of no less interest because it was made by a man who maintained his connection with the Craft in spite of the papal bulls against Freemasonry.

Bro. BERNHART *writes* in reply:—

To the W.M.'s much too kind remarks, I can only say that, without the great help I had so willingly given to me by Brethren in this country and also from Vienna, I could never have written a line of the paper which was before our Lodge.

If what Bro. Oliver says in his remarks, that my humble effort may lead to a stronger interest being taken in the search in old autograph albums, etc., perhaps some day we will discover something really interesting, and if the impulse for such a search should have come about like this, I, for one, would be very pleased that my efforts, small as they were, should have led to something important.

To Bro. Fred L. Pick's remarks, I can only say that I am grateful for them, and it is my intention, when time permits, to search a little further, if possible, into some quotations and remarks which, as he says, ring familiar to members of the S.R.I.A.

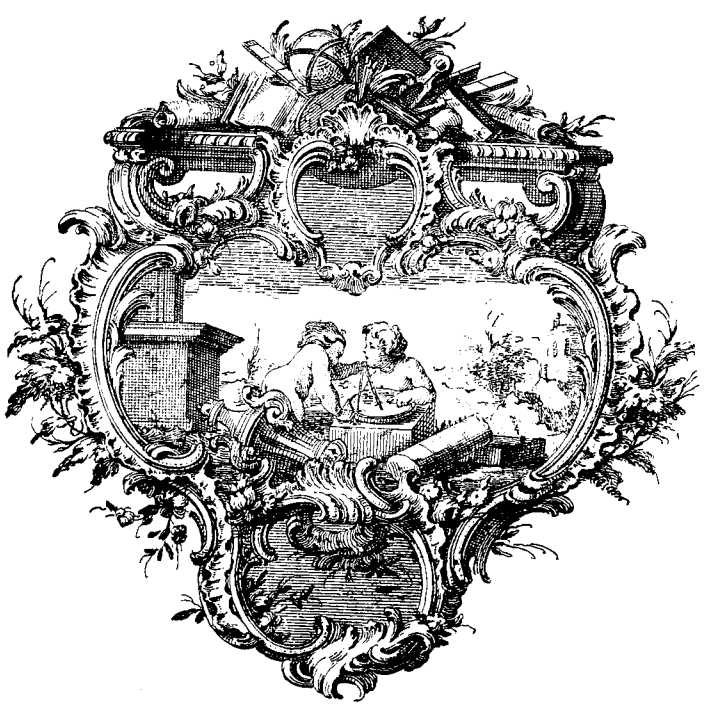
My thanks must be expressed to Bro. Winterburg's detailed statement about the history of the " silhouettes " which form such a big part in Kronauer's *Liber Amicorum.*

To Bro. Carr, my sincere thanks for his kind remarks, even if I do not quite agree with what he states.

The Craft certainly was *en vogue* at that time in Austria. I suspect that a much wider knowledge of Hebrew existed amongst the classes from which Freemasonry in Austria recruited its members ; the interest in Alchemy and the Cabbala was great in those days.

As to professing Jews being members, I am rather doubtful—until we can lay our hands on a contemporary Ritual, I suggest that it was still a Christian one. But many Jews found it easier for them if they adopted the Christian Faith.

Last, but certainly not least, my sincere thanks to Bro. Bastin for his handling of the epidiascope, without which my scribblings would have been as dry as dust.



NOTES

CORRECTION.—In the discussion of Bro. Booth's paper on the All Saints' Lodge at Wooler, which appeared in the last volume of the *Transactions* (Vol. lxvii, p. 137-8), the statement was made by Bro. E. Ward and confirmed by the author of the paper that there was no installation ceremony included in the work entitled *The Three Distinct Knocks, etc.*

This is entirely erroneous. The same embryo ceremony of Installation appears which, somewhat expanded, is given in the later work, *Jachin and Boaz.*

It is well, I think, to correct this error, as the appearance in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* of the statement unquestioned might well be misleading to those not familiar with the works in question and not in a position to refer to them.

It may be that Bros. Ward and Booth were thinking of a full-blown Installation ceremony, and had this been made clear there would have been no need for this correction. But, then, there is no fully developed ceremony of any kind in the Three Distinct Knocks.

R. J. MEEKREN.

Bro. H. C. BOOTH *writes*:—

Re my paper on the Wooler Lodges in Vol. lxvii, Bro. R. J. Meekren points out that I concurred in Bro. Ward's remark that *Three Distinct Knocks* has no reference to the Installation ceremony. I was partly in error, as I found later, since I had missed the reference which was given in "The Charge given to the Officers of a Lodge"; but I used the words "Installation Ceremony". What is given in both *T.D.K.* and *J. and B.* is nothing like the ceremony I quoted in my Installation Address, which is taken from an old Swalwell MS. and is said to date from the Duke of Wharton's time, but which I may not print.

The Gregorians in Norfolk.—There is no doubt that a Chapter of the Order of Gregorians existed in Norwich at least as early as 1749. On Easter Monday, 27th March, 1749, a performance was given at the "White Swan" Theatre in Norwich of a play called "The Miser", "by order of the Grand and the rest of the Brethren of the Most Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians". During the evening the "original Gregorian songs" were rendered by Mr. Cunningham and Mrs. Hill, two of the regular members of the Norwich Company of Comedians. Frequent "bespeak" performances of a similar nature are recorded in subsequent years.

The Norwich Gregorians had their Chapter Room at the "White Swan" Inn, in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, where they can be traced until the early years of the nineteenth century. The "White Swan" was situated in the Market Place, just west of St. Peter Mancroft Church, and was an ancient and important hotel and posting house. In recent years it has been used as business premises and warehouses, but remains of the old building are still to be seen. From 1731 until the opening of the new Theatre in Chapel Field in 1758, the Norwich Company of Comedians had their playhouse there. The "Maid's Head" Lodge, then the premier Masonic Lodge of Norfolk, removed to the "White Swan" on the 3rd June, 1778, and stayed there until 1809, when the Lodge was erased from the roll. The "White Swan" was also the meeting place from 1787 of the "Three Tuns", an Atholl Lodge.

It was the custom of the Norwich Gregorians to hold annually an "anniversary" Venison Feast—possibly in commemoration of the foundation of the Chapter. This usually took place during July, but was sometimes deferred to the early part of August. The "venison feast" was not an uncommon form of entertainment in the eighteenth century, and there are Press records of similar functions arranged by other social organisations about that time of the year, when, no doubt, venison was "in season". It was an outdoor event, and the place chosen by the Gregorians for their celebrations was Postwick Grove, a well-wooded beauty spot on the left bank of the River Yare, some four miles downstream from the City of Norwich. To this rendezvous they travelled in state by water. The excursion of 1753 is thus described in the columns of the *Norwich Mercury*:—

> "On Thursday last, July 12th, the 'White Swan' Chapter of the Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians proceeded in their barges from Sandling's Ferry,

> accompanied with musick and other proper attendants to Postwick Grove, where they held their Venison Feast, at which the healths of His Majesty King George, the Royal Family, the Representatives in Parliament of the County of Norfolk and the City of Norwich, with other social and friendly healths, were drank under a salute of cannon."

On the 31st July, 1759, the Venison Feast was favoured with the company of the High Sheriff of Norfolk (Richard Fuller, Esq.), Sir Horatio Pettus, Bart., and Sir Randall Ward, Bart.

Richard Fuller, who was High Sheriff in 1759, had an estate at Wheatacre Burgh (Burgh St. Peter), Norfolk, as well as a handsome residence on the South Quay at Yarmouth. He thrice came forward, in 1741, 1754 and 1756, as a candidate for the representation in Parliament of the Borough of Great Yarmouth in opposition to the powerful interests of the Townshend and Walpole families. On the first two occasions he was easily defeated, but on the third, when his opponent at a bye-election was Mr. Charles Townshend (later Lord Bayning), he was beaten by the narrow majority of 32 votes. He died in 1770, aged 60, leaving no descendants.

Sir Horatio Pettus was descended from a wealthy Norwich merchant family. His great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Pettus, was created a baronet in 1641 for his loyalty to King Charles the First. Sir Horatio succeeded his brother, Sir John, in 1743. He served as High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1746. He lived on the ancestral estate at Rackheath, near Norwich. He married Rebecca, daughter of Edmund Prideaux, whose father, Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, was Dean of Norwich Cathedral. Edmund Prideaux was Worshipful Master of the " Maid's Head " Lodge in 1725. Sir Horatio Pettus died in 1772, when the title became extinct and the Rackheath estate was sold to Sir Edward Stracey, Bart.

Sir Randall Ward was the son of Sir Edward Ward, Bart., of Bixley whose wife Susannah, only child and heiress of William Randall, a wealthy Yarmouth merchant, added the Postwick estate to the Bixley property. Sir Randall became Baronet on the death of his elder brother in 1742 ; he died in 1762, when the baronetcy was extinguished. His sister Susan inherited the family possessions ; she married in 1764 Neil Primrose, third Earl of Roseberry. Lady Roseberry died at Bixley Hall in 1771 and her property, including the Postwick estate, passed to the Earl.

Sir Randall Ward and Sir Horatio Pettus were also present at the Venison Feast at Postwick Grove on the 30th July, 1761, together with Sir Edward Astley, Bart., of Melton Constable.

Sir Edward Astley was born in 1729 and was the eldest son of Sir Jacob Astley, Bart., his mother being Lucy, youngest daughter of Sir Nicholas le Strange, of Hunstanton. He succeeded his father in 1760. He was High Sheriff in 1763 and Member of Parliament for the County of Norfolk from 1768 to 1790. On the resignation of Edward Bacon, the first Provincial Grand Master for Norfolk, Sir Edward Astley was chosen to succeed him. Shortly before his installation on the 24th August, 1785, he was elected an honorary member of the " Maid's Head " Lodge at a special meeting held at the " White Swan ". At the same meeting his son, Henry Nicholas Astley, then only 17 years old, and William Earle Bulwer of Heydon, a future Provincial Grand Master for Norfolk, were initiated into Freemasonry. Sir Edward Astley was Worshipful Master of the " Maid's Head " Lodge in the following year. He held the office of Provincial Grand Master until 1798, when he resigned. He died on the 27th March, 1802, aged 72, and is buried at Melton Constable.

The summons to the Venison Feast in 1762 was signed " By Order of the Vice-Grand, Andrews Vipond, Secretary ". Of this meeting the local newspaper reported " their appearance on the water was highly agreeable and the day was spent in a cheerfulness and unanimity peculiar to that Society: and concluded with a handsome Procession to the Chapter Room, where many loyal and national Healths finished the evening with great joy and decorum."

Andrews Vipond, who was for many years Secretary of the Chapter, was an attorney-at-law practising at Norwich, where he lived in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft. In 1759 he was a candidate for a vacancy of County Coroner, then an elective post. Despite a public appeal for the support of " the Nobility, Clergy, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Norfolk ", he was defeated at the poll. About 1783 he was succeeded as Gregorian Secretary by Thomas Turner.

The sequence of gatherings at Postwick was, after the Venison Feast had been announced to take place on the 26th July, 1764, rudely interrupted by the following ultimatum published in the *Norwich Mercury*:—

> Gentlemen Gregorians,
>
> Whereas for many years last past you have taken great liberty of coming into Postwick Grove without my leave, whereby I have had great damages done me at that time and never had any recompence for the same: and I am very certain you

have no right, neither shall you come there, without first making full satisfaction for the damage done me before: therefore you are to take this as sufficient warning to keep off the said premises or you will be prosecuted as the Law directs in such case.

Postwick, July 18th, 1764. JOHN REDHEAD.

The identity of John Redhead has not been established ; he was, presumably, either owner or tenant of Postwick Grove. A family of that name was in 1822 seated at Snarehill, near Thetford. The Gregorians were apparently impressed by his threat, and the Venison Feast of that year was transferred to Bramerton on the opposite bank of the river. The dispute must have been satisfactorily settled, for in 1765 the Gregorians returned to Postwick Grove. In later years the outing was abandoned and the Feast held in Norwich. Thus, on the 26th July, 1790, the Venison Feast was at the " White Swan ", when the chair was taken by Brampton Gurdon Dillingham, Esq., of Letton, who had been High Sheriff in 1789, and, in 1800, the Gregorian brethren were desired to " meet at their Chapter Room on Friday, the 8th day of August, being the anniversary Venison Feast and the choice of Officers for the year ensuing."

Mention may here be made of the foundation of a new Chapter of Gregorians at Great Yarmouth. By notice in the *Norwich Mercury*, the Brethren of the most Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians belonging to the " White Swan " Chapter were requested to attend their Vice-Grand at the " Wrestlers " Inn, Yarmouth, at 1 p.m. on Tuesday, the 16th of May, 1758, " in order for constituting a new Chapter pursuant to a Deputation ". The Chapter was duly formed and the event was celebrated by a dinner in the evening at Yarmouth Town Hall. While the company was gathering at the festive board, a chimney caught fire and the flames spread to the roof of the building. The outbreak was not discovered until a shower of molten lead poured into the Hall. Fortunately the conflagration was overcome without any considerable damage to the fabric and, though there was general confusion among the diners, there was no injury to life or limb. On the 17th January, 1759, the Gregorians attended a bespeak performance at the Yarmouth Theatre of " Love makes a Man or the Fop's Fortune " and on the 7th March, 1759, they met at 1 p.m. at their Chapter Room at the " Wrestlers " to choose their officers for the ensuing year. Unhappily, the names of the Yarmouth brethren are not available, except that the Secretary was one Peter Carr, who appears to have been a local bookseller and stationer with a business on the Quay at the corner of the new Broad Row. This Chapter has been traced as attending a request performance at Yarmouth of " The Author " by Samuel Foote on the 4th January, 1764, and as holding their annual meeting at the " Wrestlers " on the 6th March, 1765, when Peter Carr was still Secretary, but no later record of their activities has been discovered.

Among the many distinguished gentlemen who joined the Norwich Gregorian Chapter was Thomas William Coke, who afterwards was created by Queen Victoria Lord Leicester of Holkham. This famous agriculturist, who did so much for the advancement of farming and stock-breeding in Norfolk, was born in 1754 and succeeded to the Holkham estates on the death of his father in 1776. Except for one brief interval, he was Member of Parliament for the County of Norfolk from 1776 to 1832. As a Freemason he was chosen Provincial Grand Master for Norfolk and installed at the Assembly Rooms, Norwich, by the Duke of Sussex on the 23rd of August, 1819. He continued to hold office until his death on the 30th June, 1842. Two days after his investiture as Provincial Grand Master, he was installed as Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masons in Norfolk by the Duke of Sussex at a Grand Chapter held at Holkham Hall. In the notice of the annual meeting for the choice of Officers by the Norwich Chapter of Gregorians in 1778, Thomas William Coke was announced as President. On the 19th of July, 1779, he entertained the Gregorians as a body at Holkham Hall.

In 1778 John Patteson, a leading Norwich merchant and brewer, who was then Mayor of the City, was Grand of the Gregorians and, in that capacity, attended a bespeak performance at the Theatre Royal on the 23rd of January. During the war with France, John Patteson raised a regiment of volunteers, of which he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel. In 1802 he was elected Member of Parliament for the City of Norwich.

In November, 1788, the centenary of the landing in England of the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William the Third, was celebrated by the Norwich Gregorians with a dinner at two local inns. The Mayor, John Patteson, presided at the " White Swan " and the Chairman at the " King's Head " was John Harvey, who became Mayor of Norwich in 1792. Friends were invited as guests and a sumptuous repast was provided. Venison for the occasion was sent by Lord Buckingham, Sir John Wodehouse and the Mayor. Among those present were the Earl of Roseberry, the Hon. Henry Hobart, Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir John Wodehouse and Sir John Berney. John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire, had a distinguished career and was Ambassador to Russia in the time of Catherine the Great. His seat was at Blickling, Norfolk. His brother, the Hon. Henry Hobart, was born in 1738 and died in 1799; from 1786 onwards he represented the City of Norwich in Parliament, where

he served for several years as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He lived at Intwood, near Norwich. The Hon. Henry Hobart was initiated into Freemasonry in the "Maid's Head" Lodge in 1782 and succeeded Sir Edward Astley as Worshipful Master of that Lodge in 1787. He became the first Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masonry for Norfolk in 1792 and, on the retirement of Sir Edward Astley in 1798, was chosen to follow him as Provincial Grand Master for Norfolk. The Earl of Roseberry, whose estate was at Bixley, has already been mentioned. Sir John Wodehouse, Bart., son of Sir Armine Wodehouse, Bart., on whose death in 1777 he inherited the title, was Member of Parliament for Norfolk from 1784 to 1797. In the latter year he was elevated to the peerage as first Baron Wodehouse of Kimberley, Norfolk. He died in 1834.

Though it is not specifically stated, it is probable that most, if not all, of the gentlemen named in 1788 were Gregorians.

In 1792, Chapman Ives, Esq., was Grand of the Norwich Gregorians. At that date there was considerable unrest and agitation in England, partly as a consequence of the French Revolution, and on the 10th December, 1792, Chapman Ives published in the Press, in the name of the Gregorians, a Declaration assuring the Government of their support of the Constitution against the enemies of the King.

Bro. Chapman Ives was a prosperous brewer with a business at Coltishall, Norfolk. In 1787 he purchased the warrant of the Lodge of Unanimity, which was then in a dormant condition. The Lodge of Unanimity was founded in 1758, and met first at the "Cock" in St. Mary's, Norwich, and subsequently in other Norwich taverns. In 1774 it removed to the "Three Tuns", Aylsham, but a few years later returned to Norwich at Johnson's Coffee-house, in the Market Place. In 1787, Bro. Joseph Stannard was Master, when, with the assistance of Bro. Chapman Ives, the Lodge was transferred to the house of Mrs. Springthorpe at the "King's Head", Coltishall, Norfolk, where it was opened on the 4th April, 1787. In June of that year Bro. Chapman Ives was elected Master and remained in that office for three consecutive years. After other vicissitudes the Lodge of Unanimity finally settled at North Walsham, where it still meets (No. 102).

The Royal George Chapter of the Royal Arch was founded in Norwich under Charter dated the 13th June, 1788. Among the eighteen original Companions was Chapman Ives, together with Sir Edward Astley, Bart., and the Honourable Henry Hobart.

In a letter to the Grand Secretary from Coltishall in February, 1801, Bro. Chapman Ives refers to "my good friend the Chevalier Bartholomew Ruspini", who was Dentist to the Prince of Wales, Grand Sword Bearer from 1791 to 1813, and founder of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls.

At the anniversary meeting of the Gregorians on the 23rd July, 1796, the Grand, the Right Honourable William Windham, of Felbrigg, presided. He was supported by Sir Edward Astley, Bart., the Hon. Henry Hobart and Sir John Wodehouse, Bart. Windham was at that date Member of Parliament for Norwich and Secretary of State for War under Pitt's administration. At this Chapter, John Smith, Esq., of Topcroft, Captain of the Loddon Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, was admitted a Gregorian. During the evening a toast was drunk to "the Grand and Prelate, the Reverend Doctor Munckhouse, and to the Brethren of the Order at Wakefield".

The year 1797 was of great importance in the history of the Norwich Gregorians. In March, 1797, Prince William Frederick of Gloucester, a great-grandson of King George the Second, was appointed Military Commander of the Norfolk District and took up residence in Norwich. The Prince had been initiated into Freemasonry in the Britannic Lodge, No. 33, on the 12th May, 1795, at the age of 19. The Prince having expressed his desire to join the Gregorians, a Chapter was held at the "White Swan" on Tuesday, 2nd May, 1797, when he was duly admitted to membership, together with his aides-de-camp (Major Elrington and Captain Hamilton) and "other Officers and Gentlemen". On the Wednesday and Thursday, May 3rd and 4th, the Prince visited the "Maid's Head" Lodge at the "White Swan", when "many of the gentlemen who had been made Gregorians on Tuesday were initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry". Records show that among those who were made Masons on May 4th in the "Maid's Head" Lodge was Peter Warren Lambeth, "Lieutenant in ye 9th Foot, Norwich". On May 9th, Prince William presided at the "White Swan" at a Convocation of the "Royal George" Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, a Chapter of which the Hon. Henry Hobart, Sir Edward Astley and Chapman Ives, Esq., were Companions.

It was now known that the Prince was under orders to leave Norwich for the purpose of taking command in the Ipswich District. He left on May 11th, having on the eve of his departure attended a Masonic bespeak at the Theatre Royal for the benefit of John Bennett, a popular member of the Norwich Company of Comedians and a Freemason. Before he went, His Royal Highness had accepted an invitation to become Grand of the Norwich Gregorian Chapter for the ensuing year.

The Prince visited Norwich again on the 8th August, 1797, as the guest of John Patteson, Esq., and on the 10th August he was installed as Grand of the Gregorian Chapter, when Lord

Charles Spencer, Colonel Bates and several other candidates were initiated.

Lord Charles Spencer was the second son of the third Duke of Marlborough. He was Member of Parliament for Oxfordshire and a Privy Councillor. He had been Comptroller of the Royal Household and Treasurer of the King's Chamber; he probably accompanied the Prince on his visit to Norwich.

In November, 1797, Prince William was re-appointed to the command of the Norwich District, and on December 4th was present as Grand at a numerously attended meeting of the Gregorian Chapter. After the dinner he expressed his satisfaction at the flattering marks of attention he had received in the City, particularly from the Society over which he had the honour to preside.

The next known Grand of the Norwich Gregorians is William Gooch Pillans, Esq., of Bracondale, Norwich. His name is mentioned in the *Norwich Mercury* in December, 1798, as a steward of the public concerts held at Chapel-field House. It was during his tenure of the office of Grand that Lord Nelson was admitted to the Gregorian Order. On the 2nd March, 1801, Lord Nelson sailed into Yarmouth Roads in command of a squadron of seven ships of the line and flying his flag on the "St. George", there to join the Fleet in charge of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. On the 12th March the Fleet sailed to attack Copenhagen. During his stay in Yarmouth Roads, Nelson wrote a letter to Mr. Pillans, Grand of the Gregorians, in thanks for his admission to that Society. Mr. Pillans is also named as one of the Brethren present at the "White Swan", Norwich, on the 14th January, 1802, when Bro. William Earle Bulwer was installed as Provincial Grand Master of the Norfolk Freemasons.

A meeting of the Gregorian Chapter at the "White Swan" is recorded in the *Norfolk Chronicle* on the 10th January, 1803, but no later mention of the Order in Norfolk has been traced. The struggle with Napoleon broke out again in 1803 and led to a period of stress with the fear of imminent invasion. No doubt, social activities were curbed, and it is likely that about this time the Gregorian Order in Norwich began to decline and finally died out. It was an era in which for some years even the light of Freemasonry in Norfolk did not shine with its customary brilliance.

Notes have survived of a few facts and incidents which throw a little light on the customs and habits of the Norfolk Gregorians. An old manuscript roll of the Norwich Theatre, covering the years 1768 to 1770, and quoted by T. L. G. Burley in his *Playhouses and Players of East Anglia,* records that, on the occasion of a bespeak by the Gregorian Society, "their beadle was paid 2s. 6d." The functions of the beadle were, perhaps, analagous to those of a Tyler. It is noteworthy that the Head of the Order is always referred to as "The Grand", and never as "Grand Master". There was also a "Vice-Grand" and, of course, a Secretary.

Mrs. A. W. Stirling, in her book, *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends,* tells some amusing stories of the Gregorians. She says that Thomas William Coke, soon after he came into possession of the Holkham estate in 1776, was invited by Sir Edward Astley to join the Gregorian Society at Norwich. On Coke's first attendance at the Chapter, at about 1 a.m. toasts swimming in oil were placed on the table and he was pressed by Sir Edward Astley to partake. On expressing his surprise at such an unusual dish, Coke was informed that the toast would enable him to start drinking afresh as though he had taken no wine since the beginning of the evening, for it had been proved that the drinking of oil keeps the fumes of alcohol from rising to the brain.

On another occasion, towards 6 a.m., six members of the party still remained in session and sought for some striking way of bringing their revels to a close. Surrounding the room was a row of stout iron cloak pegs, and on these they hung their chairs, climbed into them and rang the bell. When the sleepy waiter appeared and found the company hanging on the wall silent and immovable, he exhibited every symptom of terror. This so amused Sir Peter Amyot, a Gregorian of ample proportions, that he roared with laughter, as a result of which his peg gave way and he dropped heavily to the floor, while the frightened waiter fled in horror from the room. His companions, amid uproarious merriment, struggled from their elevated perches and helped their stout comrade to his feet.

The Gregorians did not fail to cultivate the virtues of charity and benevolence, numerous instances of which are reported in the local Press. As examples, two extracts may be quoted. In February, 1759, the following notice appeared in the *Norwich Mercury*:—

> "We, the poor prisoners in the City Goal [*sic*], beg leave to return our sincere and humble thanks to the Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians for their gift of £1.3.0 for bread and beer and for eight stone of beef with a threepenny loaf and twopennyworth of beer each."

On the 19th August, 1797, the same journal contained this announcement:—

> "The prisoners in the City Goal [*sic*] return their sincere and hearty thanks to the Most Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians for a good hot dinner of meat, bread and beer."

From the few facts known about the Norfolk Gregorians, two conclusions may safely be drawn. Firstly, the Order numbered among its supporters many distinguished and important persons. It seems to have been particularly attractive to Members of Parliament, Baronets and High Sheriffs. Secondly, it was extensively patronised by eminent Freemasons, including, at least, three Provincial Grand Masters. The Order was not, however, limited to Freemasons, since it is clear from the events of May, 1797, that candidates were admitted to the Gregorian Chapter before they were made Masons.

Bro. Rylands, in his paper, says that the Gregorians existed as far back, possibly, as 1730. There is, however, a reference in Pope's *Dunciad*, which was published in 1728. In describing the distribution of favours by the Goddess of Dullness, he wrote:—

> Some deep Freemasons join the silent race,
> Worthy to fill Pythagoras' place . . .
> Nor past the meanest unregarded, one
> Rose a Gregorian, one a Gormogon.

A. STUART BROWN.

Scald Miserable Masons.—While searching for references to the Gregorians, I came across the following notices concerning the Scald Miserable Masons, which, I believe, have not previously been recorded:—

From the *Norwich Mercury*, dated 22nd December, 1744:—

> At the particular desire of the Ancient Society of
> SCALD MISERABLES
> By Mr. Herbert's Company of Comedians
> At the Theatre in Yarmouth on Wednesday, the 26th instant,
> will be presented a Comedy call'd
> "Love makes a Man or The Fop's Fortune"
> to which will be added a Farce call'd
> "The Stage Coach"

From the *Norwich Mercury*, dated 28th March, 1747:—

> By the Norwich Company of Comedians at the White-Swan Playhouse in Norwich
> On Thursday, 2nd April, 1747,
> By Command of the Honourable the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens and Brethren of the most Ancient and Venerable Fraternity
> of SCALD MISERABLE MASONS
> will be presented a Play (written by Shakespear) call'd
> "AS YOU LIKE IT"
> to which will be added a Tragi-Comic-Farcical Ballad Opera call'd
> "THE WEDDING"
> in which will be introduced a Skimmington
> after the Hudibrastic Manner.

From the *Norwich Mercury*, dated 19th December, 1747 (and repeated in the issue of Thursday, 24th December):—

> Norwich,
> December 9, 1747.
>
> The Brethren of the most ancient and truly illustrious Fraternity of Scald Miserable Free and Accepted Masons are desired to attend the Right Worshipful the Grand Master at a Lodge to be held at Brother Gray's on Tuesday, the 29th instant, at Six o' Clock in the evening on Special Affairs.
>
> By Order of the Grand Master
> TWITCHER
> Sec:

From the *Norwich Mercury*, dated 12th March, 1747-48:—

By the Norwich Company of Comedians at the
White-Swan Theatre, Norwich
on Thursday, March 17th (1747-48)
By Command of the Honourable the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master,
Grand Wardens and Brethren of the most Ancient and Venerable Fraternity
of SCALD MISERABLE MASONS
will be presented a Comedy call'd
"THE BEAUX STRATAGEM"
to which will be added a Tragi-Comi-Farcical Ballad Opera call'd
"THE WEDDING"
IN WHICH WILL BE INTRODUCED
A Skimmington after the Hudibrastick Manner.

A. STUART BROWN.

John Moreau, Master Mason of St. Andrew's Cathedral.—The mediæval epitaph of John Moreau may be seen in the Museum at the ruined Cathedral of St. Andrew, at St. Andrew's, Fife. It is of interest particularly in shewing the varied responsibilities he undertook and the mention of St. John. It reads as follows:—

John Morow sum tym callit
Was I and born in Parysse
Certanly and had in kepyng
Al Mason werk of Santan
Droys ye hye Kyrk of Glas
Gw Melros and Paslay of
Nyddysdayll and of Galway
I pray to God and Mari bathe
& swete Sanct Johne to kepe
This Haly Kyrk fra Skathe.

John Moreau some time called was I,
And born in Paris certainly,
And had in keeping all Mason Work
Of Saint Andrew's the High Kirk,
Of Glasgow, Melrose and Paisley
Of Nithsdale and of Galloway.
I pray to God and Mary both
And sweet Saint John to keep this holy Kirk from scathe.

Nithsdale is presumably New or Sweetheart Abbey, by Dumfries, called "New" because it was a daughter foundation of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright, and "Sweetheart" because it was founded in 1273 by Devorgilla Baliol as a noble church where she could be buried with her husband's embalmed heart resting on her own. This was duly done in 1289. It is remarkable that this is the latest foundation of its kind in Scotland.

Galloway is certainly the Cathedral and Priory of St. Ninian at Whithorn founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, early in the twelfth century and becoming a Cathedral on the revival of the See in 1125.

The other "High Kirks" are obviously identified. The only remaining point of interest in the epitaph is the use of "Galway" for "Galloway": this is a common confusion to-day! Galloway, of course, means the land of the stranger Gael from Gaelic "Gall", a stranger, and "Gael"; Galloway was a Gaelic province isolated from the Highlands and under Anglic rule from about 800.

It seems inherently improbable that John Moreau was Master Mason of all these foundations at the same time, but there is no evidence as to the order in which he held the successive appointments. That a French Mason should have held such important positions is, of course, not so remarkable in Scotland as it might have been in England.

Finally, it is a tragedy for all to see that John Moreau's prayer was not granted and that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should have marked the ruin of what must have been a magnificent Cathedral.

EWEN M'EWEN.

The Riddle of Anthony Sayer. — There can be few men over whom more ink has been spent (figuratively, of course), and of whom less is known than Anthony Sayer. The sum total of the information concerning him which the present writer has been able to obtain from authoritative sources can be compressed into a few sentences. In 1717 he was elected Grand Master of the newly-formed Grand Lodge of the Moderns, as later they were called. Subsequently he fell on bad times, was glad to become tyler of two lodges and had to apply to the Charity Committee of Grand Lodge for relief. Finally, they tell us that he died about the beginning of 1742 and, having lain in state at the Shakespeare's Head Tavern, was buried in St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, in the January of that year both the lying in state and the funeral being attended by many persons of high social standing. Notices of his death are said to have appeared in the *Champion or Evening Advertiser* of January 19th, 1742, and the *London Evening Post* of 16/19th January of the same year.

The truth is that Sayer was buried in St. Paul's Church in January, 1741, and the notice of his death in the *Champion or Evening Advertiser,* a few lines with no mention of a lying in state and funeral attended by persons of social eminence, appeared in the issue for 19th January of that year. No other contemporary journal seems to have mentioned the matter. It was not until a year later that a second journal got the news. This was the *London Evening Post* of 16/19th January, 1742, as already has been said. But it was of so little import that the paper did not trouble to ascertain the date, but stated that the death had occurred " a short time since ". It was this account which mentioned the lying in state, etc., which appears to be an example of eighteenth century sensational journalistic fiction. Had it been true the contemporary account in the *Champion or Evening Advertiser* would have mentioned it and a man regarded as of such importance would have had a memorial in the church in which he was buried. Sayer has none.

Admittedly the general opinion is that Sayer never was a man of any social standing, though Bro. Walter J. Hobbs has suggested that he belonged to the landed gentry,[1] and it has been pointed out to the present writer that in 1717 the position of Grand Master was not as important as it became later. Still, Anthony Sayer had played an important part in recent Masonic history and it is difficult to understand how he came to be regarded as of so little account that he went to his grave, if not unwept, at least unhonoured and unsung.

W. MOORE, L.G.R.

Extract from the " Norfolk Chronicle ", dated 15th May, 1802.—" On Tuesday, 11th May, 1802, died, aged 85, Mrs. Beeton, in the parish of St. John Maddermarket, Norwich. She was a native of Wales and was commonly called here the ' Free-Mason ' from the circumstance of her having contrived to conceal herself one evening in the wainscotting of a lodge-room, where she learned that *secret,* the knowledge of which thousands of her sex have in vain attempted to arrive at. She was a very singular old woman and, as a proof of it, the *secret* died with her."

A. STUART BROWN.

A Lesson from Grand Master Belton.—(Based on a report prepared for the American Lodge of Research, N.Y., and published with the permission of that Lodge.) There is a valuable lesson for modern Masons in the experience of Grand Master William G. Belton, of Maryland, who precipitated a serious quarrel in his State more than 150 years ago by involving Maryland Masonry in what was then regarded as a political issue—and got three Grand Lodges mixed up in it before it was over. It undoubtedly exerted considerable influence upon early American Masonic policy, because it aroused a great deal of discussion over the question of how much authority a Grand Lodge may claim to exercise over its own Grand Master.[2]

The issue was crystallised when the Maryland Grand Body voted that it had the right to " depose or punish " Most Worshipful Brother Belton during his term of office, as a result of which he appealed to the Grand Lodges of New York and Virginia for opinions concerning Maryland's right to do either. The old records indicate that Bro. Belton's champions regarded him as a strong and patriotic leader, who was trying to mobilise the Masonry of the State in defence of his country during a period of national crisis. His critics charged him with violating the Ancient Landmarks by interfering in politics.

[1] " Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gentleman." *A.Q.C.,* Vol. xxxvii.

[2] Article XIX of the General Regulations in Anderson's *Constitutions,* 1723, might well be quoted in this connection: " If the Grand Master should abuse his Power . . . he shall be treated in a way and manner to be agreed upon in a new Regulation . . ."

The trouble started in the middle of 1798, as the United States was plunging into an almost forgotten war with Revolutionary France. A brief explanation of the background is necessary.

Masonry was under bitter fire, both here and abroad, as its critics charged it with responsibility for the bloody Terror that had accompanied the French Revolution and wound up with a Government which officially denied the very existence of God. Even as loyal a Mason as Ex-President George Washington had been driven to a public denial that the American Lodges sympathised with the Jacobins.

Supporters of Thomas Jefferson's anti-war party were making political capital by circulating such charges because Washington, the elder statesman of the pro-war Federalists, was the most famous Mason in the country. And as the war approached, many Brethren were getting restive and were anxious to prove that they were loyal patriots, who hated the French foe as much as anybody else. Among them was Bro. Belton, then Deputy Grand Master of Maryland. He was a Baltimore Tailor and a captain in the local militia. And on June 20th, 1798, he placed an advertisement in a Baltimore paper, asking his Brethren to volunteer to serve against the French and the hated Jacobins in a special Masonic Company under his command.

Belton's recruiting drive failed, but two days later, when he succeeded to the Grand East, he branched out and, a little later, granted a special dispensation for a " patriotic military lodge " to serve with the troops that were being raised to follow Bro. Washington, who had been recalled from his Mt. Vernon retirement to command them. And within three weeks Belton really went beyond the limit. He called a meeting of the Masters and Wardens of all the Baltimore Lodges, which he described as an " extra session " of the Grand Lodge, and persuaded them to pass a purely political petition addressed to President John Adams. It was a flamboyant patriotic document, too long to be quoted here, which assured the dilatory Adams of the support of Maryland Masons if he would only go ahead and declare war against France. And it claimed that the existing crisis justified them in " deviating " from their ancient policy " never to interfere in political subjects ", and forced them to " step forward publicly and explicitly to declare our sentiments of public measures ".

The results almost rocked Maryland Masonry to its foundations, as Brethren who were followers of Jefferson rose in wrath over Belton's action in publicly enrolling them under the Federalist banner. Some of the developments seem almost unbelievable to-day. The Master of one Baltimore Lodge was brought to trial before Grand Lodge for publicly threatening to challenge the Deputy Grand Master to a duel within the portals of the Grand Lodge itself. Rebellious Brethren in uniform, who found themselves locked out of their Lodge room, ripped the doors open with bayonets and entered " and made Masons " without benefit of Charter or dispensation. Some Lodges stopped making reports to Grand Lodge and at least one simply dissolved.

Finally, W.Bro. George Keatinge, the Master of Baltimore Lodge No. 22, filed charges with the Grand Lodge against the Grand Master, and Belton's supporters countered with the whole series of charges against Keatinge. The basis of all those charges and counter-charges is too involved to detail, but the most serious was Keatinge's that Belton had violated his " obligations and charges " at the meeting which " voted an address to the President of the United States on political subjects ".

The Grand Lodge, which had been functioning for only 11 years, spent two full days wrestling with the difficult questions thus laid before it, and seem entitled to considerable credit for avoiding a storm that might well have wrecked the entire fraternity.

Nobody could be quite sure in those early days just how the authority was divided between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Master, and that was the first problem to be faced. It was solved in Committee of the Whole and adopted by Grand Lodge, despite a vigorous minority report from Belton's supporters. The 36-word resolution stirred up terrific discussion:—Resolved, That the Right Worshipful Grand Master is amenable to the Grand Lodge for his conduct and may be deposed or punished during the time of his office by the Grand Committee of the Whole ".

This was the conclusion that drew eloquent protest from the Grand Master and caused him to submit the whole case to the other Grand Jurisdictions. He claimed that the Grand Lodge acted in his absence and without hearing his defence, though why he was not present is not shown.

After asserting its authority, the Grand Lodge pronounced Belton's military lodge " illegal ", but exempted its members from any censure, blaming him merely for " an error of judgment ". After which it simply dimissed all the charges and counter-charges against everybody concerned, specifically declaring that the Grand Master " did not violate his obligation ".

He functioned until the end of his term, but everybody involved got a scathing reprimand from the next administration, which contained nobody concerned in the Belton quarrel. It was administered by Dr. John Crawford, the new Deputy Grand Master, at another special

meeting of the Baltimore Masters and Wardens on July 16th, 1799. Dr. Crawford censured them for admitting "immoral" and "envenomed" men, who "have brought our Order into disgrace", and they thanked him for it.

Meanwhile, the Virginia Grand Lodge passed a sharp judgment on Maryland, and on December 12th, 1799, it declared both Belton and his Grand Lodge had violated their own rather vague regulations. Then Virginia got down to the heart of the matter, saying:—

"That, if the R.W. William Belton, as Grand Master, did call a meeting of the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges of Baltimore to vote an address to the President of the United States on a *political* subject, he acted contrary to the general principles of our society, which *entirely exclude* from the temple discussions of a *political or religious nature.*"

After receiving Virginia's strong advice to "restore harmony", the Maryland Grand Lodge, on June 22nd, 1800, finally granted Belton forgiveness, but it made him beg for it. The minutes read: "That, although this Grand Lodge sees no Cause save Charity and Brotherly Love that they should recede from their resolutions . . . yet, wishing to cover their Brother's faults with the mantle of Charity, do, at Bro. Belton's request and on his withdrawing his protest against said resolutions, declare the same null and void".

That virtually ended the Belton affair, because New York failed to reach any conclusion in its consideration of the business, first because it became so involved with plans to commemorate the death of Bro. Washington on December 14th, 1799, that it would not consider anything else, and later a yellow fever epidemic prevented the Committee to which the Belton matter was referred from meeting.

Thus the affair passes into history and the epitaph of the fifth Grand Master of Maryland may well be read in the words of Bro. Schultz, the Maryland historian, "his name disappears from the records after 1803 and we are unable to trace his subsequent career".

The lesson for modern Masons, however, seems to be clear and plain. It reminds us to observe carefully the second section of the sixth of the Old Charges as recorded by Anderson, which might to-day be paraphrased as follows: "Never attempt to mix politics with your Masonry, even for the most patriotic motives".

LOWELL M. LIMPUS.

Gustavus Katterfelto: Mason and Magician.—"On Tuesday next, January 11th, 1785, by particular desire of the most ancient and honourable Free and Accepted Masons of the City of Norwich, Brother Katterfelto is to deliver his lecture that evening on Architecture, Magnetism and other various mechanical powers. He will also shew and discover many of his Occult Secrets which have surprised the King, Queen and the whole Royal Family and which will be of the greatest benefit to the old and young, Ancient and likewise Modern Masons. Brother Katterfelto, therefore, hopes that all the true brethren, 20 or more miles distant from Norwich, will attend that evening, as well as all the brethren in the City of Norwich, as Brother Katterfelto is positively sure, if some of the ancient and modern masons were to come 40 miles distance or more, they will not repent their coming, as Brother Katterfelto will shew and discover the same variety of Occult Secrets which he has exhibited and discovered to the Grand Lodges at London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Berlin, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Petersburgh, Paris, Vienna, Dresden and at several other Lodges in Europe."

Such was the invitation extended to the Masonic Brethren in the columns of the *Norfolk Chronicle* on January 8th, 1785. That it evoked at least some response seems evident from an announcement in the next issue of the newspaper, when "Doctor Katterfelto" returned "his most sincere thanks to all his Brother Masons who favoured him with their company this week for several evenings and to all those that came 15 or 20 miles distance".

Gustavus Katterfelto, who is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a "conjurer and empiric", was a native of Prussia. He arrived in London in 1782 and proceeded to give lectures and exhibitions of a scientific and experimental nature at the Spring Gardens. He also practised medicine after the fashion of a quack doctor and usually referred to himself as "Doctor Katterfelto". He advertised extensively in the newspapers, heading his notices "Wonders! Wonders! Wonders!". During the epidemic of 1782, he excited the credulity of Londoners who flocked to hear him in large numbers. On the platform he was often assisted by some remarkable black cats. One of his claims was the discovery of the secret of perpetual motion. His range of experiments covered a wide field, which he listed as follows:—

Philosophical		Pneumatic
Mathematical		Hydraulic
Optical		Hydrostatic
Magnetical		Proetic
Electrical		Stenographic
Physical		Blaencical
Chemical	and	Caprimantic Arts.

There are frequently allusions to Bro. Katterfelto in contemporary newspapers and publications. He is several times mentioned by Peter Pindar (John Wolcot). William Cowper in *The Task* (Book IV, line 86) wrote of him:—

> " Katterfelto, with his hair on end
> At his own wonders, wondering for his bread."

In Lysons' *Collectanea* there is a cartoon depicting Katterfelto trudging home laden with the apparatus of quackery, but clutching a full bag of English guineas. This was, however, the age of lampoons and ridicule and, in other quarters, Bro. Katterfelto was regarded with greater respect. In 1784 he attracted the attention of King George the Third, who, accompanied by Queen Charlotte and members of the Royal Family, visited his performance. The *Morning Post* of the 3rd June, 1784, reported that these distinguished visitors declared that Katterfelto's exhibition " exceeded their most sanguine expectations ".

Not long afterwards, Bro. Katterfelto undertook a tour of the Provinces. On the 27th November, 1784, he arrived from London in the City of Norwich, where he was announced as " Dr. Katterfelto, the noted Divine and moral Philosopher ". He at once began a course of lectures which he delivered nightly in " a very warm room at the ' Rampant Horse ' Inn ", starting at 6 p.m. The charge for admission was two shillings for the front seats and one shilling for back seats, but, that all classes might benefit, tradesmen and servants were permitted to occupy the gallery at half-price. The lecturer announced that, during the first fourteen days of his stay, he would give his whole takings, less expenses, to the relief of the " poor and distressed, as he has done for several winters in London and other cities and towns for 24 years past ". A few days later, the *Norwich Mercury* reported that " Dr. Katterfelto has exhibited here every evening this week before a very large and brilliant company of Ladies and Gentlemen and several hundreds of all ranks could not receive admittance for several nights, the lecture room being so much crowded ".

Among Katterfelto's stage properties was his marvellous black cat " which won £3,000 in London ": she, with her kittens, was exhibited to the audience to the great pleasure and satisfaction of the ladies. The lecturer explained that, though some hundreds of persons in the city believed that he and his black cat were devils, such suspicions arose only from his wonderful performances. On one occasion the Doctor appeared without his feline " familiar " and a Welsh gentleman in the room rose to enquire for the famous black cat. The Doctor thereupon, though some yards distant, forthwith passed a black kitten into the questioner's inside coat pocket. The Welshman was so scared that he instantly ran from the room, crying that the devil was in his jacket, and directly set off in a coach for London.

One of Bro. Katterfelto's most popular platform feats was the raising of his daughter to the ceiling by the attractive influence, as he averred, of a huge magnet. In preparation for this achievement, he placed on the girl's head a massive steel helmet with leather straps under the armpits. In carrying out this enterprise successfully, he must have anticipated by a century the mysteries of Maskelyne and the Egyptian Hall!

The Doctor carried with him on his travels a museum of natural curiosities, which was especially rich in fossils, agates and similar products of the Yorkshire coast. These were subjected to examination under the microscope.

Not long after he reached Norwich, Bro. Katterfelto received his balloon, or " aerostatic globe " as he preferred to call it, which had been manufactured in London " of the strongest and finest taffeta ". This contrivance was 144 feet in circumference and had a large gallery running round it. It was formed to contain " above 100 gallons of inflammable air, which the owner intends collecting from charcoal, being the very lightest and best gas, for an Air Balloon ". In this it was announced that the Doctor would ascend, taking with him his two little black servant boys, in order to make astronomical observations. It was claimed that Dr. Katterfelto was " by all accounts, one of the first astronomers, as well as philosophers, in the three Kingdoms, the observations which he made four years ago at Greenwich having caused since that time a great advantage to this Kingdom, particularly to the Navy ". The ascent was arranged for December 23rd and the promoter estimated that a crowd of, perhaps, 30,000 persons might be expected to gather to see the proceedings. When the day arrived, however, the weather continued extremely cold and, " at the urgent request of several principal ladies and gentlemen ", the event was reluctantly postponed. Unfortunately for the public, no favourable opportunity for the experiment occurred before Katterfelto quitted Norwich in January. In the matter of aeronautics, Bro. Katterfelto was certainly among the pioneers, the first ascent in a gas-filled balloon having been made in France on the 1st December, 1783, by M. Charles, and the first in England on the 15th September, 1784, by the Italian aeronaut Lunardi. Norwich did not witness an accompanied flight until the 1st June, 1785, when Mr. J. Deeker ascended from Quantrell's Gardens, Norwich.

Another of Bro. Katterfelto's " specialities " was " a new improved Solar Microscopic Exhibition " and he also lectured on those who are " Not Blind but Won't See ".

During the session to which the Masonic Brethren were specially invited in January, 1785, Dr. Katterfelto exhibited his " various sympathetical clocks, which have surprised all the Masters of the Ancient and Modern Lodges " in many countries. On the following Monday night (January 17th) he delivered his lecture on " Optics, Fixed Air and Hydraulics ". After the discourse, he undertook to " shew and discover several new deceptions on dice, cards, billiards, tennis, letters, money, watches, caskets, silver and gold, boxes, medals, pyramidical glasses and mechanical clocks "—surely a comprehensive list!

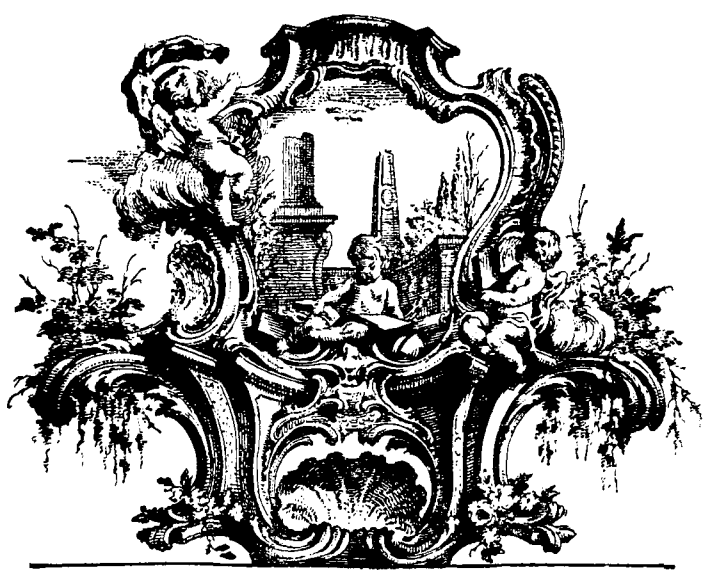
About this date, Bro. Katterfelto announced that he must leave Norwich in order to deliver his various lectures at the University of Cambridge, at which place he intended to essay his delayed balloon ascent " on the first warm and clear day ".

During his ensuing tour of the Provinces, Bro. Katterfelto encountered a somewhat mixed reception. At Shrewsbury he was pronounced a vagrant and an imposter and was cast into the local gaol. At Whitby, in Yorkshire, he was vociferously welcomed and to that town he returned to present his wonders on many subsequent occasions.

It would seem that Bro. Katterfelto eventually settled down in Yorkshire and he died at Bedale, in that County, on the 25th of November, 1799. His widow, probably a local lady, later married John Carter, a publican of Whitby, who, about 1800, played a leading part in the revival of the jet industry for which Whitby was noted.

From the facts as stated above, it is difficult to assess the true character of Bro. Katterfelto. By some he appears to have been regarded as a skilled and clever scientist, by others as a mere charlatan and pretender. He certainly made an impact on London Society and achieved the honour of a Royal Command performance as well as securing himself a niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*". If his claim to have visited most, if not all, of the Grand Lodges of Europe can be substantiated, he must have held a not unenviable status in the ranks of the Masonic Craft.

A. STUART BROWN.



REVIEWS

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE EIGHTEENTH DEGREE

By Arthur Brown

(Rockliff, London. 21/-)

RTHUR BROWN has undertaken a most difficult task—that of writing an exegesis of a system of philosophy which is "veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols". His task has not been made easier for him by the fact that he is not permitted to reprint the liturgy, and he has further complicated his endeavours by including an exegesis of the Fourth Gospel. The measure of his success or failure can only be appreciated by the reader, and it is to be hoped that they are many—for a book of this kind has not been written since the time of Dr. Oliver.

Arthur Brown deals in his preamble with the position occupied by the "Higher Degrees" *vis-à-vis* the three Craft Degrees, and likens the whole structure to a tree with many branches. This is an unfortunate simile, for it overlooks the fact that—as any student of the esoteric could point out—the degrees of Mark Mason, Royal Arch Mason, Knight Templar and the Eighteenth Degree, of which he treats in this book, are in themselves complete and valid initiatory degrees. It is only an accident of history that aspirants for membership in any of these four degrees must be Master Masons, and in some cases even members of one or more of these degrees as well.

The author devotes eight chapters to the predominant themes in the degree and a final chapter to six of the lesser aspects of the ceremony. He takes for his chapter headings certain portions of the Ritual and round them weaves an exegesis of St. John's Gospel, drawing upon the appropriate portions of Scripture. He admits that much of his interpretation is drawn from the lecture notes delivered by the late Dean Ireland's Professor, Dr. R. H. Lightfoot. He also draws from Professor C. H. Dodd's *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel.* He acknowledges his debt, but one wonders just how much of this book is completely original.

This is a book worth reading, though it will be appreciated more by the Theologian and the Greek scholar than the average member of a Rose Croix Chapter. This is perhaps unfortunate, for it will of necessity limit the appreciation to a selected few. In fact, one's only real criticism is that something less learned and more easily digested could not have been written as a first book, allowing this *Magnum Opus* to follow it for those who will understand the significance of the author's interpretations.

The work is well printed (though there is misprint of "work" for "word" on page 13) and contains a reasonably detailed index—an item only too often omitted in books of this nature. I can thoroughly recommend this work to any member of the Eighteenth Degree, and I can only hope that it will have the circulation which it undoubtedly merits.

G. S. DRAFFEN.

RULE AND TEACH

A Practical Handbook of Masonic Law and Custom

By Lewis Edwards, P.G.D.

(A. Lewis, 10/-)

The subject of Masonic Jurisprudence has not figured to any great extent in English Masonic literature. For many years the principal book was Oliver's *Institutes of Masonic Jurisprudence,* published in 1859, until, half-a-century later, his place was taken by the late Rev. J. T. Lawrence, with his *Masonic Jurisprudence,* published in 1908 and revised in 1912 and 1923.

Our Bro. Lewis Edwards carried on the work with his *The Law and Custom of Freemasonry,* published in 1928, which is still the principal authority on the subject, though,

despite the complete revision of the *Book of Constitutions* in 1940 and subsequent amendments, it does not appear to have been brought up to date, although a reprint has recently been issued by the publishers. Bro. Edwards has now continued his work in a simplified form in *Rule and Teach.* In this smaller book he has dropped the discussion of matters of academic interest, and his new work is severely practical, eminently readable, and should be of the greatest value to Masters, Secretaries and others concerned with the running of Lodges.

Much of the contents ought to be familiar to every Freemason, but, there is no disguising the fact, it is not! We therefore begin with a simple account of Grand Lodge with its two great committees, the Board of General Purposes and the Board of Benevolence, pass on to Provincial and District Grand Lodges, and so to Private Lodges, which are divided into several kinds. Beginning with the formation of the Lodge, the book discusses its powers, functions and duties, with much instruction in the proper manner of conducting meetings.

In Part IV the candidate is discussed very thoroughly and frankly, a section well worthy of the close attention of would-be proposers and seconders, while attention is paid to the powers of Masonic tribunals and, in Part V, to some decisions of Grand Lodge and its Committees. It may surprise some Brethren to know that it is possible to commit a Masonic offence after the Lodge has been closed. This section might be improved in future editions by the addition of the dates of the decisions quoted.

Bro. Edwards concludes with the excellent counsel to seek the advice of the staff of the Grand Secretary or Provincial or District Grand Secretary—" Seek good advice and seek it early " are his wise concluding words, and with this we heartily concur.

FRED L. PICK.

A HISTORY OF ROYAL ARCH MASONRY

Issued under the authority of the General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons

By Ray V. Denslow

In May, 1934, the General Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons appointed a Committee, charged with the duty of compiling a history of Royal Arch Masonry to be published under the authority of the General Grand Chapter. By the year 1948 all the original members of this Committee, and others subsequently appointed, had died without much having been accomplished in the collection of material. On the death of their last chairman in that same year the two joint authors of this present work found themselves the sole surviving members of the Committee, and immediately applied themselves to the task which they had inherited from others. The result of their labours is now to be seen in the comprehensive illustrated history, recently published in the United States of America in three cloth-bound volumes, comprising nearly 1,700 pages.

For the benefit of English readers it may be mentioned that the General Grand Chapter is now composed of 46 Royal Arch Masonic jurisdictions in the United States of America, those in three Canadian Provinces, and the Grand Chapters of Alaska, Mexico, Germany, and the Philippine Republic, comprising a membership of about three-quarters of a million Royal Arch Masons. The authors—M.W.Bro. Ray Vaughn Denslow, and W.Bro. Everitt Robert Turnbull—are eminent Freemasons in their respective States of Missouri and Illinois, whose biographies have been discreetly given in different sections of this work.

With such a predominantly American element prevailing within the ranks of the General Grand Chapter it is perhaps but natural to find a distinct American bias running through much of the present work. Mention is certainly made of earlier allusions to the Royal Arch in records belonging to the three sister jurisdictions in the British Isles ; but the reader is informed no less than ten or twelve times that *the earliest minute of the degree actually being conferred is that of Fredericksburg Lodge in Virginia, December 22, 1753,* and this passage is even printed in italics on page 129.

To the English reader the earlier sections of this work will emphasise the pronounced differences which exist between the Royal Arch ceremonies and organisations on each side of the Atlantic ocean. In England the Royal Arch forms an integral part of the Craft, and the ceremony of exaltation is regarded as the completion of the third degree. The Supreme Grand Chapter of England exists as a separate organisation; but Grand Chapter and Grand Lodge are closely related, both bodies being administered from Freemasons' Hall in London, and many of the corresponding offices being held by the same individual. In the United States

of America the Royal Arch organisation is completely divorced from that of the Craft, and the ceremony of exaltation constitutes an entirely separate degree. In England a Master Mason may become a Royal Arch Mason without taking any other degree ; but in America a Master Mason cannot become a Royal Arch Mason until he has taken a number of qualifying degrees. Many of the additional degrees practised in America are also to be found in England ; but in England these additional degrees are not recognised by Grand Lodge. In the course of the present work frequent allusion is made to a number of degrees historically associated with the Royal Arch. Some of these associated degrees bear titles in America closely resembling those of certain additional degrees still practised in England, but similarity in title must not necessarily be regarded as proof of identity. With that preliminary warning in mind the contents of this three-volumed History of Royal Arch Masonry may now be examined.

Volume I contains a brief Introduction by the joint authors, an equally brief section entitled " Birth of the Rite ", followed by no less than seventy pages on Mark Masonry and a further thirty pages concerning " The Past Master Degree ", with an intervening section dealing with Royal Arch Masonry in Scotland. The main theme of the whole work commences on page 124, separate sections being devoted to Ireland, England and America in that sequence (Scotland having previously been dealt with). From page 249 to page 315 the origin and development of the General Grand Chapter receives treatment ; and the next twenty pages or so, headed " Subordinate Chapters ", relate for the most part to Royal Arch Chapters in the Philippine Republic, Nicaragua, Guam, Japan, Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Argentine and Germany in that sequence, and these pages are succeeded by a lengthy section giving the " Triennial Accomplishments " of the General Grand Chapter. This volume then concludes with a miscellany of sections, amongst which may be mentioned those dealing with Presidents of the United States of America who are known to have been Royal Arch Masons, Chapter furniture and regalia, builders' marks, the Ark of the Covenant, the Keystone, ancient Egyptian ritual, further allusions to Mark Masonry in England, and finally biographical notes embracing *(inter alia)* " General Tom Thumb ", followed by Laurence Dermott and Thomas Dunckerley.

Volume II is straightforward in its arrangement, its fifty-three sections dealing in alphabetical order with Royal Arch Masonry throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations other than the United Kingdom, and in the majority of the States comprised in the United States of America.

Volume III completes the review of Royal Arch Masonry in the remaining States, and then contains an almost bewildering series of further miscellaneous sections concerning the Tetragrammaton, the Triple Tau and the Triangle, Masonic alphabets, further biographies and statistical information (interspersed with numerous crude pictorial illustrations featuring little-known Masonic facts under the popular heading, " Did You Know ? "), concluding with a Chronology of Royal Arch Masonry from 530 B.C. to A.D. 1800, further statistical tables and an index.

In their desire to make this historical work as comprehensive as possible the authors have cast their net wide and have drawn material from many sources. In the section which treats of Scotland the authors have quoted *in extenso,* with due acknowledgment, from a recent paper by W.Bro. George S. Draffen ; but when perusing that section of this history it will hardly be apparent to the casual reader that Bro. Draffen's work extends from the lower half of page 77 to the lower half of page 88, where the authorship changes abruptly with nothing to indicate that the authorship of the text which follows the sub-heading on this page is not identical with that of the preceding text.

In their allusion to Mark Masonry and other Masonic degrees in England the authors have wisely turned to the writings of W.Bro. John A. Grantham, who is not related to the present reviewer ; and in their allusion to Freemasonry in Ireland the authors have, with equal wisdom, quoted from the writings of the late Bros. W. J. Chetwode Crawley and J. Heron Lepper. But the authors' reliance upon certain other Masonic writers of a former generation on this side of the Atlantic is not so happy.

The years 1743, 1744 and 1745 have long been given as the dates of the earliest known allusions to the Royal Arch in Ireland, England and Scotland respectively ; and the evidence for that assertion has been quoted by our two American authors. But, in the opinion of the present reviewer, there is ample evidence tending to show that a Royal Arch element existed within the Craft in England very much earlier than is generally admitted by Masonic students. A legend associated with a secret vault figured in the writings of Philostorgius (A.D. 364-425), and a translation of the relevant passage in his Ecclesiastical History, originally written in Greek, is given on page 132 of the present work. This legend was published in Latin in 1551 in the Ecclesiastical History compiled by Nicephorus Callistus ; and the same legend reappeared in English in 1659 in *Orbis Miraculum, or The Temple of Solomon pourtrayed by Scripture-Light,* by Samuel Lee. The significance of this last-mentioned date should not be

overlooked, as the middle of the seventeenth century was presumably the period during which Masonic ceremonial began to develop, and Lee's detailed treatise on King Solomon's Temple may well have influenced that development. The fact that Lee drew upon Nicephorus Callistus for the version of the legend printed in the postscript to his *Orbis Miraculum* is clear from the marginal notation. The interested student is advised to consult that Latin source, where on page 468 of this Ecclesiastical History, at the very commencement of the chapter giving the legend of the secret vault, a capital letter " H " contains a pictorial representation of an incident associated with a vault. This initial letter is reproduced elsewhere in this issue of our *Transactions.*

In the section concerned with Ireland brief mention is made of D'Assigny's allusions in 1744 to variations in Royal Arch workings then current in Dublin, London and York. These allusions occur in that rare book entitled *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry Into the Cause of the present Decay of Free-Masonry in the Kingdom of Ireland,* of which it is stated that only two copies are known to exist—one in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, the other in the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire (West Riding). But at least one other copy of this rare work has survived—a copy perfect in every detail, including the frontispiece elsewhere described as " the curious copper-plate "—which, thanks to the generosity of W.Bro. Wallace E. Heaton, is now in the possession of the Grand Lodge of England.

In the belief that the authors will welcome the correction of erroneous statements it may perhaps be mentioned, in relation to the Grand Chapter associated with the Grand Lodge of All England at York, that this Grand Chapter did, in fact, constitute a number of subordinate Chapters ; these subordinate Royal Arch Chapters are named by W.Bro. G. Y. Johnson in the course of his paper on the York Grand Chapter in *A.Q.C.*, volume lvii.

In the Chronology at the end of Volume III the year 1767 is given as that in which the " Modern " Grand Chapter of England was formed as the result of the Charter of Compact ; and elsewhere in this work, particularly in Volume I, the same year (1767) is consistently quoted as the date of this Charter. In this matter the authors have relied upon the writings of others, and have overlooked the article by the editor of our *Transactions,* W.Bro. John R. Dashwood, who, in *A.Q.C.*, volume lxiv, at page 136, demonstrated beyond all doubt that the Charter was actually signed in 1766, and that the date " A L. 5770 A D 1766 " was subsequently altered to read " A L. 5771 A D 1767 ".

The elaborate decoration of the Charter of Compact, by the insertion of nine triangles in significant positions upon this document, deserves consideration when study is given to the authors' section dealing with the Triangle in relation to Royal Arch Masonry. This matter has recently received treatment at the hands of W.Bro. Bernard E. Jones in his Address to Supreme Grand Chapter on 7th November, 1956.

In the Chronological Table confusion may arise through inconsistency in nomenclature. Two consecutive entries on page 1583 record the " Establishment of the Grand and Royal Chapter of the Royal Arch of Jerusalem " and the " Formation of a Grand Chapter (Moderns) in England ". These two entries might well mislead the reader into thinking that allusion is there being made to two separate Royal Arch organisations, whereas the " Grand Chapter (Moderns) in England " is merely a brief and convenient method of referring to the organisation which is correctly described by its original title in the preceding entry.

In their section dealing in detail with the Triple Tau the authors have mentioned sun-dials amongst the many objects upon which, in the eighteenth century, masonic symbols were depicted. It is, therefore, not inappropriate to mention here the sun-dial in the Museum at Freemasons' Hall in London, engraved with a representation of the Triple Tau and the date 1749. In the opinion of the present reviewer, this object is spurious.

As the Mark Degree is not officially recognised by the United Grand Lodge of England, it would ill become the reviewer to enlarge upon the authors' disquisition upon this particular degree ; but for the sake of historical accuracy one correction of substance must be made. On pages 15 and 16, under the heading " Mark Masonry in England ", there appears this passage : —

> " The degree of Mark Master has never been formally recognized in England by the Mother Grand Lodge. Mark Lodge was established in 1769, and at that time recognition was extended for a time, but re-considered by grand lodge after a favorable report on its character, and recognition thereupon withdrawn. No further effort has been made to secure grand lodge approval."

The year 1769 is that of the minute which records the making of Mark Master Masons by Thomas Dunckerley in the Chapter of Friendship at Portsmouth. No separate Mark Lodges were established in England as early as 1769, much less any formal organisation of Mark Lodges, as this passage might be thought to suggest ; and it is far from accurate to

state that no further effort has been made to secure Grand Lodge approval, for most strenuous efforts to that end were made, and almost carried to a successful conclusion, in the year 1856.

With its American flavour, this three-volumed *History of Royal Arch Masonry* will appeal most to American Brethren ; but many of the sections in the first and third volumes will appeal equally to Royal Arch Masons of the English, Irish and Scottish Constitutions, and to those Brethren this History can be heartily recommended. The Index, divided into two parts entitled " Index to Individuals " and " Index General ", is selective rather than comprehensive ; but for the general reader this Index will prove adequate. The published price of this work is nine dollars.

In reviewing their own work the joint authors have expressed their opinion that " time will bring us little more information than is contained in these volumes ". To that claim the present reviewer would venture to express a firm belief to the contrary ; for he considers that traces may yet be found of legends identifiable with those of the Royal Arch, and possibly ceremonies connected therewith, of even greater antiquity than those customarily associated with the Craft.

December, 1956. IVOR GRANTHAM.

THE FREE-MASON'S POCKET REFERENCE BOOK

By F. L. Pick and G. N. Knight

The W. Master sent me a copy of this handy volume as far back as December, 1955, with a request for a review. One thing and another has prevented me from attending to the matter properly, but since that time I have had the book in regular use and have bought several copies to present to friends.

Members of the Lodge are often asked to prescribe a reading list for a younger Brother ; this work should always be included. With its predecessor it forms an admirable introduction to that great realm of thought and experience which soon opens out to the enquiring Mason who succeeds in liberating himself from the thrall of ritual performance.

Other reviews have tended to emphasise the minor inaccuracies ; frankly, I think these are of so little importance as hardly to deserve mention, and I myself find little to criticise and much to praise. Sadler might have been given more credit for demolishing the " Schism " theory so tenaciously held by Gould ; surely the authors no longer subscribe to the old view ? I myself look upon Sadler's " Notes on the Ceremony of Installation " as one of his more important works, but there is always room for difference of opinion in such matters.

On the other hand, I do think it is better not to equate " speculative " with " non-operative ", in spite of the phrase " Not Operative Masons, but rather Free and Accepted, or Speculative ". A very good case can be made for the view that " Free and Accepted " masons were one class, and " Speculative " masons were another. The famous address by Francis Drake in York in 1726 emphasises this point. It is fairly certain that there were two distinct phases, namely, " non-operative " and " speculative ", in the Transition (if there was one!) from the old operative to the modern speculative free-masonry.

Naturally, there is a Lancashire enthusiasm in much of the writing, and the inexperienced Masonic student may perhaps need the warning that, in free-masonry at all events, the old adage about Manchester and London does not necessarily hold. Customs vary all over the Masonic world ; whilst it may long have been the practice, for instance, for the Immediate Past Master in Lancashire to propose the health of the Master, there are other regions where this is the prerogative of the Senior Warden, and there are many Lodges where the Master or the D.C. chooses the privileged Brother who is to enjoy the honour.

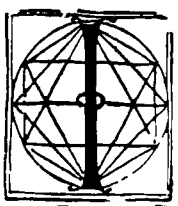
Several younger Brethren have confessed to me a shade of disappointment about the content of the article on " Past Master ". I turned this up, and found it to be, so far as I know, technically and historically correct. On further enquiry I found that what my young friends wanted was a clear statement about the powers and privileges of Past Masters in Private Lodges! Every experienced Mason knows this problem, and is aware that in many Lodges the P.M.s take to themselves authority in excess of that warranted by the Constitutions. I know of one instance where the By-laws actually lay upon the Past Masters the duty, among others, of " generally supervising the conduct of the Lodge and its Members ".

But these are minor comments. I hope the little book secures a wide circulation amongst the fraternity. It is also available to the general public, and will help to dispel misunderstandings. A certain restraint has been necessary in some matters, but the authors have skilfully contrived to give information to those who can understand it, without themselves transgressing.

The Mason who assimilates the substance of this work and its predecessor, *The Pocket History of Freemasonry*, by the same authors, may regard himself as reasonably well-informed about the Craft; the more learned Brother will find the *Pocket Reference Book*, with its useful index as well as its alphabetical arrangement, helpful in refreshing his memory, and perhaps in bringing to his notice something of which he was unaware. The book meets a need, and the authors are to be congratulated on an admirable achievement.

JOHN RYLANDS.

OBITUARY



IT is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Belton, Albert Philip, of Brighton, in June, 1956. Bro. Belton held the rank of P.Pr.G.A.S. of W. (Sussex), and was a Past Master of Hova Ecclesia Lodge No. 1466. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1952.

Brown, George Joseph, jun., of West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in February, 1956. Bro. Brown was a member of Prospect Lodge, Roslindale, Mass. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1956, before the report of his death reached us.

Brown-Grant, John George, of Elgin, on 7th March, 1956. Bro. Brown-Grant was a Past Master of Lodge Kilmolymack Elgin, No. 45, S.C., and Past First Principal of Chapter No. 263. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 4th May, 1945.

Bullock, Thomas Leslie, of Handsworth, Birmingham, on 10th April, 1956. Bro. Bullock was a Past Master of Stechford Lodge No. 3185. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 5th January, 1945.

Cannell, Ernest Alfred, of Warrington, on 30th April, 1956. Bro. Cannell held the rank of Past Provincial Grand Warden (Lancs. West), and was a Past Master of St. Oswald's Lodge No. 5170, and a member of Gilbert Greenall Chapter No. 1250. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle on 2nd January, 1953.

Caridia, Reginald Coverdale, of Antwerp, Belgium, on 18th August, 1956. Bro. Caridia was a Past Master of Lodge Star of the East No. 880, and a member of Abbot Lichfield Chapter No. 3308. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 5th January, 1951.

Clarendon, *Revd.* **William Randel Slacke,** Rector of Templepatrick, on 12th May, 1956, aged 74. Bro. Clarendon was a Past Master of Lurgan Lodge No. 134, I.C., and was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle on 5th October, 1928.

Crick, Arthur, of Maidstone, on 4th April, 1956. Bro. Crick held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was a Past Provincial Grand Warden of Kent. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 7th May, 1948.

Durston, Karl, of Bude, on 10th September, 1956. Bro. Durston held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and was a Past Master of Granville Lodge No. 3405, and a member of St. Swithin Chapter No. 3483. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle on 7th November, 1930.

Galloway, *Lt.-Col.* **Aylmer George,** of New Malden, Surrey, on 26th July, 1956. Bro. Galloway held the rank of Past Grand Sword Bearer. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 5th May, 1944.

Gibbs, Arthur Samuel, of Buenos Aires, on 26th August, 1956. Bro. Gibbs was District Grand Secretary of South America, Southern Division, in 1926-27. He was a member of Santa Rosa Lodge No. 3579, of which he was Master in 1930. He become a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1920.

Glendinning, George, of Huddersfield, in October, 1955. Bro. Glendinning was a member of Huddersfield Lodge No. 290, and of the associated Chaper, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined on 4th October, 1918.

Gonella, Albert, of Dunblane, Scotland, on 5th February, 1956. Bro. Gonella was our Local Secretary for Perthshire, and held the rank of Grand Steward under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and of Provincial Grand Almoner for West Perth. He was a Past Master of the Lodge of Dunblane No. 9, S.C., and joined our Correspondence Circle on 6th October, 1950.

Henson, Walter J., of Finchley, London N.12, in September, 1956. Bro. Henson was Past Master of Lombardian Lodge No. 2348, and was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Hobden, Charles John, of Sydenham, on 30th November, 1955, in his 84th year. Bro. Hobden was a member of Unanimity Lodge No. 3, New Zealand, and of Port Chalmers Marine Chapter No. 942, N.Z. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1924.

Hobson, Francis Robert, of Ontario, in April, 1956. Bro. Hobson was a Past Master of Fort William Lodge No. 415, Canada, and a member of Chapter No. 82. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle on 5th October, 1945.

Holmes, Alfred Gynn, of Banstead, Surrey, on 7th October, 1956. Bro. Holmes held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. (Surrey), and was a member of Copthorne Lodge No 5427. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 4th May, 1951.

Jackson, Fred M., of New York, on 14th October, 1955. Bro. Jackson was a member of the Oneonta Lodge No. 466 N.Y. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle on 6th May, 1927.

Jenkinson, William, of Armagh, on 27th September, 1956. Bro. Jenkinson was a Past Provincial Grand Secretary of Armagh, and the Representative of the Grand Lodge of Venezuela at the Grand Lodge of Ireland. He joined the Correspondence Circle in 1924 and became a full member of the Lodge in 1934.

Knutz, William H., of Evanston, Illinois, on 24th June, 1956, at the age of 67. Bro. Knutz was a member of Evans Lodge No. 524 Illinois, and of Evanston Chapter No. 144, and Editor of the Official publication of the Illinois Grand Lodge. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1951.

Linklater, William Fraser, of Prelate, Saskatchewan, in March, 1956. Bro. Linklater was Past District Deputy Grand Master, and Past Grand District Superintendent. He was a member of Leader Lodge No. 142 Canada, and of Acacia Lodge No. 24. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 1st May, 1953.

Lloyd, Herbert Henry, of Basinghall Street, on 15th March, 1956. Bro. Lloyd was a member of the South Middlesex Lodge No. 858, and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 7th January, 1949.

McLachlan, John Dixon, of Victoria, Australia, on 25th June, 1956. Bro. McLachlan was a Past Master of Ambassadors Lodge No. 610 V.C., and a member of Lord Kelvin Chapter No. 77. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 4th May, 1951.

McCullock, James Duff, of Bradford, Yorks., in December, 1955. Bro. McCullock held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was a member of Lodge Pentalpha No. 974, and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle on 23rd June, 1928.

McCunn, Donald, of Woodthorpe, Nottingham, on 1st June, 1956. Bro. McCunn held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and was a Past Master of Ashfield Lodge No. 2412, and of the Nottingham Installed Masters' Lodge No. 3595. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle on 5th May, 1939.

Maddock, Archie V., of Kirkby in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, in January, 1956. Bro. Maddock was a member of Kirkby Lodge No. 5288, and of Ashfield Chapter No. 2412. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1950.

Marlborough, George, of West Wimbledon, on 30th December, 1955. Bro. Marlborough was a Past Master of Sanderstead Lodge No. 4133. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 6th May, 1955.

Martin, Harold William, of Regent Street, London, on 22nd February, 1956. Bro. Martin held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Past Master of Clerkenwell Lodge No. 1964, and Past First Principal of the Chapter of Felicity No. 58. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 6th May, 1932.

Martin, Sidney Wallis, of Wimbledon, on 11th April, 1956. Bro. Martin held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was a member of Wimbledon Lodge No. 3160, and of Redwood Chapter No. 3411. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle on 8th November, 1944.

Melbourne, Charles Dick, of Pall Mall, London, on 11th April, 1956. Bro. Melbourne held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 6th May, 1932.

Miller, William, of Manchester, in December, 1955. Bro. Miller was a Past Master of Manchester Dramatic Lodge No. 2387, and of Caledonian Chapter No. 204. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle on 7th May, 1954.

Mundell, George Ferguson, of Old Trafford, Manchester, on 5th December, 1955. Bro. Mundell was a Past Master of Duchess of York Lodge No. 2482, and held the rank of Past Asssistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined the Correspondence Circle on 2nd October, 1942.

Palmer, Reginald Francis, of Singapore, on May 15th, 1955. Bro. Palmer was a Past Master of Lodge St. Michael No. 2933. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 3rd October, 1941.

Peck, George Starr, of Atlanta, Georgia, on 19th October, 1956. Bro. Peck was a Past Master of Palestine Lodge No. 486 Georgia. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 5th October, 1951.

Photiades, Alexander E., of Oxford, in July, 1956. Bro. Photiades was a Past Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Greece, and a Vice-President of U.N.E.S.C.O. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle on 7th January, 1938.

Prince, William Edward, of Radnorshire, on 20th February, 1956. Bro. Prince was a Past Provincial Assistant Grand Secretary of South Wales, Eastern Division. He was a member of Porta Maris Lodge No. 4287, and became a member of our Correspondence Circle on 4th March, 1949.

Quick, Arthur Stanley, of Dulwich Wood, London, S.E.19, on 8th February, 1956. Bro. Quick was a member of the Royal Hampton Court Lodge No. 2183, and of Royal Sussex Lodge No. 53. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 1st March, 1929.

Salisbury, Samuel James, of Bexley Heath, Kent, on 19th October, 1955. Bro. Salisbury held London Grand Rank, and was also a Past Provincial Grand Deacon of Kent. He was a member of Skelmersdale Lodge No. 1599, and of the associated Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 8th November, 1948.

Scott, James C., of Cleveland, Ohio, on the 8th December, 1953. Bro. Scott was a Past Master of University Heights Lodge No. 738, Ohio. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle on 2nd January, 1953.

Sewell, Harry Handel, of Handsworth Wood, Birmingham, in August, 1955. Bro. Sewell was a Past Master of Alchemy Lodge No. 3950, and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle on 27th March, 1952.

Stafford, Albert, of Plymstock, Devon, in December, 1955. Bro. Stafford held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and was a member of the Lodge of St. George No. 2025, and of the associated Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 24th January, 1942.

Thompson, John William, of Edgbaston, Birmingham, and formerly of Colombo, Ceylon, on 5th May, 1956. Bro. Thompson had been Deputy District Grand Master of Ceylon, and was a Past Grand Deacon. He was a Past Master of St. George Lodge No. 2170, Colombo, Ceylon Lodge No. 6436 (London), and Silver Jubilee Lodge No. 5531, and at the time of his death he was Assistant Provincial Grand Master designate of Worcestershire. He joined our Correspondence Circle on 24th January, 1942, and for some time acted as our Local Secretary for Worcestershire.

Tilsley, Frank Vernon, of Worthing, Sussex, in August, 1956. Bro. Tilsley was a member of Ordinges Lodge No. 6866, and of St. Wilfred Chapter No. 5413. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle on 1st October 1954.

Towlson, John, of Leicester, on 10th April, 1955. Bro. Towlson was a member of Wyggeston Lodge No. 3448, and of the Chapter of Fortitude No. 279. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle on 5th January, 1951.

Trudgeon, Frank Gilbert, of London, N.W.10, on 17th January, 1956. Bro. Trudgeon was a Past Master of Citadel Lodge No. 1897, and of Arklow Regis Chapter No. 4481. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 1st October, 1954.

Van Zyl, Christopher Hugo, of Carnarvon, South Africa, on 5th June, 1955. Bro. van Zyl was a Past Assistant District Grand Master, and a member of King Edward VII Lodge No. 2969, and of Der Aar Chapter No. 3198. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle on 2nd January, 1953.

Venkataratnam, S., of Kakinada, S. India, on 25th June, 1956. Bro. Venkataratnam was a member of Burroughs Strange Lodge No. 3565, Madras, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1955.

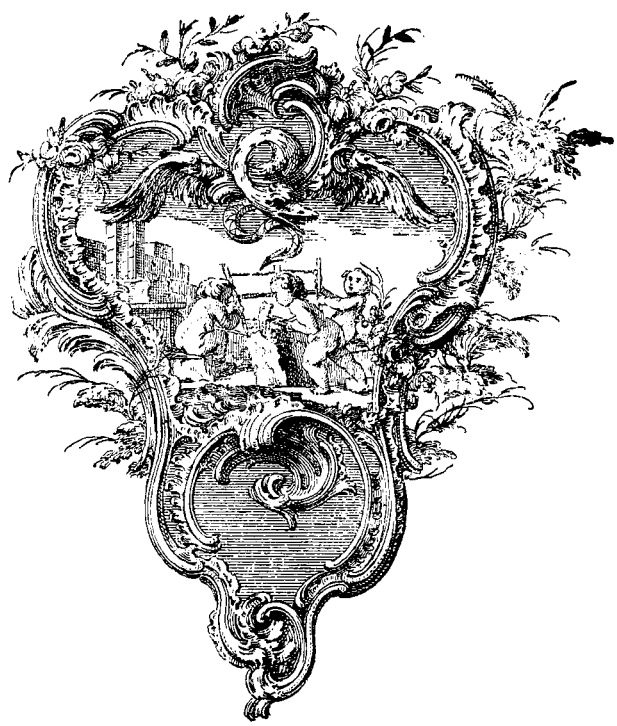
Wainwright, *Lt.-Col.* **John Gordon,** of Penn, Bucks, on 3rd October, 1956, after an operation. Bro. Wainwright held the rank of Past District Grand Deacon (Punjab), and was a Past Master of Hazara Lodge No. 4159, and a member of the Chapter of Benevolence No. 1168. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1951, and was our Local Secretary for Buckinghamshire from 1954.

Warner, Rowland George, of Kolapatna Estate, Ceylon, on 18th July, 1956. Bro. Warner was a member of St. John's Lodge of Colombo No. 454, and of Kandynewera Chapter No. 454, also of Adam's Peak Lodge and Campbell Chapter No. 2656. He joined the Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1952.

Williamson, Robert John, of Montreal, Canada, on 6th October, 1956. Bro. Williamson was a Past Grand Registrar of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, and a member of Westmount Lodge No. 76, Quebec. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 24th June, 1952.

Wilson, Henry, of Shipley Glen, Yorkshire, in September, 1955. Bro. Wilson was a member of St. James' Lodge No. 448, and of the associated Chapter. He became a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle on 4th May, 1928.

Zossenheim, Leonard Louis, of Harrogate, in February, 1956. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and joined the Correspondence Circle on 24th June, 1927.



ST. JOHN'S CARD

HE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1955/56:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

The Provincial Grand Lodge of Hertfordshire
Newstead Lodge No. 47
Royal Clarence Lodge No. 68
Lodge of Universal Charity No. 273
Canynges Lodge No. 1388
Carnatic Lodge No. 2031
Powell Lodge No. 2257
Lodge Minchin No. 2710
Grove Park Kent Lodge No. 2824
Justitia Lodge No. 3457
Madras Masters' Lodge No. 4487
Lodge of Free Burgesses No. 4504
Caradoc Lodge No. 4749
Archibald Campbell Lodge No. 4998
Amanzimtoti Lodge No. 5307
Chatterton Lodge No. 5386
Paul Chater Lodge of Installed Masters No. 5391
Noble Brotherhood Lodge No. 6226
Manor of Bosham Lodge No. 6297
Burnett Lodge No. 6789
Saint Katharine Lodge No. 7051
Lodge of Harmony No. 7127
Brunel Lodge No. 7356
Athenaeum Lodge of Research No. 7455
Camisis Lodge of Instruction
Dartford and District Masonic Study Circle
Lodge Southern Cross No. 568, S.C.
Lodge Tararua No. 67, N.Z.C.
Corinthian Lodge No. 34, S.A.C.
Lodge Acacia No. 194, S.A.C.
Whitehorse Lodge No. 46, British Columbia
Commonwealth Lodge No. 156, British Columbia
Alamada Lodge No. 167, California
Scottish Rite Library, Virginia
Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia
Metropolitan College, S.R.I.A.

BRETHREN

Norris G. Adam
James Simeon Abrahams
Frederick Augustus Allen
James Edward Allen
David St. Kevin Anderson
Reginald Ewing Anderson
Thomas Ashton
M. Ata-ur-Rahman
Tom Edwin Bagshaw
Roland Oakley Bailey
Robert Edward Lee Baker
Henry James Anthony Bannenberg
B. Lowell Barnett
William Frederick Barrell
Francis John Bawden
Thomas Baxter

William James Baxter
Cecil Thomas Ashworth Beevor
Richard G. Bell
Irving Beranbaum
Edward Carlisle Bernhardt
Albert Hamilton Berrie
Norman Maurice Vincent Blackburn
James Blake
Harry James Bowden
Ernst Breitholtz
Jonathan Thomas Brett
Norman Francis Henry Bright
Edwin Norman Broomhead
George Joseph Brown, jun.
Ralph Brown
Vilas J. Brown
George Edward Buxton
William George Buckingham
Dudley Bunn
Owen Sylvester Burgan
Frank Burnett
C. Raymond Burr
Sam Framrose Byramshaw

Warren H. Cady
Gordon Henry Campbell
Laurence W. Campbell, jun.
Abraham H. Carchman
David John Carpenter
Weston H. Carter
Arthur Robert Chambers
Leonard Aylwin Chartres
Thomas Frederick Graham Choat
Bertram Clarke
William Shipley Cockbill
Harry Kenneth Conrad
Francis Roy Corran
Neil McLeod Corbett
Arthur Leonard Cree
Redgrave John Crisp
Henry George Cross
Benjamin Chase Culey
Frank Stephen Curtiss
Dwight Sanford Cushman

Terence Rupert Moore Dale
Percy Alfred William Dando
Cornelis Marinus Reinder Davidson
Cyril William Davis
W. Godfrey Day
Axel Borge de Barnholt
Morton Deutsch
Hereward Gordon Dilley
Theodore Theron Dizemore
Gordon Dobie
Ralph J. Drasgow
William George Dumville

James Charles Earl
Alan E. Eichman
Max Eisen
P. E. K. Eley
Robert James Ellis
Clande V. D. Emmons
Leslie E. Erickson
John Philip Everett

Edgar Oliver Faber
David Robert Fagan
Henry Richard Farquharson
George Alexander Farron
Victor M. A. Finney
Ralph W. First
Jerome Fish
William Raymond Floyd
Harry Paine Folger, *Revd.*
Guy Spencer Freebairn
Lars Peter Frederik From
Thomas Henry Freer
Gordon William French

Wilton Gardner
Henry L. Gay
Stanley Robert Gibbs
Arnold Glasser
Louis H. Goddard
Gerald S. Goldstein
Robert Angus Gordon
Philip Cecil Grandin
James Grant
Roger Hoke Grantham
Angus James Gray
Hurtle James Gregory
Denis McArthur Green
Frederick Andrew Grohsmeyer, *Revd.*

Thomas Albert Winfield Haddon
Alfred Chase Hall
Arthur Hallam
Herbert Hallam
Henry Otto Hammerich
Alik Hamood
Roy E. Harbold
Roy Baker Harris
Raymond Hart
Wilfred Hart
Albert Ronald Hayman
Harold Hayman
Lindsay James Hefford
Robert John Helfrich, jun.
Vernon W. Hettrick
Forrest L. Hinderliter
Cecil William Charles Hinitt
John Hinton
Ezra Stanley Hobson
Sigurd Arbo Hoëg
Walter Thomas Hogg
Brian John Holloway
John Charles Hope
John Baron Howes
Edward James Hudson
Raymond Arthur Hurley
William John Hustwayte
David Chadwick Hutchinson-Smith

Einar Iversen

John W. Jackson
Charles Angus Neil Jensen
Eugene Max Joffe
Clifford Johnson
Gordon Kenneth Johnson
Kenneth Peter Julnes

Reis Carlton Kash
Kyriacos Kallis Kcamaris
Fremont Ellis Kelsey
Clarence Page Kenney
John J. Kepler
Gordon Scott Kerr
Donald E. Kessler
Leonard Arthur Kew
Hubert Samuel Jonah Kingston
William Kinrade
William J. Kirkham
Robert A. Klein

Kurt Lampel
William S. Landau
John Lane
Royce Parry Larned
Eftat Kosta Laskaris
William Charles Leeson
Gilbert Frank Leslie
Odd Lie-Davidsen
George Raymond Lloyd Jones
Sydney John Lower

C. Roderick MacAlpine
Pope M. McElhiney
Robert Graeme MacFadyen
Milton Robert MacIntosh
Roy McLeod
Robert Dihel McNew
John Robert McNicol
Magnus Ian Mail
Robert Wilson Markham, jun.
Ernest Marriott
James Richard Martin
Thomas Greenshields Martin
Isaac Melzack
Dennis Michael Milstone
Geoffrey Edwin Minshaw
Thomas Graham Mitchell
John W. Moberley
Joseph Moffett, *Revd.*
Alexander Harcus Moncrieff
William Moore
John G. Morrison
Earl Beachy Musser

Rambhatla Kothandramier Nagraj
Richard Nahabedian
Paul Nettl, *Dr.*
Frank Newbury
John North
William George Northcott

John Gordon Oakshott
Kenneth Arthur Lowis Offord
Arthur Selwyn Oldham
Morris Louis Ostrach
Thomas Welman Over

Thomas Parker
Clark F. Parry
Arthur Peace
William Henry Pearce
Arthur Clarence Pearson
Ronald Clifton Pearson
Jethro Harrison Peckham
Curtis E. Perdue
Otto W. Petterson
Bernhardt Philips
Ronald Osborne Pickering
Albert A. Plale
Benjamin J. Pulner

Worth Belvin Quillen, jun.

Gregory Evan Rackstraw
Patrick Ramsay Rainsford-Hannay
T. N. Ramaswamy
Earl Blake Rawson
Erich O. B. Reichmuth
Walter John Reinhard
Frederick William Renny
Kenneth Asa Rice
Norman Peter Rimmer
George Henry Ripley
John Charles Rishworth
Clayton W. Roberts
George Stanley James Robinson
Sidney Hesp Robinson
Robert Leonard Rodgers
John Douglas Rohrsheim
Dudley Bruce Ross
Leonard Jack Rowe

Shraddhanand Sahay
Angas Victor Sargent
Mervyn Martin Schade
Douglas Isaac Espinosa Schulman
Herbert Irving Schuetzman
Harold Schofield Schwartz
Gerald Jacob Schwenk
Frederick Valentine William Sedgley
Arthur Howard Segnit
Arthur Granville Sharp
Haydn Shaw
Donald Alistair Shiach
Robert E. Shuff
Charles L. Silverman
Philip Wayne Simons
Donald Lee Smith
Frank Alan Smith
Gerald Onslow Smith
Leslie Ernest Smith
Leonard Marshal Smith
Hedley Nramwell Snelgrove
Harald Soder
David M. Staples
Rosslyn Raymond Poole Stephenson
Hugh Russell Stone
Carl Stonestreet
D. S. Subramaniam
Paul Sutton, *Dr.*
Edward F. Sylvia, jun.

Jean Tavoularides
George Pearson Taylor
Jess Oscar Teed
Bedford Russell Thacker
Godfrey George Thomson
Harold Thornton
James Greville Thursfield

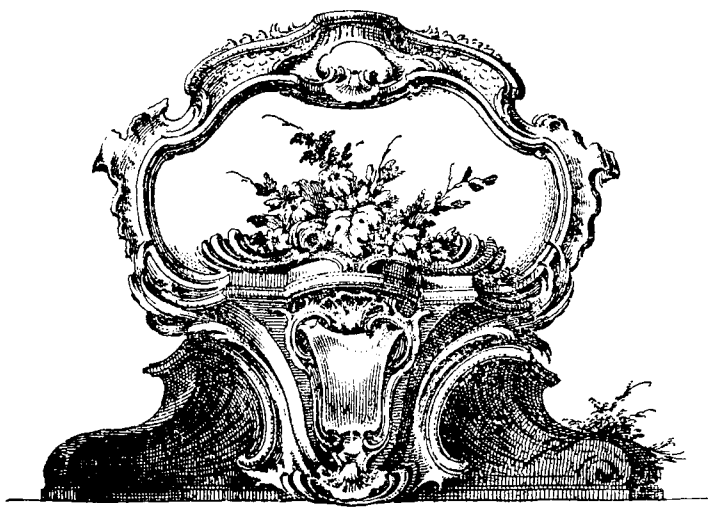
Harold Tombleson
Joseph D. Tomlinson
John Hilary Trebilcock
John E. Trott
T. C. P. Tunnard-Moore

Edwin Clair van de Mark
Cornelis Johannes van de Watering
Jan J. van Herpen
Albert Eugene Vaughn
Richard Craddock Vaughan

C. F. Wakefield
Alwyn Stephenson Johnstone Wallace
Carl Axel Wallgren
Edward H. Walsdorf
Richard Walters
Samuel Edward Gordon Walters
Trevor Roberts Webb
John Hyde West
William H. Westbrook, *Lt.-Col.*
William Westerman
Charles Lovell Westley
Kenneth Langshaw Whitaker
John Copley Whitlam
Carl Herman Wiese
John Godfrey Williams
Charles Alexander Wilson
Francis McLean Wilson
Ivor Sydney Bond Wilson
Oliver Winterburn
James Wotherspoon
William John Wyse

Anthony James Young

Charles Leslie Zingery



LIST OF LOCAL SECRETARIES

Offers of service as Local Secretaries from Members residing in areas in which there are none at present will be very warmly welcomed by the Secretary

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Bristol—Lt.-Col. E. Ward, T.D., Woodside, Court Farm Road, Willsbridge, Nr. Bristol.

Buckinghamshire—

Cambridge—C. A. H. Brady, 11, De Freville Avenue, Cambridge.

Channel Islands—P. Le H. Hodgetts, 48, Clubley Estate, St. John's Road, St. Helier, Jersey.

Cheshire—S. Prestwich, 36, Coniston Avenue, Wallasey, Cheshire.

Cumberland and Westmorland—E. M. Baxter, c/o District Bank, Ltd., Whitehaven.

Derbyshire—G. H. Fox, Ruggin, 7, Burley Hill, Allestree, Nr. Derby.

Devon and Cornwall—F. E. Gould, 1, The Esplanade, The Hoe, Plymouth.

Durham—

North—W. Waples, 177, Cleveland Road, Sunderland.

South—G. G. Campbell, 24, Clifton Avenue, Eaglescliffe.

Gloucestershire—L. W. Bayley, 27, The Promenade, Cheltenham.

Hampshire and Isle of Wight—A. F. French, Hadleigh, 322, Poole Road, Branksome, Poole, Dorset.

Hertfordshire—G. N. Knight, 3, Western Mansions, Western Parade, Barnet.

Kent—

East—S. Pope, Stanbrook, 82, Whitstable Road, Canterbury.

West—K. A. Seals, 28, Start's Hill, Farnborough.

Lancashire—

East—F. L. Pick, 209, Windsor Road, Oldham.

West—

Leicestershire and Rutland—G. W. Harborow, Barnes, 162, Harborough Road, Oadby, Leicester.

Lincolnshire—Dr. A. H. Briggs, Birkendale Lodge, Church Lane, Lincoln.

Norfolk—W. S. Blofield, Tuktaway, Chester Place, Norwich.

Northamptonshire—H. N. Colpman, Netherleigh, 68, Park Avenue North, Northampton.

Northumberland—L. H. Cross, 36, Wansbeck Gardens, Cullercoats, North Shields.

Nottinghamshire—T. O. Haunch, 193, Musters Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

Somerset—R. H. Pearce, Flanders House, Keynsham, Bristol.

Staffordshire—A. L. Noon, 7, Lyndham Avenue, Burton-on-Trent, Staffs.

Surrey—

East—L. W. Smith, 96, Farleigh Road, Warlingham.

West—H. T. Seymour, 97, Gloucester Road, Kingston Hill.

Sussex—

East—Bernard E. Jones, Little Orchard, Bolney, Haywards Heath.

West—L. E. C. Peckover, Whitley House, 32, Rowlands Road, Worthing.

Brighton and Hove—G. P. Daynes, 71, Holmes Avenue, Hove 4.

South Wales—L. Pyatt, 43, Insole Grove West, Llandaff, Cardiff.

Warwickshire—L. J. Biddle, 92 Maidenhead Road, Stratford-on-Avon.

Worcestershire—R. G. St. George, 6, Widney Lane, Solihull, Warwickshire.

Yorkshire—

East Riding—H. D. Whitehead, M.C., T.D., 18, Quay Road, Bridlington, E. Yorks.

North Riding—F. N. Beadle, Westoe House, Normanby Road, South Bank, Middlesbrough.

Leeds—S. S. Fatbin, High Trees, Leeds Road, Collingham, Wetherby, Yorks.

Sheffield—E. H. Wharton, 426, Whirlowdale Road, Sheffield 11.

IRELAND

Northern—R. E. Parkinson, Ard-na-geeha, Downpatrick, Co. Down, N. Ireland.

SCOTLAND

Major D. C. Heron-Watson, Governor, H.M. Prison, 21, Calder Road, Edinburgh 11.

EUROPE

Denmark—E. H. Birkved, Jagtveg 195, Copenhagen.

Holland—H. D. A. Bontekoe, Spoorplein 4, Heemestede.

Norway—Bjorn Albert, Kristiansand S., Norway.

Sweden—

Switzerland—H. O. Mauerhofer, Marktstrasse, Langnau-Emmental.

AFRICA

Cape Province—

East—A. H. Van Wyk, 3, McDonald Street, Bloemfontein, O.F.S.

West—D. Varley, Hazeldene, 32, Sawkins Road, Mowbray, C.P.

Kenya, Tanganyika Territory and Uganda—E. U. Peel, P.O. Box 5050, Nairobi, Kenya.

Natal—

Rhodesia—

Transvaal—A. McCaskill, P.O. Box 7330, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

ASIA

Ceylon—A. E. Butler, Hambantota, Ceylon.

Hong Kong—P. J. Hope, Architectural Office, P.W.D., Hong Kong.

India—

Assam and Bengal—E. J. Samuel, No. 87. J., Park Street, Calcutta 16.

Bombay—

Madras—K. Heuer, c/o Spencer and Co., Ltd., Mount Road, Madras 2.

Malaya—J. M. McDonald, Glenmarie Estate, Batu Tiga, Selangor.

CANADA

Nova Scotia—S. W. Knowles, 5 Wyndholm Apts., Camden Road, Dartmouth, N.S.

Ontario—J. E. Taylor, 380, Morrison Road, Oakville, R.R. 2, Ontario.

Quebec and British Columbia—A. J. B. Milborne, P.O. Box 248, Knowlton, P.Q.

U.S.A.

California—

North—Alexander Horne, 2135, 29th Avenue, San Francisco 16.

South and Arizona—A. L. Carol, Box U, Mojave, California.

Carolina, N. and S.—D. F. Dukes, Jun., 4108, Yale Avenue, Columbia 5, S.C.

Columbia, District of—

Dakota, N. and S.—

Florida—Dr. Russell A. Williams, 229, S.W. 19th Road, Miami 45, Florida.

Georgia—

Indiana—C. E. Gaskins, 555, Boyd Circle, Edgewood, Michigan City, Indiana.

Illinois and Iowa—J. A. Mirt, 644, Melrose Street, Chicago 13, Illinois.

Kansas and Colorado—F. A. Falls, 113, 9th Avenue, Leavenworth, Kansas.

Massachusetts and New England—F. Levine, 75, Superior Street, Lynn, Massachusetts.

Michigan—C. Fey, 27821, Red River Road, Birmingham, Michigan, U.S.A.

Minnesota and Wisconsin—Dr. J. C. Whitacre II, M.D., 800, Physicians' and Surgeons' Building, Minneapolis 2, Minnesota.

Mississippi—

Missouri and Arkansas—C. E. Ellerbrook, 1200, E. 25th Avenue, N. Kansas City 16, Missouri.

New Jersey—N. I. Morris, 330, Mount Prospect Avenue, Newark 4, New Jersey.

New York—Lt.-Col. Ward St. Clair, 14, Meadow Lane, East Williston, Long Island, New York.

Ohio—John W. Duke, 823, Seward Avenue, Akron 20, Ohio.

Pennsylvania—H. T. Buchanan, 6708, Oakland Street, Philadelphia 24, Pennsylvania.

Rhode Island—E. M. Docherty, 100, South Street, Providence 3, Rhode Island.

Texas and Oklahoma—C. A. Wells, 1407, Fannin Street, Houston 2, Texas.

Virginia—A. E. Bartholomew, 8903, Allendale Road, R.F.D. 13, Richmond, Virginia.

Washington and Oregon—

AUSTRALASIA

Australia—

New South Wales—Chester W. C. M. Smith, 57, Baringa Road, Northbridge, New South Wales.

South Australia—H. C. B. Hewett, 27, Parr Street, Largs, South Australia.

Queensland—

Tasmania—

Victoria—J. G. Naismith, 33, Meek Street, Brighton, S.5, Victoria.

West Australia—R. D. Hewitt, 131, Sixth Avenue, Inglewood, West Australia.

New Zealand—

Auckland—E. E. Horide, 719, N.Z. Insurance Building, Queen Street, Auckland, C.1.

Wellington—A. R. Hall, 19, Elizabeth Street, Lower Hutt.

Christchurch—Dr. R. Hepburn, LI.D., 50, Ilam Road, Riccarton, Christchurch, N.W.3.

Southland and Otago—G. L. Austin, 70, Aberdeen Road, St. Clair, Dunedin, S.W.1.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina—D. Murison, Avda. Alt. Brown 2758, Temperley F.N.G.R., Argentina.

Brazil—

North—F.McCormick, Caixa Postal 252, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

South—A. H. Berrie, c/o Moinho Paulista Ltda., Caixa Postal 574, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

WEST INDIES

Barbados and Jamaica—A. A. Chase, Cleveland, 2nd Avenue, Belleville, St. Michael, Barbados.

Trinidad and Tobago—W. S. Perry, 1, Sydenham Avenue, St. Anns, Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM

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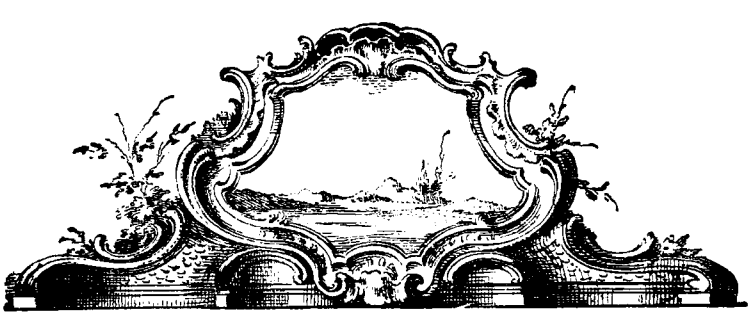

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