

➤ Ars ➤

Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME LXX

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 8th November, 1956	1	Notes on the Early Records of the	
Inaugural Address	3	Grand Lodge of the Antients	63
Proceedings, 4th January, 1957	8	Proceedings, 24th June, 1957	79
Audit Committee	8	Exhibits	79
Operative Entered Apprenticeship	12	The Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal	
Proceedings, 1st March, 1957	31	and William Henry	81
In Memoriam	31	Proceedings, 4th October, 1957	100
"Passing the Chair"	33	Masonic Ceramics	101
Notes	54	Notes	116
Review	60	Review	124
Proceedings, 3rd May, 1957	61	Obituary	126
		St. John's Card	131
		List of Local Secretaries	135

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

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

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the Brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, obituary, and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, of which eleven volumes have been issued, consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest, with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated.

The Library has been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers over 3,800 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.

—‡‡ Ars ‡‡—
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1958

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LODGE PROCEEDINGS

	PAGE
Thursday, 8th November, 1956	1
Friday, 4th January, 1957	8
Friday, 1st March, 1957	31
Friday, 3rd May, 1957	61
Monday, 24th June, 1957	79
Friday, 4th October, 1957	100

OBITUARY

	PAGE		PAGE
Auld, J.	126	Marsh, S. H.	128
Barns, J. H.	126	Mather T.	128
Bone, C. H.	126	Matthews, M. K.	128
Brooking, R. A.	126	Moulds, F. W.	128
Campbell, A. Y. G.	126	Mumford, W. A.	128
Caress, T. A.	126	Munro, J.	128
Claudy, C. H.	126	Oats, F. J.	128
Cole, R. B.	126	Owens, F. W.	128
Croucher, T. G.	126	Parker, S. S.	128
Dentith, A. W.	126	Patel, I. V.	128
Ellis, H. G.	126	Perram, C. H.	128
Ellis, R.	126	Rae, T. H.	128
Elvidge, G. D.	126	Rask, L.	129
Francis, S. E.	126	Rickard, F. M.	31
Frost, A.	127	Riviere, H. R.	129
Girling, W. R.	127	Sargeant, C. C.	129
Gordon, W. H.	127	Simcox, A. L.	129
Grant, T. B.	127	Söder, H.	129
Greenfield, J. F.	127	Sparrow, W. A.	129
Hamilton, H. S.	127	Stansell, C. W.	129
Hann, H. F.	127	Stewart, D.	129
Harnett, W. L.	127	Suffolk, S. A.	129
Harris, G.	127	Swabey, H. E.	129
Heaton, W. E.	32 & 127	Sykes, H.	129
Holmblad, E.	127	Titley, J.	129
Holte, E. B.	127	Turner, P. A.	129
Houtman, D.	127	Tyers, F. G.	129
Howkins, F.	127	Wakefield, C. F.	129
Hudson, E. J.	127	Westerman, W.	129
Johnston, T. E.	127	Westheimer, E. F.	130
Jones, A. R.	127	Wheldon, M. L.	130
Kaye, J. H.	128	White, W. J.	130
Lawden, H.	128	Wikstrom, O.	130
Lobinger, C. S.	128	Williams, F. C.	130
Lockwood, S. C.	128	Wilson, W. L.	130
Macleane, L.	128	Wise, W.	130

PAPERS AND ESSAYS

	PAGE
Inaugural Address	1
Operative Entered Apprenticeship. By E. Ward	12
E.A. in Scottish Crafts generally; In Mary's Chapel; In the Lodge at Dundee; At Aitchison's Haven; Schaw Statutes; Finance; E.A. to F.C.; Other factors; Entered Apprenticeship in England; Chandlers of Bristol; Carpenters of London; The London Masons.	
Passing the Chair. By Bernard E. Jones	33
Rise of esoteric Installation Ceremony; "Antients" require I.M. qualification for R.A.; "Moderns" adopt Passing the Chair; Craft Lodge permission to take degree; Virtual degree conferred in Chapter; Not all Passings related to the R.A.; Ceremony slow in dying; Honorary P.M.; Passing the Chair in Ireland and Scotland; In America.	
Early Records of the Antients' Grand Lodge. By J. R. Dashwood	63
The great Schism; Origin of the "Antients"; Morgan's Register; The first Minute-book; Laurence Dermott; Grand Lodge or Grand Committee; Calendar; Royal Arch; Lodge No. 1.	
The Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry. By A. J. B. Milborne	81
Freemasonry in Lower Canada; Prince Edward, P.G.M. 1792; Claude Denechau; St. Paul's Lodge; The Brothers Macgillivray; P.G.L. established 1823; Uniform working; Masonic Hall Hotel; General Lodge of Instruction; John Molson; Installation in 1828; Funeral of Sir John Johnson; Royal Arch; Montreal Hospital; Hall destroyed by fire; No records 1834-46; Lodges dormant; P.G.L. reorganised; Great fire in Montreal; Grand Lodge of Canada; P.G.L. dissolved.	
Masonic Ceramics. By E. Winterburgh	101
Historical notes; China Clay discovered; Lambeth Bowl; Chinese influence; Chien Lung period; Famille Rose; Staffordshire Potteries in the seventeenth century; Invention of cheap method of printing designs; German Masonic ceramics; Kandler; Mopses.	

NOTES

The Fourth Temple. By G. Brett	54
Newspaper Advertisements. By J. R. Dashwood	56
The Legend of the Vault. By Ivor Grantham	116
The Interpretation of Dassigny. By J. R. Dashwood	116
The Quatuor Coronati in Europe. By Dr. B. Beyer and F. Bernhart	118
Certificate of 1793. By J. R. Dashwood	120
Ancient Brick-makers' Marks. By A. E. Butler	121
Lewis Lodges in South Australia. By H. C. B. Hewett	121

REVIEWS

History of Old Sinjins' Lodge. By J. F. Nichols ... By Lewis Edwards ...	60
Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch. By Bernard E. Jones ... By Ivor Grantham	124

INDEX

	PAGE
<i>A.Q.C.</i> ...	15, 16, 18, 33, 47, 65, 69, 124
<i>Aberdeen, History of the Lodge of</i> ...	16
<i>Aberdeen Incorporated Trades</i> ...	13
Accounts ...	10-11
<i>Address, A Pathetic</i> ...	116
Advertisements ...	56-7
Age, Minimum ...	17
<i>Ahiman Rezon</i> ...	35, 43, 44, 58, 59
	65, 69, 109, 117
America, History of Freemasonry in ...	96
America: Past Master ...	40
American working in Canada ...	99
"Antients" ...	33-6, 39-41, 43-4, 47, 51-2
	63-78, 96, 116-7
<i>Antique History of Freemasonry</i> ...	57
Apprentices "for the freedom" ...	14
Apprentices "for the Trade" ...	14
Apron, Master's ...	51
Apron, Passing the Chair ...	51
<i>Atholl Lodges</i> ...	66, 71
Audit Committee ...	8-9
<i>Authors' Lodge Transactions</i> ...	120
Averages misleading ...	27
Bi-Centenary Warrant ...	72
Booking ...	13, 15, 23, 28
Brick-makers' Marks ...	121
Bristol Black Soap ...	18
Bristol Masons' Company ...	46
<i>Burgh Laws of Dundee</i> ...	13
Buried Treasure ...	54
<i>Caementaria Hiberica</i> ...	49
Calendar ...	66
<i>Canada, History of Freemasonry in</i> ...	81, 84
Cancellation of indentures ...	19
Carpenters ...	15, 17, 18, 19
<i>Carpenters' Company, Records of the</i> ...	17, 18
<i>Carpenters' Company, History of the</i> ...	17
London ...	16
Cautioners ...	120
Certificate of 1793 (R.A.) ...	121
Ceylon ...	47
Chaireing Master ...	40
Chairman ...	40
Chair Master Charters ...	41
Chair Masters' Lodges ...	41
Chapters referred to:—	
Edinburgh No. 1 ...	44
E.G. and R. ...	117
Loyalty and Virtue ...	5, 7
St. James' ...	37
Sincerity ...	39
Tiverton ...	50
Wakefield ...	37
Charter of Compact ...	36, 43, 124
China Clay ...	101
Clothing in Montreal ...	86
<i>Compendium, Freemasons' Guide and</i> ...	125
Conservative "Moderns" ...	33
Consecration Ceremony ...	47
Consecration Installation ...	47
<i>Constitutions, Book of</i> ...	34, 42, 47-8, 59
	74-5, 77, 88, 97, 109, 113
<i>Constitutions, Irish</i> ...	48

	PAGE
Correspondence Circle ...	3, 6
Cost of Apprenticeship ...	14, 16
Cypher ...	120
Deacon ...	29
Decreet Arbitral ...	23, 29
<i>Defence of Masonry, The</i> ...	46
<i>Degree of Past Master, The</i> ...	41
Degree, what is a? ...	42, 52
Deism ...	74, 78
Delft ...	102
Dermott's Initiation ...	65
<i>Dumfries, History of Lodge of</i> ...	16
<i>Dundee, Burgh Laws of</i> ...	26
<i>Early Masonic Catechisms</i> ...	15
<i>Edinburgh Gilds and Crafts</i> ...	13, 29
<i>Edinburgh Register House MS.</i> ...	15
Election of Prov. G. Master ...	82
<i>Enquiry, Serious and Impartial</i> ...	111, 124
Entered Apprentice's Song ...	109
Entered Apprenticeship ...	12-30
Entry ...	13, 19, 22, 25, 28
<i>Epitome of Philostorgius</i> ...	54
Excellent Master ...	40
<i>Exeter Mercury and West Country</i> ...	4
Advertiser ...	4
Exhibits:—	
Bylaws, Nelson Lodge, Quebec (1796) ...	79
<i>Constitutions, Canadian Edition</i> (1823) ...	79
<i>Constitutions, Nova Scotian Edition</i> (1819) ...	79
<i>Masons' Manual</i> (1818) ...	79
Memorials to G.L. of England (1857) ...	80
Minute-book of P.G.L. of Montreal ...	79
Patents, to Claude Denechau (1820) to Peter McGill (1846) ...	80
Warrants—No. 3(A) (1792) No. 241(A) (1787) ...	80
Falkland Statutes ...	12, 14, 15, 24, 30
<i>Fama Fraternitatis</i> ...	55
Foundation-stone laid ...	90, 91, 93
Four Crowned Martyrs—see Martyrs	
Fourth Degree ...	37
Fourth Temple ...	54
"Free" Apprentice ...	12, 26
<i>Freemason Examined, The</i> ...	56
<i>Freemason Surprised</i> ...	59
<i>Freemasonry in Roxburghshire</i> ...	16
<i>Freemasons' Compendium</i> ...	41, 63, 65, 75, 125
<i>Freemasons' Magazine</i> ...	48
Frog Mug ...	104, 108
Funeral, Masonic ...	58
Furniture ...	5
Genesis of Speculative Masonry ...	46-7, 73
Geometric Master Mason ...	37
Gild Merchant ...	18
<i>Gilds and Companies of London</i> ...	19
<i>Glasgow, Incorporation of Masons of</i> ...	16, 29
Glovers ...	13
<i>Graham MS.</i> ...	47

	PAGE
Grand Chapter ("Antients")	36
Grand Chapter ("Moderns")	36
Grand Committee, or Grand Lodge?	64-5, 70
Grand Lodge of Canada, formation of	93
<i>Grand Lodge Secretaries</i>	65
Gregorians	57-8
Gregorian Year	66
<i>Guild of Bristol Weavers</i>	15
"Haled" to "Antient" from "Modern"	82, 99
Hall burned down	91, 93
Hall Dedicated	87
Hammermen	13, 20
Harodim	51
<i>Hiram</i>	113
Hiramic Legend	33, 47-8, 51
Hiramic Degree	34
<i>History of Freemasonry (Gould)</i>	18, 63
<i>History of Freemasonry (Laurie)</i>	12
<i>History of the Lodge of Journeymen, No. 8</i>	28
<i>Hole Crafte and Felawship of Masons</i>	19
Honorary Past Masters	39
Hoopers	15
<i>Illustrations of Masonry</i>	69, 74, 112
Immovable Jewels	5
Innovations by the "Antients"	33
Inspectors	90
Installation	33-5, 90, 117
Installation Chamber	89-90, 96
Installation of Prov. G.M.	89, 93
Installed Master	38, 89, 93, 117
<i>Institution of Free Masons, The</i>	117
Irish influence	47
Irish origin of R.A.?	43, 47
Irregular Masons	74, 78
<i>Jachin and Boaz</i>	113
Joiners	15
Kaolin	101
Lambeth bowl	101
Landmarks—two	33, 47
Landmarks—five	47
Leeds ware	109
Levels	51
Lewis Lodges	121-3
Lists of Lodges	64
Liverpool ware	109, 111
Lost, that which was	54
Lodges referred to:—	
Aberdeen	16
Aitchison's Haven	12-5, 17, 22, 29, 30
Alnwick	18
Amity, No. 137	48
Amity, No. 283	49, 53
Anchor and Hope, Bolton	35, 44
Antiquity, No. 2	47, 84
Banagher, No. 306, I.C.	40
Bristol, No. 334	39
Bush	46, 52
Canning, Montreal	90
Castle Lodge of Harmony	40
Charity, No. 350	45
Columbia, No. 8 (737)	90
Commerce	39
Dorchester, No. 775	92
Dunblane	25
Dundee	14
Durham Faithful, No. 297	39
Earl of Ellesmere, No. 678	45
Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel)	12-4, 16-8, 24
Eight Brothers, No. 286	67

Lodges referred to:—	PAGE
Fountain, No. 116	46
Freres du Canada	86
Golden Rule, No. 5	99
Grand Master's, No. 1	63, 66, 71-2
Haddington	18
Hospitality	46
Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love	39
Industry, No. 245 (now 196)	47
Journeymen, No. 8, S.C.	28
Kelso	43
Love and Unity (A.), No. 203	120
Love and Unity (M.), No. 518	120
Loyal, No. 251	7, 67
Melrose	17-8, 26
Merchants', No. 40	82, 86
Mount Moriah, No. 31 (A.)	37
Mount Moriah, No. 24, Wapping	38
Mourning Bush	36, 46, 52
Nelson	93
Neptune, No. 22 (A.)	37
Old Sinjins	60
Operative Lodge of Airdrie, No. 198, S.C.	91
Palatine, No. 94	112
Phoenix, No. 94	112
Prevost, No. 9	99
Prince Edward, No. 10	88
Prince Edwin, No. 128	38
Probity, No. 61	39
Promulgation	33, 36, 44, 47, 70
Prov. G.L. of Montreal	81-99
Punch-bowl	102
Reconciliation	84
Relief, No. 42	44
Royal Inverness	84
Royal Standard, No. 398	97
St. Andrew's, No. 5	90
St. George's, No. 440	81-2, 91-2, 94, 97
St. John, No. 348	38, 45
St. John and St. Paul	39
St. John Baptist, No. 39	38, 41
St. John's, No. 80	51, 53, 112
St. John's, No. 221	39
St. Lawrence, No. 923	93
St. Paul's, No. 12	82, 85-6, 89-92, 93, 97
St. Stephen's	44
Scoon and Perth	15, 44
Shakespeare, No. 99	83
Shefford, No. 934	93
Social Friendship, No. 729	92
Stirling	30
Strong Man, No. 45	36
Sussex	86
Swalwell	26, 51
Trois Aigles, Aux	105
Unanimity	38, 111
Union, No. 1	90
Union, No. 310	112
United Grand Lodge	84, 85
Waterloo, No. 233	90, 92
Wellington Persevering, No. 20	85, 89, 90
York, No. 236	101, 109

Lodges referred to:—		PAGE	Persons referred to:—		PAGE
Zetland	...	92	Berken, James	...	18
No. 2 (A.)	...	75	Bentley, Thomas	...	103-4
No. 4	...	73, 84	Bernhart, F.	...	2, 8-9, 61
No. 26, I.C.	...	75	Bethune, Rev. John	...	86, 89
No. 170	...	50	Beyer, Dr. B.	...	106
Magic	...	54-5	Biddle, L. J.	...	61
Marks	...	118, 121	Bigelow, J.	...	85, 89-90
Martyrs, The Four Crowned	...	118	Birley, R. N.	...	62
<i>Masonic Cyclopaedia</i>	...	77	Blackamore	...	50-1
<i>Masonic Facts and Fictions</i>	...	51, 63, 70, 73	Blesinton, Lord	...	71
<i>Masonic Hall Hotel</i>	...	87, 91	Bonnor, Charles	...	47
<i>Masonic Pottery, A Catalogue of</i>	...	101, 109	Booth, H. C.	...	41, 53, 66
<i>Masonic Records</i>	...	69, 120	Bramwell, F. H.	...	101, 112
<i>Masonic Year-book</i>	...	86	Brettingham	...	47
<i>Mason's Creed, The</i>	...	58	Brice, Andrew	...	4
<i>Mason's Manual, The</i>	...	82	Buller, T.	...	4
Master merely a Chairman	...	40	Burnand, A.	...	61
Master passed the Chair	...	40	Byrne, Charles	...	75, 117
Masters	...	29	Callistus, Nicephorus	...	55, 124
Masters becoming Apprentices	...	29	Calvert, A. F.	...	65
<i>Mason and the Burgh, The</i>	...	13, 16, 21, 24, 29	Carr, H.	...	2, 13-4, 16-7, 20-1, 26-30
<i>Mason Word, The</i>	...	22		...	41, 52, 66, 78, 96, 98, 124
<i>Masonry Dissected</i>	...	56	Carr, Thomas	...	47
<i>Medieval Mason, The</i>	...	15-6, 19	Carrall, M. W.	...	116
Meissen ware	...	104-6, 108	Castorius	...	119
Minute-books, loss of	...	4	Chamberlain, R. R.	...	61
<i>Miscellanea Latomorum</i>	...	39	Chetwode-Crawley, W. J.	...	49
"Moderns"	...	33-36, 39-40, 42-4, 47	Chien Lung	...	102
	...	51-2, 63, 69, 70, 74, 96	Claudius	...	119
Montreal Lodges, list of	...	95	Clementson, I.	...	47
Mopses	...	105-6, 108	Coles, W. H.	...	61
<i>Multa Paucis</i>	...	78	Conder, E.	...	19
Municipal enrolment	...	15	Cookworthy, T.	...	101
<i>Natural History of Staffordshire</i>	...	102	Cornish, F. E.	...	122
Neglect of Lodges by Grand Lodge	...	82, 83	Coulson, F.	...	85-6
Newspapers, Search of	...	4	Coustos, John	...	117
Non-Municipal entry	...	15	Covey-Crump, W. W.	...	124
Nova Scotian List of Lodges	...	98	Crawley, John	...	6
Oaths	...	20-1	Cruikshank, J.	...	16, 29
Old Charges	...	65, 76	Crumbie, John	...	15
<i>Old Dundee Lodge</i>	...	69	Crumbleholme, H.	...	41, 53
Ordinances of Masons	...	15	Cruttenden, J.	...	85
Orphan Asylum	...	85, 87	Cruwys, Rev. Dr.	...	5-6
Papal Bulls	...	82	Cunningham, A.	...	30
Passing the Chair	...	33-53, 117	Dalhousie, Earl of	...	90
Passing the Chair by redemption	...	46	Dashwood, J. R.	...	2-3, 7-8, 67-77, 124
Passing the Chair in Ireland	...	40	Dassigny, Fifield	...	35, 43-4, 111, 116-7, 124
Passing the Chair to assist at Installation	...	38	Davis, Bernard	...	71
Passing the Chair not always for R.A.	...	38	Dayes, John	...	17
Past Master Degree	...	37-8	de Brahm, W.	...	6
P.M. Degree in Chapter	...	37, 45	de Lintot, Lambert	...	109, 120
Past the Chair	...	44	Denechau, Claude	...	82-3, 85-6, 89, 91
Paviors	...	17	Dermott, Laurence	...	34-5, 43-4, 48-9
<i>Paviors' Company of London, The</i>	...	17		...	52, 58-9, 64-6, 69, 71, 75, 117
Peace celebrations	...	5	Desaguliers, Dr.	...	47
Persons referred to:—			de Vos, F. W. E.	...	121
Achiesonn, R.	...	15	Dickens, P.	...	50-1
Addleman, S. L.	...	62	Dickey, Wm.	...	117
Alflatt, E.	...	18	Dodwell, C. S.	...	61
Allen, Thos.	...	75	Draffen, G. S.	...	2-3, 21, 26, 40, 66, 78, 96
Anderson, James	...	34, 45-49, 52-3	Dunckerley, Thomas	...	4, 125
Aspinall, J.	...	35	Duthie, R.	...	25
Atholl, Duke of	...	71, 81	Duthie, W.	...	25
Ayton, John	...	15	Dyer	...	50
Ayton, Thos.	...	15	Earnshaw, J.	...	47, 70
Badgley, W.	...	89-90, 92, 93	Eckhoff, N. L.	...	61
Bain, E.	...	13	Edwards, Lewis	...	2, 8, 54-5, 66
Barney, John	...	99	Fender, James	...	15
Bayford, John	...	47	ffergam, R.	...	18
			Finch, W.	...	109, 120
			Fitzgibbon, J.	...	83
			Foster, James	...	85
			Fox, F. F.	...	15
			Frederick the Great	...	105

Persons referred to:—	PAGE	Persons referred to:—	PAGE
Garden, G.	85	Lockington, J.	109
Gates, H.	85	Lumsden, H.	28-9
Gimblett, J. E.	62	Lyall, John	16
Gleason, B.	99	Lyon, D. Murray	13, 16-8
Gould, F. E.	9	McCord, D. A.	89, 92, 98
Gould, R. F. ... 18, 33, 63, 66, 71, 86, 96	13	Macdonald, John	86
Graham, H. G.	81-2, 86	McGill, Peter	93
Graham, J. Hamilton	51	McGillivray, Simon	83, 87-8, 98
Graham, John	47	McGillivray, Wm.	84-7, 89, 99
Graham, Thomas	19	Mackenzie, H.	85
Grant, I. F.	2-3, 8, 66, 80, 94	M'Kewen, James	30
Grantham, Ivor	96-8, 107, 115	Marsh, B.	17-8
Gross, C.	18	Marwick, J.	13, 29
Guests, R.	35	Mate, C.	120
Gugy, Louis	92	Matthews, H. E.	18
Gummer, R. H.	61	Meekren, R. J.	22, 24, 94, 96
Hallett, H. H.	37, 51	Middleton, H. C.	62
Hamilton, Andro	28	Milborne, A. J. B.	80, 96, 97
Hamilton, B.	17	Miller, A. L.	16
Hand, E. T.	61	Millie, Wm.	120
Harper, E.	83	Moir, <i>Earl of</i>	47
Harrington, T. D.	93	Molson, John	82-92
Hatten, A. F.	21, 26	Monk, S. W.	85
Heaton, Wallace E.	110, 124	Morgan, John	63-5, 75
Heiron, A.	69	Morgan, William	92
Heseltine, James	64	Morris, D. B.	30
Hewett, H. C. B.	9	Morris, John	65
Heys, W. H.	49	Moss, W. E.	47
Hoffmann, H. H.	62	Muddimer, E.	62
Holmes, W.	81	Mylne, John	14
Holt, F. L.	62	Mylne, Robert	14
Hope, Andrew	38	Nicholas, C. W.	121
Hope, J. C.	94	Niedermeyer, J. J.	105
Horne, A.	9, 107, 115	Newton, E.	66, 77-8
Horne, E. A.	26	Nichols, J. F.	60
Horsley, <i>Canon</i>	120	Nicostratus	119
Houghton, R. V. S.	49	Nixon, F. A.	62
Howard, W. J.	61	Noorthouck, John	69, 75, 78
Huggins, J.	61	Oliva, T. C.	85-6
Hunt, C. E.	13	Oliver, B. W.	2, 7-8, 21, 26, 38, 41
Hunter, W.	28		51-2, 66, 96, 114
Hutton, W. H.	84	Owen, W.	57
Jarvis, W.	81, 83	Peet, Robert	45
Jenkins, T. D.	61	Penn, Turton	84-5, 91-2
Jenkinson, W.	8	Pennell	47
Johnson, <i>Sir</i> John	91	Perrault, J.	85-6
Johnson, G. Y. ... 101, 107, 109, 112, 114-5	120	Peterson, C.	28
Johnson, Joseph	61	Peterson, Thos.	28
Jole, A. R.	2, 42-52, 63, 65-6	Petrie, R. A. N.	41, 52
Jones, Bernard E.	75, 117, 124	Philostorgius	54
Jones, L. E. L.	107, 115	Photius	54
Jones, W. H.	122	Picart, B.	105
Kaendler, J. J.	104-6, 114	Pick, F. L.	41, 53
Kent, <i>Duke of</i>	81	Pleasance, R. E.	61
Kerr, Gordon S.	8	Plot, <i>Dr.</i> R.	102
Kitchen, R.	58	Pollman, R.	6
Knoop, D.	15-7, 19, 22, 24, 73	Poole, <i>Rev.</i> H.	63
Lane, John	65, 69, 120	Pope, S.	66, 120
Lang	50-1	Preston, W.	69, 74, 78, 112
Langley, Batty	109	Randall, R.	47
Lauder	59	Rawstron, C.	49
Lawrie, W. A.	12, 16	Ricroft, R.	18
Lawson-Reece, C.	66, 78	Robbe, H.	18
Lee, Samuel	55	Robertson, J. Ross	81, 84
Lenander, K.-J.	63	Robertson, Thos.	28
Lepper, J. Heron	37, 47, 64, 68, 75	Rogers, C.	13
	77, 82, 124	Rogers, Norman	39, 41, 52, 66, 78
Lester, C. G.	82		96, 98, 107, 115
Lever, J.	35	Rokes, P.	37
Lewis, H.	85-6	Rosenkreutz, C.	55
Lewis, <i>Sir</i> Watkin	36	Ross, James	104
Livesay, J.	35	Ross, Wm.	85-6
		Rutter, H.	18

	PAGE		PAGE
Persons referred to:—		Present-day Masonic Pottery ...	107, 111
Rylands, J. R. ...	8, 21, 26, 37-8, 41, 52 114, 118	Prestonian Lecturer ...	41
Sadler, H. ...	51, 53, 63, 68, 70, 73, 75	Previous Lodge ...	37
St. Clair, Ward ...	41	Principal Sojourner as Master ...	37
St. John, Sir Walter ...	60	<i>Principles of Freemasonry Delineated</i> ...	4
Sar, John ...	18	Privileged Companies ...	12, 13
Savage, James ...	47	Prov. G.L. dependent on P.G.M. ...	86-7, 97
Saxby, John ...	19	Prov. G.L. dissolved ...	93
Schaw, William ...	15	<i>Public Advertiser</i> ...	56, 59
Scott, J. G. ...	91	Punch-bowl ...	102
Scott, M. ...	85	Quatuor Coronati ...	118, 119
Service, John ...	30	<i>Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha</i> ...	63, 67, 72
Shadbolt, Wm. ...	47	<i>Quebec, Outlines of Freemasonry in</i> ...	81-2
Sharp, A. ...	2, 107, 115	Records, Care of ...	3
Skinner ...	120	Records lost ...	91
Slade, A. ...	56, 109	Register, Morgan's ...	63-5, 69
Smith, A. Leslie ...	61	Regulations, R.A., 1778 ...	36-7
Smith, D. Crawford ...	15-6, 44	Rockingham ware ...	104, 109
Smith, J. ...	16	Roman Catholic Masons ...	82, 96
Smith, James ...	14	Rosicrucians ...	55
Spencer, N. B. ...	41, 52	Royal Arch ...	6, 33-9, 42-3, 48-9, 51-2 54-5, 66, 96-8, 116-7, 120
Speth, G. W. ...	39	Royal Arch Certificate ...	120
Spratt, Edward ...	48	<i>Royal Arch, Freemasons' Book of the</i> ...	124-5
Stansfield, R. ...	62	Royal Order of Scotland ...	74
Stevens, Rev. B. B. ...	85-7, 91	Rules and Orders, The ...	64
Stilson, J. ...	85-6	St. Clair Charter ...	13, 30
Strong, R. ...	50-1	St. John's Day ...	27
Sussex, Duke of ...	4, 5, 83	St. John's Masons ...	76
Sweetland ...	50-1	<i>St. Paul's Lodge, History of</i> ...	87
Symphorianus ...	118-9	Schaw Statutes ...	15, 24
Tailzeffair, T. ...	14	Schism ...	70, 76, 78
Taylor, J. G. ...	60	Schism a misnomer ...	63, 68
Tent, Wolfgang ...	118	<i>Secon and Perth, History of</i> ...	15
Thompson, David ...	84	<i>Scotland in the Seventeenth Century,</i> <i>Labour in</i> ...	26
Timms, H. W. ...	61	Seals ...	119
Tonge, James ...	45	Sermon, A Funeral ...	116
Trewman ...	4	Soapmakers and Chandlers ...	18
Tucker, R. ...	50-1	<i>Soapmakers, The Company of</i> ...	18
Tunnah, John ...	45	<i>Social Life in Scotland</i> ...	13
Turnbull, J. D. ...	82	Social position ...	69, 73
Turner, Robert ...	66, 71, 75, 78	South Australia ...	121-3
Unwin, G. ...	19	Square to the Compass, From the ...	25
Valentine, Charles ...	47	Staffordshire ware ...	102-3, 109
Vernon, W. F. ...	16, 18	Sunderland ware ...	102-4, 108, 113
Waples, W. ...	21, 26, 41, 53, 66, 78 107, 115	Sword and Trowel ...	116
Ward, Lt.-Col. E. ...	2, 21-6, 38, 41, 52, 66	Tombstone ...	118
Warden, A. J. ...	13-4, 16, 26, 29	Traditioners ...	68
Warner, R. ...	18	<i>Traditioners, The</i> ...	77
Warren, T. ...	50-1	Transfers ...	103, 108
Watson, G. ...	51-2	Trewman's <i>Flying Post</i> ...	4
Wedgwood, J. ...	102-4	Trinity in Unity Encampment ...	5
Welch, C. ...	17, 19, 20	<i>Triple Tau, The</i> ...	40
Western, T. G. ...	89	Tylers ...	15
Wharton, Duke of ...	70, 74	Ubiquarians ...	57
White, W. H. ...	83	Unattached Brethren ...	73
Wilkinson, R. J. ...	120	"Unfree" Apprentice ...	12, 20, 26
Williams, E. M. P. ...	66, 78	Uniformity of working ...	88, 97, 99
Williams, W. ...	4	Union, The (Grand Lodges) ...	83
Winterburgh, E. ...	66, 100, 107-114	Union, The (Grand Chapters) ...	45
Wodeman, G. S. ...	8	Unlawful Societies Act ...	116
Wood, B. ...	50-1	Vault Legends ...	54, 55, 116
Wood, Beavis ...	5-6	Veils ...	40
Woodford, A. F. A. ...	77	Virtual Past Master ...	35-8, 40
Worts, F. R. ...	100	Virtual Master not qualified to preside ...	38
Wyllie, Anthony ...	19	Wages of Apprentices ...	20
Zetland, Earl of ...	93	Warden ...	29
<i>Perth Hammermen Book</i> ...	13	Warrants ...	72
Petition to be made an I.M. ...	50	Warrant forcibly removed ...	90
<i>Pewterers' Company, The</i> ...	21	Warrant seized ...	94
<i>Pocket Companion</i> ...	56	Weavers ...	29
Porcelain ...	101, 102	Webb Lectures ...	99
Portrait presented ...	90	Worcester Porcelain ...	104
		York Rite ...	99

CONTRIBUTORS

	PAGE		PAGE
Bernhart, F.	118	Lawson-Reece, C.	71
Beyer, Dr. B.	118	Milborne, A. J. B.	81, 98
Booth, H. C.	50, 71	Newton, E.	74
Brett, G.	54	Oliver, Bruce W.	3, 21, 41, 67, 96, 107
Butler, A. E.	121	Petrie, R. A. N.	46
Carr, H.	22, 43, 67, 96	Pick, F. L.	49
Crumbleholme, H.	50	Pope, S.	67
Dashwood, J. R.	56, 63, 78, 116, 120	Rogers, Norman	44, 69, 97, 111
Draffen, G. S.	25, 73, 96	Rylands, J. R.	21, 107
Edwards, L.	60, 70	Sharp, A.	109
Grantham, Ivor	72, 98, 110, 116, 124	Spencer, N. B.	47
Hatten, A. F.	25	Waples, W.	26, 51, 76, 113
Hewett, H. C. B.	121	Ward, E.	12, 45, 76
Horne, A.	113	Williams, E. M. P.	71
Johnson, G. Y.	108	Winterburgh, E.	75, 101-6, 114-5
Jones, Bernard E.	33, 52, 77		
Jones, L. E. L.	111		

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Ancient Brick-makers' Marks	121	Quatuor Coronati in Wertheim—	
Badagiriya Dagabas	121	Castorius	119
Certificate of 1793 (Royal Arch)	120	Symphorianus	119
Foundation-stone, Montreal Hospital	91	Sunderland Jug and Staffordshire Tea-pot	101
Meissen Ware Group, by Kaendler	101	Title-page of "A pathetic Address"	116
Quatuor Coronati in Wertheim—		Title-page of <i>The Masons' Manual</i>	91
The House	119	Tombstone at Steyr, Austria	118
Claudius and Nicostratus	119		

Ars
Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London

No. 2076

VOLUME LXX

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

THURSDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1956



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., W.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, 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, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., 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.; F. Bernhart, L.G.R., *as J.D.*; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Stwd.; H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, 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. A. Pratley, W. Moore, E. Ward, S. J. Bubb, J. E. Houston, T. Buckler, C. N. Watts, R. C. W. Hunter, E. S. Hobson, T. W. Marsh, J. F. Chapman, E. H. Jaques, W. T. Hogg, A. P. Cawadiaz, W. Smalley, J. S. Abrahams, R. J. G. Shute, C. Travers-Biggs, H. C. Adams, B. Foscett, W. Patrick, E. Newton, R. Gold, H. A. Turner, L. Lucker, A. J. Beecher-Stow, D. Rushworth, C. Lawson-Reece, F. V. W. Sedgeley, A. J. V. Beaumont, A. R. Jole, F. L. Bradshaw, R. St. J. Brice, A. F. Ford, A. G. Sharp, A. J. Thurnell, A. Parker-Smith, G. Holland, P. J. Watts and C. Wales.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. H. George, Lodge 6957; F. Bromley, Lodge 251; A. F. Bromley, Lodge 251; R. A. Skentlebury, Lodge 251; H. Dyer, Lodge 6927; R. N. Knight, Lodge 6927; A. E. Blackwell, Lodge 2700; and S. A. Gallant, Lodge 7017.

Letters of apology for absence were reported 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.; 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); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., J.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.W.

Three Lodges, one Masonic body and thirty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

On Ballot taken, after the Proposal papers had been read, Bro. Eric Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. Lodge 5386, was duly elected a member of the Lodge. Bro. Ward was conducted into the Lodge and welcomed by the W.M., and returned thanks.

Bro. Bruce William Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., Master Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

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

Bro. G. S. Draffen	S.W.
„ H. Carr	J.W.
„ Ivor Grantham (elected)	Treasurer
„ J. R. Dashwood	Secretary
„ Lewis Edwards	D.C.
„ N. B. Spencer	S.D.
„ Bernard E. Jones	J.D.
„ A. Sharp	I.G.
„ F. Bernhart	Steward

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

The Master delivered the following:—

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY BRO. BRUCE W. OLIVER



THE Master of Quatuor Coronati occupies a proud position, not only under the English Constitution, but throughout the world of Freemasonry, and I would wish to express my deep gratitude and heartfelt thanks to those of my Brethren who have placed me in this exalted position.

My Address is a simple one, prepared more particularly for the CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE. It is not a sermon, but if a text were required I would quote Ecclesiastes, vii, 25: ". . . and my heart was set to know, and to search out, and to seek wisdom and the reason of things."

The year passes, the old Master departs and a new one is raised. The seventieth annual cycle in Quatuor Coronati is completed and the seventy-first commences, and, as many a Master has done before me, I scan the past for guidance and look into the future for inspiration.

Past Addresses reveal that even the giants in research approached their task with humility and confessed an inadequacy to fill so onerous a post. Believe me, Brethren, all these sentiments are felt by me in full measure, and I doubt my ability to make this traditional address interesting to my listeners and, above all—as it should be—of service to our Lodge and its members.

Unique in character, and world-wide in its influence, Quatuor Coronati can claim to be as universal as Freemasonry itself. From quite humble beginnings—when the Correspondence Circle was first formed, total membership was no more than 200—it has expanded to vast proportions and a total membership of 3,800, compared with our previous maximum of 3,677.

Full membership is almost invariably achieved by passing through the Correspondence Circle, membership of which is a sure indication that the Brother is one who seeks, and finds, in our fraternity, something more and far greater than a mechanical performance of the Ritual.

Not every Circle member may be given the urge and the material wherewith to prepare a paper, but there is not one of us who cannot play a part in our work.

Some may be so fortunate as to have at hand the vast wealth of Grand Lodge Libraries, such as those of England and Scotland, under the care of such outstanding students as Ivor Grantham, George Draffen or John Dashwood, our immediate Past Master, in charge of our own by no means negligible Library.

More representative of the majority of our members may be my own case, living far from such sources of information. I do not flatter myself that I have in the past, or ever will in the future, produce work of major importance, but I hope I may have the satisfaction of seeing such information as I have been able to gather added to that of our foremost students and woven by them into the strands of our endless story.

There is not a single member who cannot so serve our Lodge and help to maintain its lustre. No item of information should be considered negligible, but should be communicated to our Secretary, who will sift the matter received and find much therein to be added to the "Notes" in the *Transactions*.

Today we are apt to look back on the achievements of the past and say there can be little more to be discovered, and that we can do no more than review and, perchance, revise the work of our predecessors. From my own experience this is far from being the case. Old Minute Books are apt to be mislaid, and my own work was started by the discovery of the records of an old Lodge of the "Ancients" hidden in the rafters of a house which had once formed a part of the local barracks.

This is a reminder of the care which should be exercised in preserving Lodge records. Even a young Lodge should look forward to its centenary, when the apparently uninteresting entries of today will be of vital aid to the Lodge historian of the future. Quite recently Centenary Minutes were found to have been destroyed by the widow of the late Secretary.

There was a case of Provincial papers being destroyed without a careful examination, and many similar instances could be quoted. Recently I visited a Lodge to examine the Minute Books; the helpful Secretary produced a few, but some were missing. Only some months later were they produced, having been discovered put away with other material.

Another grave risk arises when, as in another instance, the old Minute Books were found to be in a town some twenty miles away, the Secretary having moved there and taken the books with him.

The Minutes of my own Lodge are complete, except for one book lost in a fire which burnt out the Secretary's private office. The obvious moral is that all except the current book should be deposited in a place of safety. The Lodge safe is rarely an efficient safeguard, so unless there is a fire-proof room on the premises it is more prudent to have them stored in the strong room of a bank.

Frequently letters can be more informative than formal records of proceedings. Periodically a selection of Lodge correspondence should be made and deposited with the Minute Books. A great service can be rendered by members who record and document these papers making their existence known and their contents available to Lodge, Provincial and District Historians.

The Brother who will give of his time and exercise his patience in searching old newspapers for Masonic references will perform an invaluable service. Every county has had one or several newspapers giving the news and gossip within the district. In my own Province of Devon we had "Trewman's Flying Post", from which I have gleaned much and varied information. First published as the "Exeter Mercury and West Country Advertiser", "Trewman's Flying Post" soon became the foremost newspaper in the Province of Devon. Trewman, who had learned his trade under another famous Exeter Freemason, Andrew Brice, was the compiler and publisher of *The Principles of Free-masonry Delineated*, which enjoyed great popularity throughout the West. Later he became Junior Grand Warden of the Province.

In the pages of his newspaper I have found many items of Masonic interest, possibly none of major importance, but yet filling in the details in the picture of West Country Freemasonry. Even the advertisement pages are rewarding. In the issue dated the 19th June, 1783, is the invitation:—

"The Brethren of the above Lodge will celebrate the Festival of St. John on Tuesday, the 24th inst., at the Globe Tavern in this City, and will be happy to be favoured with the company of any visiting Brethren. Dinner to be on the table at three O'clock. Admission to visiting Brethren 5 shillings each. After Dinner will be a Collection as usual for charitable purposes."

These advertisements are generally adorned with Masonic emblems.

In the same year, on the 22nd May, we gain an appreciation of the high esteem in which Thomas Dunckerly was held and the universal sympathy felt for the bereavement he had recently sustained. Dated 16th February, 1783, is a poem of six verses dedicated

"To Thomas Dunckerly Esq. on the death of his daughter Mrs. Edgar, wife of Mr. John Edgar, junr., of Salisbury, who departed this life the 8th February last, being just advanced to the last month of her pregnancy."

The poem commences:—

"Life's narrow span forbids, dear friend
The future bliss to frame,
Or our expectant hopes t'extend
In visionary dream."

Poor attendances at Lodge, as shown by the Minute Book, are sometimes explained, as, for instance, in a news item of the 9th January, 1784, recording heavy falls of snow: "Carriers and Posts have not only been delayed, but in many parts almost stopped . . . In North Devon the snow was drifted to 18ft. in depth."

In June, 1816, we are informed that

"On the Anniversary of the birth of our venerable Monarch, the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the Church of St. David (Exeter), the procession proceeded to the site . . . Mr. Thomas Buller, a Freemason, carrying a cushion on which were a Bible and Masonic implements, which were placed on the Foundation Stone."

Probably the most magnificent gathering of the Craft ever witnessed in the West of England took place at Bath in 1817, when

"A Provincial Meeting was held for the purpose of Installing a Grand Master for the County of Somerset, under the presidentship of W. Williams Esqr., R.W. Provincial Grand Master for the County of Dorset, specially appointed by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, M.W. Grand Master" . . . (when, we are told) . . . "500 Freemasons from Bath, Bristol (and other parts of the West Country) were Present. To give additional splendour to the procession and to maintain order, the N. Somerset

Yeomenry Cavalry and the Bath Rifle Corps obligingly attended . . . 500 Brethren sat down to Dinner in the Kingstone Rooms . . . Social harmony was the order of the evening, and the Masons parted at a decent hour in the manner that all true Masons ever separate, in sobriety, kindness and satisfaction.

Saturday evening the Lodge was lighted up at the Guildhall, for the purpose of gratifying the Ladies with a sight of the Regalia, etc. . . . amongst the jewels was the Ducal Coronet belonging to his R.H. The Duke of Sussex, in his high office of Grand Master ; it was borne on a velvet cushion in the procession, and excited much interest."

The coming of peace in 1814 led, throughout the land, to celebrations in which Freemasons wholeheartedly participated. The Devon Brethren were not backward. An advertisement appeared in the issue of 30th June with this invitation:—

"The Brethren of the different Lodges in this City intend to walk in Masonic order to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter on the ensuing thanksgiving day. The Brethren will meet at their respective Lodges punctually at nine o'clock in the morning ; when the company of all visiting Brethren will be deemed an honour. Dinner will be provided at the Lodge rooms ; and which will be on the table at half past two."

In the newspaper report of the 14th July we read that

"The Rt. W. the Mayor, with several corporate bodies, went in a Grand Procession to St. Peter's Cathedral, attended by a great number of Freemasons displaying their various badges and orders ; also by the working Carpenters, Plasterers, Bricklayers, etc., all neatly attired, bearing emblems of their trades . . . the former trade wore, all of them, sashes and cockades curiously formed of shavings, which had a very pretty appearance, and carried a model of the Temple of Peace . . ."

Other Devon towns, too, had their processions. At Bideford: "The Masons carried colours with their arms and motto, Master Masons bearing paper emblems ; Apprentices with Aprons and working tools."

From the record of "Waterloo Subscriptions" published in October, 1815, I found under my native town, Barnstaple, a long list of Masonic donations from "Companions & Brothers of the Trinity in Unity Encampment, the Chapter of Loyalty & Virtue, and the Loyal Craft Lodge No. 469, Kings Arms".

Amongst the subscribers was the name of my great-grandfather. Others were: "A Masons' Wife . . . The Outer Tyler . . . and the Inner Tyler."

A wide and almost untouched field for exploration lies open in the archives of our County families, and members will often find, on courteous inquiry, that one or more forebears have been Freemasons ; not always greatly distinguished, yet sufficiently intrigued by our Mysteries to have made certain notes, which have been long laid aside, and possibly endorsed "Grandfather's Masonic Papers".

Casual correspondence also should not be neglected, for patient perusal may supply some comment which will fill in some of the empty spaces in the Masonic jigsaw our advanced students are striving to piece together.

In my own experience the opportunity came when, in trying to add a few details to the meagre picture we have of the early days of the Provincial Grand Lodge for Devon, I found that for a short period the office of Deputy Provincial Grand Master had been held by a Rev. Dr. Cruwys, of Cruwys Morchard, near Tiverton.

Since Beavis Wood, the indefatigable Provincial Grand Secretary for close on thirty years, was an Attorney in that town, there appeared the possibility of an interesting connection, and I was not disappointed.

Meeting the present Mrs. Cruwys, a skilled Antiquarian, at a meeting of the Council of the Devonshire Association, I explained my interest and inquired if there were any records. To my delight I was told that there was a folder containing the Masonic papers of the Rev. Henry Cruwys, and that it was fully open for my examination.

As I had hoped, there was evidence of close contact between the two men and of their wide mutual interests. It was not to be expected that completely new matter was to be found in these papers, but to me the picture given of West Country procedure at the close of the eighteenth century is of absorbing interest, and if only a piece or two may be added to our puzzle it will be explanatory of some obscure points and of the widespread customs of the times.

The notes were much abbreviated and would give nothing away to the uninitiated, but they have especial interest as showing parts of the Ritual as worked by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master for Devon.

In the apprentice's degree it is of interest to find the Furniture described as "the Mosaic Pavement, the Blazing Star and the Indented Torsal". The Immovable Jewels are described

as "the Tracing Board, the Rough Ashlar and the Broached Thorne", whilst of the lesser Lights "the three candles represent the Sun, Moon and Master Mason". The Working Tools are the 24in. Gauge, the Square and Compasses, and the Gavel—"The Gauge is to measure, the Square to square, and the Gavel to knock off all superfluities".

As was usual by the "Moderns" in the eighteenth century, the words of the First and Second Degrees are reversed, whilst in the preparation for all three Degrees both breasts are bare.

The cues Bro. Cruwys has noted for the opening and closing of a Master Mason's Lodge are very short:—

Br. W.S.W., are you a M.M.?

I am, try me, prove me, disprove me.

Where was you passed M.?

In a perfect Lodge of Masters.

R.W.S.W., send up the Master's Word.

Brethren, this Lodge is opened.

Closing was a very curt affair.

R.W.J.W., where stands the S.W.?

What is his Business?

Brn., this Lodge is closed, and you will have due notice of the next Meeting.

His sketches of the Floor or Tracing Boards contain all the familiar symbols. The first and second Boards are similar, save for the addition of the letter "G" below the Blazing Star and an Ear of Corn. The Gavel and Chisel make way for the Staircase, and the Rough Ashlar has been removed and the Perfect Ashlar substituted when used for the Second Degree.

I think that we may assume that the symbols were loose and laid on the Board as required. This is still done at Bristol, whilst today the Working Tools are placed on the Pavement in many West Country Lodges, and not on the Pedestal.

Under "Occasional Remarks", the Degrees are elaborated, suggesting that the rather scanty Ritual was elaborated with further details, according to circumstances and the ability of the Ritualist.

Far more voluminous than the strictly Masonic material are the notes and correspondence showing Henry Cruwys' interests in matters alchemical and Rosea Crucis. There are long and learned letters on these subjects from men of whom I should like to learn more; they were John Crawley and William de Brahms, writing from Topsham, and Richard Pollman, from Cherubim Court, London, as well as from Bro. Beavis Wood in Tiverton.

Maybe this material is too dangerous ground for a Craft Lodge, such as Quatuor Coronati, but there is little doubt that these mystic studies were widespread and had no small influence on the development of our Ritual in those pre-Union and still formative days.

On the strictly Masonic side, Henry Cruwys did not confine his experience to the three degrees. His memorandum cards indicate that he knew of six degrees, although he had filled in particulars of only the first five—the fifth being the Holy Royal Arch, in which the detail for the top of the Pedestal has a striking similarity to figures drawn with some of his more mystical lectures.

In letters of considerable length, Beavis Wood, the Provincial Grand Secretary, enlarges on the mystical subjects of Religion. In one of these he writes:—

"Whatever can be supported by the philosophy of Moses I readily admit and believe to be true—and am disposed to give no credit or attention to any Matter in Religion or philosophy that is found to be repugnant to the Doctrine and particulars contained in that we call the 'Grand Tracing Board of the Great I Am'."

The two men evidently exchanged books, Wood writing: "I have with great pleasure perused the *Treatise of Agrippa*."

We may well ask the question: How are we to understand these men, and their outlook on the Craft, unless we follow them into the studies and degrees which had appeared to them an essential part of their Freemasonry?

By giving of this experience I hope to tempt many of our Brethren in the Correspondence Circle, especially those in the Provinces, to make similar enquiries. I can promise that it will prove a fascinating, and sometimes an exciting, occupation, and if nothing further is done than to notify our Secretary of the existence of such documents, a very useful service will have been performed.

Since this Address commenced with a quotation from the Book we accept as the guide to all our actions, I should like to conclude with one from Proverbs, iv, 13: "Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go; keep her; for she is thy life."

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

Bro. Bruce William Oliver was born a Lewis at Barnstaple in 1883, his father being Prov. G. Supt. of Works of Devon. He was educated privately and articled to his father in the profession of Architect and Surveyor. He became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and has since been practising as an Architect in his home town.

But our Brother does not believe in all work and no play, and has proved himself extremely versatile; in sport, he played hockey for Devon; in civic life, he was Mayor of Barnstaple in 1931; and he has been President of both the Barnstaple Rotary Club and the Devonshire Antiquarian Association. But I think it is probably as a Musician that he has enjoyed himself most, having been for over twenty years Conductor of the Barnstaple Orchestral Society, during which time he conducted at least three of the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas, as well as "The Beggar's Opera" and "The Vagabond King". But he was not always content to conduct; he also sang the principal parts in at least four of the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas—Jack Point in the "Yeomen", Strephon in "Iolanthe", Robin Oakapple in "Ruddigore", and the Sergeant of Police in the "Pirates", besides performing also in "The Arcadians" and "Miss Hook of Holland". He is, you will see, so versatile as to sing both Tenor and Bass.

In the Craft, he was initiated in Loyal Lodge No. 251 in 1913, and became its Master in 1931. He attained the rank of Provincial Grand Warden of Devon in 1943, and received Grand Rank as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1950, and was the Prestonian Lecturer in 1954.

He has been a Founder of three Craft Lodges, and Founder and Secretary of the North Devon Masonic Study Circle.

In the Royal Arch, he was exalted in the Chapter of Loyalty and Virtue, attached to his Mother Lodge, and became its First Principal in 1935. He holds the Provincial Rank of Treasurer, and the Grand Rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer.

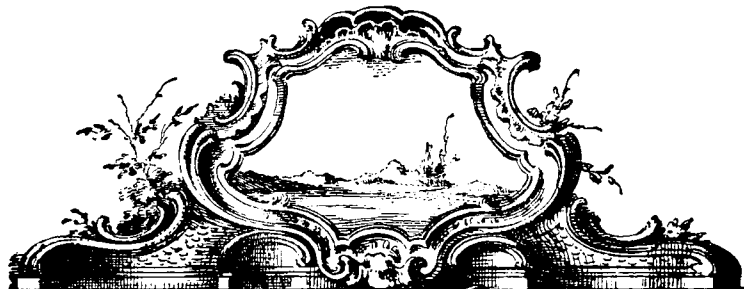
He has attained eminence in many outside degrees, and in particular is an Officer of Great Priory and a member of the 31°.

As regards our own Lodge, he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1929, and became a full member on November 8th, 1951, so that today we can congratulate him on attaining the Chair on his fifth birthday. He is the author of four papers in our *Transactions*:—

"The Tale of Two Lodges",
 "The Bath Furniture",
 "Early Freemasonry in Devon", and
 "The Assembly on the Hill",

and he has also contributed papers to the Somerset Masters' Lodge.

We know that under his leadership we shall have a prosperous and happy year. Brethren, the Toast is "Our Worshipful Master".



FRIDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1957



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as S.W.*; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; F. Bernhart, L.G.R., *as S.D.*; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., I.G.; and E. Ward, T.D., P.M. 5386.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. Graham, G. Holloway, E. L. Davison, E. L. Thompson, S. S. Phillips, G. Norman Knight, L. E. C. Peckover, W. T. Hogg, H. Crittenden, S. W. Mills, A. G. Maclaine, F. H. Anderson, J. Austin, F. L. Bradshaw, J. E. Trott, A. Lever, C. F. Waddington, R. St. J. Brice, A. Parker Smith, A. F. Hatten, M. R. Wagner, W. J. Wyse, T. Roe, W. R. Harnett, G. Maxwell, E. B. Babler, H. E. Cohen, R. Walters, G. E. Cohen, R. Gold, B. Foskett, F. E. Barber, A. R. Jole, A. S. Trapnell, B. Oliver, R. A. S. Cole, E. Winterburgh and A. G. Sharp.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. K. Wilson, Lodge 317; R. W. Symons, Lodge 5622; R. Plugg, Lodge 3415; and E. N. Hall, Lodge 6106.

Apologies for absence were reported 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.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.A.G.D.C., 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., S.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W.; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.

One Rosicrucian College, eleven Lodges and sixty-one Brethren were admitted 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, 4th January, 1957.

Present:—Bro. Bruce W. Oliver, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. Ivor Grantham, Lewis Edwards, J. R. Rylands, F. Bernhart and the Secretary, 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 Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1956

BRETHREN,

During the year we had to deplore first the resignation, owing to ill-health, and later the death of Bro. W. Jenkinson, who had been a member of the Lodge since 1934.

Bro. F. Bernhart was elected a Joining Member in October, 1956, and our numbers, therefore, remain at 28.

The Correspondence Circle shows an increase of 121. New members elected number 333 and 7 former members have been reinstated, against which we have lost 102 by resignation, 51 by death and 66 by erasure. The number now on our books is 3,698, the highest number we have ever attained.

Our Local Secretaries, of whom we have over 80, have again served us splendidly; special mention must be made of Bro. H. C. B. Hewett, of South Australia, who has introduced 34 new members, while Bro. A. Horne, of California, has brought in 27, in addition to the large numbers he has introduced in the past four years.

In June an Illuminated Address was voted to Bro. F. E. Gould, P.A.G.D.C., who has been our Local Secretary for Devon for 20 years, as well as a most generous benefactor.

A.Q.C., Volume LXVIII, was somewhat delayed by the Printers' strike, and was not issued until 24th April. We hope that it will be possible to get Volume LXIX out at least a month earlier.

The Accounts again show a very satisfactory result, with an excess of Income over Expenditure of £540 for the year.

The danger of eviction from 27, Great Queen Street still exists, and endeavours are being made to find alternative accommodation, but this does not appear probable at any rental within our capacity.

For the Committee,

B. W. OLIVER,

In the Chair.

LIABILITIES

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Subscriptions Paid in Advance—</i>						
1957	687	13	8			
1958	69	7	0			
1959	28	11	0			
1960-4	31	3	0			
				816	14	8
<i>Binding Paid in Advance</i>						
				25	3	0
<i>Sundry Creditors; receipts</i>						
unallocated				114	8	9
<i>Reserves for Publication</i>						
(1956)				1600	0	0
<i>Suspense Account, being</i>						
outstanding subscrip-						
tions as per contra,						
subject to realisation ...				397	19	1
<i>Furniture Reserve Account—</i>						
Balance as per last						
Balance Sheet ...	152	3	1			
Less: Expenditure ...	45	6	0			
				106	17	1
<i>Repairs Reserve Account—</i>						
Balance as per last						
Balance Sheet ...	214	10	1			
Add: Receipts ...	61	5	0			
				275	15	1
<i>Lodge Account—</i>						
Balance as per last						
Balance Sheet ...	285	7	1			
Add: Receipts ...	66	7	6			
	351	14	7			
Less: Expenditure ...	79	3	6			
				272	11	1
<i>Income and Expenditure Account—</i>						
Balance thereon at date				1304	13	0
				4914	1	9
<i>Trustee Account—</i>						
<i>Staff Contingency Sinking Fund</i>						
Balance as per last						
Balance Sheet ...	710	6	11			
Add: Interest on Post						
Office Savings Bank						
Account	2	11	0			
Ditto on 3½% Defence						
Bonds	21	4	7			
	734	2	6			
<i>Less: Withdrawn—</i>						
By Sale of 3½% De-						
fence Bonds ...	200	0	0			
By Cash from Post						
Office Savings Bank	8	0	0			
	208	0	0			
				526	2	6
				£5,440	4	3

ASSETS

[illegible]

For the Year ended 31st October, 1956

EXPENDITURE						INCOME							
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Salaries, Rent and Rates	...	...	...	1606	6	5	Correspondence Circle—						
Lighting and Heating	...	...	...	94	18	10	Being Subscriptions collected, less Reserves :						
Stationery	...	...	...	149	1	7	1956	...	...	...	1803	8	11
Postages	...	...	...	312	4	4	1955	...	...	...	530	3	6
Office Cleaning, etc.	...	...	...	37	4	6	1954	...	...	...	58	6	0
Insurance—							1953	...	...	...	11	13	8
Fire and Burglary	...	16	6	5							2403	12	1
National	...	50	1	0			Back Transactions	...			73	17	9
				66	7	5	Lodge Publications—						
Telephone	...	...	...	20	2	9	Bound Volumes	...	69	19	1		
Carriage and Sundries	...	...	...	37	3	4	Pamphlets and Songs	...	3	6	6		
Local Secretaries' Expenses	...	...	...	15	2	5					73	5	7
Library	...	...	...	67	0	5					32	10	7
Income Tax on Investment Income							Medals	...	...	...	53	16	0
and Corporation Duty	...	...	...	47	12	7	Various Publications	...	...	...	342	6	0
Bank Charges	...	...	...	1	6	10	Joining Fees	...	...	...	42	12	2
Propaganda	...	...	...	11	5	11	Publication Fund	...	...	...
Mason and the Burgh written off	...	...	...	124	14	0	Interest—						
				2590	11	4	Deposit Interest	...	62	8	7		
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year carried forward	...	...	...	540	14	1	Defence Bonds Interest	...	46	16	8		
	£3,131			5	5						109	5	3
											£3,131	5	5
Balance carried to Balance Sheet	...	1304	13	0			Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year brought forward	...			540	14	1
							Accumulated Excess of Income over Expenditure on 1st November, 1955				763	18	11
											£1,304	13	0

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

London, W.C.1.

22nd November, 1956.

Bro. E. WARD read an interesting paper, entitled *Operative Entered Apprenticeship*, as follows:—

OPERATIVE ENTERED APPRENTICESHIP

BY BRO. LT.-COL. ERIC WARD, T.D.

INTRODUCTION



THE object of this paper is to remove current misconceptions about the meaning and purpose of operative Entered Apprenticeship, and to show that it was much more widespread than is generally appreciated.

I shall assume that those particularly interested in the subject will be familiar with previous theories, as this will avoid using up space in analysing them. Also, for the sake of clarity, archaic source material has been converted to modern English except where the original spelling is cogent to the argument.

Since the conclusions which I have reached will surprise many, I give them at the beginning, with the reminder that the enquiry concerns operative craftsmen only.

CONCLUSIONS

1. When a youth became bound to an employer for a term of years to learn his trade he owed undivided allegiance to his master and possessed no status. He could elect, or by force of circumstances be obliged, to remain an "unfree" apprentice, an outsider to the end of his servitude.

On the other hand, after being bound he could formally enter the organisation of his craft to become an entered apprentice and be "of the craft", a "free" apprentice, thereby obtaining such privileges as accrued. The most important of these was a smoother path to independent mastership.

Becoming an E.A. did not affect the tenure of his apprenticeship, which ended after seven years (or according to the indenture, if any) from the date of binding to the employer, irrespective of whether the apprentice entered the "whole" craft, the lodge, society, or whatever it was called, at the beginning or part way through.

2. The essential qualification for entry was ability to pay the entrance fee and other dues, either in cash or by working in lieu. Hence, the youth who was in the fullest sense presentable and possessed the cash could almost enter at once. When a proportion of the apprentices was not entered for several years, as at the Lodge of Edinburgh and elsewhere, the evidence points unmistakably to inability to pay, or perhaps in some cases immature age.
3. Entered apprentices, by that name and similar progression, functioned in Scottish craft organisations other than masonic. Furthermore, by titles near or equivalent to E.A. they were common amongst English handicraft organisations from at least the fifteenth century. No significant difference is discernible between the mode of entry into many of these crafts and that of Scottish operative masons.
4. Hence, it follows that the suggestions made in the past that E.A.'s were no less than ex-apprentice journeymen, or that apprentices by custom served an average of about three years before qualifying, or that the reason for entered apprenticeship was because of a local Act relative to wages for lads and boys, are all, in my opinion, based upon misinterpretation through not relating the facts to the background.

ENTERED APPRENTICES IN SCOTTISH CRAFTS GENERALLY

In 1636 the Falkland Statutes¹ were produced to regulate building crafts generally, including masons, other than those at places, e.g., Edinburgh, which claimed exemption as "privileged" companies. They were ratified by the masons of Aitchison's Haven Lodge, which, being in the country, was an "unprivileged company". After specifying that apprentices should serve for seven years, a clause reads:—

¹ W. A. Laurie, *History of Freemasonry*, p. 445.

"That all masters of the said arts [i.e., Masons, etc.] of this Kingdom, except the privileged companies, shall within 15 days after making indentures book their apprentices with their servants and journeymen in the craft books of their companies and the entries of the apprentices to be valid from the date of their bookings. Apprentices to pay 40/- etc. and Journeyman and servants 20/-", etc.

Three points are thus of special importance:—

- (a) Distinction is made between the apprentice newly indentured and his becoming an entered apprentice within fifteen days.
- (b) Apprentices were to pay for their entries.
- (c) Since at outlying places, such as Aitchison's Haven, where the only masonic organisation was the Lodge, then the terms "company" and "lodge" were synonymous, and therefore all the signatory building crafts recognised the principle of entered apprenticeship.

But not only building crafts had entered apprentices. The second St. Clair Charter, c. 1628,¹ was the joint production of "Masons and Hammermen within the Kingdom of Scotland", which indicates some common interest. In 1691² the Aberdeen Hammermen decided "that all apprentices and servants should appear at their masters' command or at the command of the Deacon and enter themselves and pay their entry money, as also give their oath of fidelity when required, and in case they do to the contrary . . . they shall not be reputed or holden apprentice or journeymen until they give satisfaction, and in case they offer to apply as freemen, to be rejected until they give satisfaction". Here, then, we have pressure being applied to both apprentices and journeymen to pay their fees to enter the craft organisation, and therefore, when they did so, the former must have become entered apprentices.

Over a century before this, one of the earliest references to an individual Scottish E.A. occurs in the records of the Perth Hammermen,³ when "on the Friday after Low Sunday [in 1563] David Moreis's brother became apprentice to him for five years and one year meat [and fee?], his entry to be after the date above written".

The Dundee Glovers, in 1607, used the term "entered apprentice" in the same way as early mason lodge minutes. In their Statutes⁴ a clause enacted that if an apprentice left his master before completing his service he would be "discharged to have no further liberty as if he had never been *enterit prentise*". These are the words of a fraternity regulating the conduct of free apprentices, who, having entered the craft organisation to enjoy privileges otherwise unobtainable, had something to lose if expelled from it. To run away from an individual employer was made more than an offence between master and servant, for the craft collectively ensured that he could not obtain employment with other freemen. Here is an example of the real significance of entered apprenticeship, masonic or otherwise.

E.A.'s AT MARY'S CHAPEL

In Edinburgh, as with most towns, the local regulations required that an apprentice indentured to a master be enrolled in the city register in order to regularise procedure for those destined to become burgesses, since a Council order of 1576⁵ ruled that records in the books of individual crafts was not sufficient evidence of apprenticeship to qualify for burghership. Having been enrolled, the next step was for the apprentice to enter the lodge to become "of the craft", always assuming that his master was a member of the craft organisation, as this was not always the case. Entry into the craft also meant entry into the lodge book, so that by comparison of the town books and the lodge minutes we have two sets of dates indicating when the apprentice started out in life and when he became an entered apprentice.

Bro. Carr did so examine these Edinburgh records,⁶ and found that of 271 apprentices "entered" in Mary's Chapel between 1601 and 1700, 149 had been booked in the municipal register, and that the average period between booking and entry was two-and-a-half to three years, some taking only a matter of months, others as long as eight years. This curious lack of consistency makes obvious the question of why any delay at all, and provided we recognise the influence of the social conditions in Scotland in that era, when famine and extreme poverty were commonplaces,⁷ there is an equally obvious answer. So long as apprentices (or their

¹ M. Lyon, *F.M. in Scotland*, 1873, p. 58.

² E. Bain, *Aberdeen Incorporated Trades*, p. 206.

³ C. E. Hunt, *The Perth Hammermen Book*, p. 95.

⁴ A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, p. 412.

⁵ J. Marwick, *Edinburgh Gilds and Crafts*, p. 113.

⁶ H. Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, pp. 29 and 54.

⁷ C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, 3 vols., 1884-86, and H. G. Graham, *Social Life in Scotland*, 18th c.

parents) had to face the dual expense of booking in the burgh register and of entry fees to the lodge, many of the poorer sort would regard such as almost insuperable obstacles and, having paid one, would have to wait years before being able to afford the other. This financial aspect will be enlarged upon later.

Now, amongst the above-mentioned 149 E.A.'s which Bro. Carr traced, no less than fifteen were seen to have been entered in the lodge prior to being booked in the burgh records. In other words, they became entered apprentices before they were officially acknowledged even as ordinary apprentices. Of these fifteen specially interesting cases, five were apprentices of James Smith (a King's Master Mason), one of his son, two of Robert Mylne (King's M.M.) and one of John Mylne (also a King's M.M.). So that these nine apprentices of the most eminent men of the trade joined the craft organisation, the lodge, as entered apprentices at the outset of their careers. This is just what would be expected, as such boys would naturally be able to pay the higher craft entrance fees and other dues at once, but would have little interest in looking upon apprenticeship as the channel for becoming burgesses.

And what of the 122 apprentices of the seventeenth century known to us only as E.A.'s, of whom there is no trace in the burgh register? Or, for that matter, those of the period 1700-1755, when, out of 120 apprentices, only twenty-six appear in this register? Clearly there was a progressive decline in booking, and this implies that fewer apprentices were taken on with the object of their ultimately becoming burgesses, a trend provided for in the Lodge minutes of November, 1671, by segregating those for the freedom and those presumably destined to become journeymen. By 1726 the Lodge had recognised that high apprentice fees were an obstacle to entry and reduced them accordingly. Thus, although we do not know when these particular apprentices were engaged by their masters, and consequently cannot ascertain how long it took from that time to enter the Lodge, it is obvious that if time were not a qualifying factor for the other apprentices to enter it is still less likely that it would be for these.

We can, therefore, tentatively sum up the situation in the Lodge of Edinburgh by saying that the records of 1600-1755 prove

- (a) a significant number of apprentices were entered at the beginning of their careers, and
- (b) many served waiting periods widely varying as between one person and another.

From these, and the further fact of the majority of known apprentices (233 out of 393) being first heard of when they entered the Lodge, as well as the social influences then at work, the plain implication is that apprentices generally could become E.A.'s more or less whenever they could afford to do so without any question of a time qualification. In short, it is difficult to see any difference from the practice of other kindred crafts.

THE LODGE AT DUNDEE

The masons appear to have been incorporated as a pendicle trade of the Guildry about 1659, to judge from the first entry of the Locked Book, when masters of the Lodge produced statutes for the craft.¹

These require that "each entreted printes serving a free master within the town is to pay 40/- Scots. before he enter to work, for his booking money, and at his entred prenticeship he is to pay £8 Scots. in money and a pair of double gloves to every master of the Lodge and a pair of single gloves to every entered prenteis", plus dues to the "officer" and clerk. Since there is no distinction between apprentice and entered apprentice, the implication is obvious that entry into the Lodge following closely upon booking was a natural corollary. Such was the case in Edinburgh of Thomas Tailzefair, booked in August, 1599, and entered in January, 1600.²

The statute is also of particular interest in that three distinct grades of membership are provided for, E.A., F.C. and Master, payments being required for each stage of upgrading.

E.A.'s AT AITCHISON'S HAVEN, AND SIMILAR

Lodge and crafts generally in the country must have been on a quite different footing from those in the principal towns, hence the Falkland Statutes specifically designed for their regulation. In the burghs the aim of an apprentice hoping ultimately to set up in business there was to become a burgess, by which he obtained trading privileges. Thus came into being the municipal enrolment book, so that when the apprentices' years were complete he could claim freedom of the burgh based on civic evidence of apprenticeship. We cannot assume, however, that it was the aim of every youth to become a burgess, for the apprentice

¹ A. J. Warden, *ibid.*, p. 578.

² H. Carr, *ibid.*, p. 37.

records of all large towns show that many came from the country to learn a trade and were not heard of again after their terms were complete.

But, away from the burghs, obviously no municipal enrolment book could exist, and neither did apprentices become burgesses. Therefore, any records, either of the engagement of apprentices by masters or of their entries into the lodges, must have been in the craft's own books. This is important for an understanding of the Schaw Statutes of 1598, to which attention will be given in the next section.

Typical of the small lodge with very primitive organisation was Aitchison's Haven, where occasionally single minutes appear to have recorded the simultaneous taking and entering of apprentices. Such were suggested when, in 1604, Thos. Ayton was booked and the usual entry fee paid¹; when, on December 27th, 1612, John Ayton was bound for seven years and paid his booking (*i.e.*, entry) silver²; and again on April 3rd, 1604, when James Fender was "enterit prenteis to his father and has paid 10/- for his booking to his admitteris" [*i.e.*, the instructors who were to enter him in the Lodge].³

The above-mentioned Thomas Ayton was probably the same as the warden of that name who was a signatory to the Falkland Statutes in 1637.

THE SCHAW STATUTES OF 1598

When William Schaw, Master of the King's Work, drafted his regulations to all master masons in the Realm of Scotland,⁴ he clearly had in mind those who travelled far and wide, to whom the very word "burgh" was anathema—masons who would have agreed with the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* description of a perfect lodge being "a day's journey from a burroughs town".⁵

Schaw said nothing about how long an apprentice had to wait before becoming an E.A. He required the apprentice to serve for seven years, when, if satisfactory to the craft, he could by licence become a fellow. If unsatisfactory a further term was required.

A distinction was made between "orderly booking" an apprentice on reception by his master and then again on entry to the lodge. This does not necessarily imply any long period of time between the two transactions, but may have meant recording in separate books, a common enough practice in some gilds. The 1602 Ordinances of the Bristol Weavers⁶ specify the step-by-step procedure as it applied to them in a town. The apprentice was first taken by his master and enrolled at the Tolzey. He was later accepted by the craft officials and the decision recorded in the "Hall" or minute book. Next, his name was "entered in the Ledger" kept by the Warden, when his entrance fee was paid, this book being, of course, the accounts book of the gild. This was the general practice in Bristol, and appears in various forms in the Ordinances of Masons (1672), Tylers (1670), Joiners (1606) and Carpenters (1665). Generally the gap between enrolment and entry was limited to one month, the Carpenters stating that this was a trial period. The London Carpenters followed a similar practice, the Court book recording general business, including decisions to permit various masters to have apprentices, thereby controlling the input and regularising the procedure, whilst entry fees (usually paid by instalments) were recorded in the Warden's accounts. Examples of these separate books still exist and well illustrate what Schaw may have had in mind.

Schaw's regulations permitted an entered apprentice to take work on his own account up to £10 Scots, but this does not seem to have been acceptable at Edinburgh, when in 1607⁷ the lodge minutes refer to a Ro. Achiesoun as being but an E.A.—having no liberty to take any work. In the country, however, in a contract drawn up nearly a century later between the Lodge of Haddington and an E.A. John Crumbie,⁸ the second party was permitted to take work up to £6 Scots. The Scoon and Perth Mutual Agreement of 1658 allowed apprentices to work with other masters for a maximum of 20 days, and further permitted them to take work up to 40/- Scots.⁹

The reason why the statutes permitted entered apprentices to take small amounts of work was most likely based upon a custom established in particularly hard times, but, in any case, the practice was not unique to mason lodges. In 1602 the Bristol Hoopers¹⁰ allowed apprentices to do a limited amount of journeywork, which could be extended by licence from the master of the company.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, *Aitchison's Haven*, p. 38.

² *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, *Aitchison's Haven*, p. 39.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, *Aitchison's Haven*, p. 38.

⁴ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 258.

⁵ Knoop and Jones, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p. 32.

⁶ F. F. Fox, *Guild of Bristol Weavers*, p. 47.

⁷ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 414.

⁹ D. Crawford Smith, *Hist. Scoon and Perth No. 3*, p. 57.

¹⁰ Bristol City Archives, Ordinances 04369, fol. 56.

Schaw's omission to define the qualification for an apprentice to enter the craft, when he so thoroughly covered almost every other trade requirement, is simply explained. The statutes are specific in applying to lodges generally, and since each, according to its size or prestige, had to be permitted its own ideas in this respect (see below), the real qualification could not be stated.

THE £ S. D. OF ENTRY

We now come to the crux of the matter. Of all the many Scottish pre-eighteenth century Statutes, Ordinances, Seals of Cause or Lodge enactments in which masons are concerned either exclusively or with other crafts, only one (the Falkland Statutes) seems to be known which unequivocally defined in terms of time from commencement of service the stage at which a working apprentice could become an entered apprentice. All the known remainder, for example, Edinburgh, 1475,¹ Glasgow, 1551,² Schaw, 1598,³ Schaw Kilwinning, 1599,⁴ Aberdeen, 1670,⁵ and Melrose, 1675,⁶ either say nothing of the time element or appear ambiguous in that respect. But would it not be extraordinary if these regulations, etc., written in such meticulous detail, were really so remiss as to omit so important a definition? I maintain that the qualification had to be, and indeed invariably was included, that of the amount of the entrance fee to be paid in one form or another by the apprentice. Thus the following examples, in all of which the *apprentice* was required to make payment:—

Aitchison's Haven, 1598, £1, etc.⁷; Edinburgh, 1599, £10⁸; Kilwinning (Schaw), 1599, £6⁹; unprivileged Burghs (Falkland Stat.), 1636, 46/8¹⁰; Scoon and Perth, 1658, 20 marks, etc.¹¹; Dundee, 1659, £8, etc.¹²; Aitchison's Haven in 1655, £12¹³; Aberdeen, 1670, 50 marks¹⁴; Melrose, 1675, £10, etc.¹⁵; Dumfries, 1687, £10, etc.¹⁶; Dunblane, 1696, £6¹⁷; Kelso, 1701, £8, etc.¹⁸ All the fees are in Scots currency.

Now, from these facts, one thing must be apparent. So long as the fees, together with in some cases a present of gloves all round, besides an extra charge for a mark and also the clerks' charges, had to be paid by the apprentices or their parents, many of the poorer sort would not be able to pay for a long time, and this would delay entrance, as I believe to be well illustrated by the records of Edinburgh. It was undoubtedly a factor of importance at the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, where the statutes specifically acknowledged the difficulty and allowed for two classes of operative entered apprentices:—

- (a) Those who paid 50 marks to become E.A.'s and were to serve as such for three years before being eligible to pass as F.C.;
- (b) those who could not afford and were to work for three years without pay in lieu of the entrance fee, which, of course, had then to be paid by the employers.

The option of immediate payment or working in lieu may have been not unusual in Scotland, as is indicated by a mason indenture of 1685 quoted by Bro. Carr,¹⁹ which allowed for an apprentice to be entered at Mary's Chapel within three of the six years which he undertook to serve. On the other hand, when a more well-to-do apprentice, John Lyall,²⁰ paid a premium of £40 S., he was to be entered at Dunfermline in 1712 without any specified period of waiting.

In the Scoon and Perth Lodge agreement of 1658 (see above), a clause stated that if the various sums and due for entry, etc., were not paid at once, cautioners (*i.e.*, guarantors) were to be found *outside* the lodge. Cautioners are also mentioned with the same reason at Melrose in 1686.²¹ The difficulty in collecting entrance fees was probably present at Mary's Chapel²²

¹ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 231.

² J. Cruikshank, *Sketch of Incorporation of Masons of Glasgow*, p. 6.

³ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 258.

⁴ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵ A. L. Miller, *Hist. Lodge of Aberdeen*, p. 62.

⁶ W. F. Vernon, *F.M. in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire*, p. 13.

⁷ *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 32.

⁸ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ W. A. Laurie, *ibid.*, pp. 445-452.

¹¹ D. Crawford Smith, *ibid.*, p. 46.

¹² A. J. Warden, *ibid.*, p. 579.

¹³ *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 41.

¹⁴ A. L. Miller, *ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁵ W. F. Vernon, *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁶ J. Smith, *Hist. Lodge of Dumfries*, p. 10.

¹⁷ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 415.

¹⁸ W. F. Vernon, *ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁹ *A.Q.C.*, lxix: Carr, *Apprenticeship*, galley proof, Indent. 42, p. 12.

²⁰ *A.Q.C.*, lxix: Carr, *Apprenticeship*, galley proof, Indent. 43, p. 12A.

²¹ W. F. Vernon, *ibid.*, p. 18.

²² H. Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, p. 11.

when, in 1671, responsibility for entry money was put on the masters. It was at this same period that in 1681 an order was made to fine masters employing E.A.'s who would not go to the expense of passing as F.C.'s.¹

But, small as the entry fees now seem to us, many apprentices were never able to afford the expense of entry into their crafts. In England the practice by guilds of demanding from apprentices exorbitant entry fees became so restrictive that in 1531 a law² was enacted to deal with it thus:—

“Wardens, etc., have made Acts and Ordinances that every prentice shall pay at his first entry in their common hall to the Wardens of the same fellowship, some 40/-, some 30/-, some 20/-, some 13/4, some 6/8, some 3/4d. after their own sinister minds and pleasure . . . It is therefore established that no Master, Wardens or Fellowship of Crafts or Masters of any of them nor any rulers of fraternities take from henceforth of any prentice or any other person or persons for *the entry of any prentise into their said Fellowship* above the sum of 2/6d. nor for his entry when his years and term is expired above 3/4d. . . .”

In virtually all craft organisations specially favourable terms were naturally extended to sons of masters. Indeed, the story of some crafts, e.g., *Melrose*, is one of family monopolies.

E.A. TO F.C.

Just as some apprentices could not immediately afford to become entered apprentices, so many E.A.'s could not or did not wish to go to the expense of passing to F.C. At Edinburgh, in 1681, it was enacted that masters should not employ E.A.'s who acted as journeymen and were not passed as F.C.'s within two years of completion of apprenticeship.³ Aitchison's Haven Lodge was similarly concerned in 1719 and required passing within three years.⁴

It will, therefore, be obvious that those E.A.'s who, having served their time and become skilled workers, did not feel inclined to pass as F.C.'s would, so far as the Lodge was concerned, remain nothing more than entered apprentices, although by that time the title for them was actually a misnomer.

Such a man as Blais Hamilton, an E.A. of Edinburgh in 1601, who, when he eventually decided to become a F.C., was described as “sometime apprentice”, having in 1592 been bound for seven years.⁵

The records of the Carpenters' Company of London show that the moderate fees payable on advancement were frequently spread by instalments over long periods.

OTHER FACTORS

In maintaining that formal entrance into lodges, guilds and the like was mainly a matter of finding the cash, I do not suggest that it was the only consideration. For instance, we are apt to think of apprentices as boys, but many of them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were men when they started. Evidence of the age of mason apprentices is lacking, but it is difficult to see what value a young boy could be (except in a menial capacity) because of his sheer inability to lift heavy stones. This was certainly the case with the London Paviers, who in 1479⁶ specified a minimum age of 18 at which apprentices were to be enrolled, and in 1604⁷ a freeman was fined for taking one but 17 years of age. In the London Carpenters, c. 1572,⁸ the usual age of entry was 20 years, but many were older. In 1608⁹ an apprentice carpenter, John Dayes, was pardoned for some offence “re regard that he is a man of years and had been a married man before he was bound apprentice”.

The fact that in so many of the references which exist¹⁰ of the wages paid for mason apprentices these wages are only a little less than for skilled workers indicates that mostly they must have been more than mere boys, for employers generally would not be so foolish as to pay the masters such relatively high wages for child labour.

It thus appears logical that a youth, taken on by a master to learn the trade, might well, if too young to be of real value, spend a year or two running errands until physically suitable to join the craft proper. A few of those apprentices at Mary's Chapel who were not entered for several years might have been in this category.

¹ H. Carr. *ibid.*, p. 57.

² Statutes of the Realm, 22, Henry VIII, cap. 4.

³ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁶ C. Welch, *Paviers' Company of London*, pp. 9 and 29.

⁷ C. Welch, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸ B. Marsh, *Records of the Carpenters' Company*, vol. iii, p. 168, etc.

⁹ Jupp and Pocock, *Hist. London Carpenters*, p. 158.

¹⁰ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, pp. 164-5.

The early records of almost all lodges, *e.g.*, Haddington, 1697,¹ and Melrose, 1675,² indicate that sometimes individuals joined lodges as E.A.'s, although they had served their apprenticeships elsewhere. But consideration of this and many other variants is not material to the enquiry.

ENTERED APPRENTICESHIP IN ENGLAND

Mention has already been made of a law directed to expedite the entrance of less well-to-do apprentices into English crafts. We also know that the Masons at Alnwick in 1701³ required their apprentices to become E.A.'s within a year of starting, and at Swalwell, *c.* 1733,⁴ within 40 days. These are consonant with the Falkland Statutes requiring 15 days, and the cases at Mary's Chapel already cited, which were also entered following closely upon commencement of apprenticeship. We can therefore consider other English crafts.

THE "COMMON GUILD" OF ALNWICK

The derivation of the Alnwick Lodge rule above-mentioned is apparent from regulations of the Gild Merchant enacted in 1628, 1672 and 1692 (see C. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, vol. II p. 1). This organisation, which controlled all the main crafts in the town, ordered that every apprentice be entered at the "common guild", or at the "private guild", one year after commencement of apprenticeship.

THE SOAPMAKERS AND CHANDLERS OF BRISTOL

The manufacture of Bristol black soap was known as far back as 1200, and the records of the fraternity from 1562 to 1642 have been published.⁵ They consist of a single minute book noting all the transactions of the company, including the admission of apprentices, many of whom came from distant parts to learn the allied trades.

In numerous instances recorded, apprentices are almost invariably referred to as being "entered", as typical examples thus:—

- 1599 "Master Trustram takes apprenetes William Trustram for the terme of 10 yeares and [we have] received for his entring to the trade 2s. 6d."
- 1627 "Master Edmond Alflatt hath now apprentice called Henry Rutter & hath paid for his entrance 2s. 6d."
- 1631 "Ro. Ricroft entered his aprentis Ric ffergam and hath payd ffor his entrye the some of 2s. 6d."
- 1631 "The 9th of Maye Master Richard Warner ~~took an A~~ Entered his prentise Richard Warner his sonne and hath payed for his entrie 2s. 6d."
- 1632 "At a Hall kept the 1st of Mar, James Berken did enter his apprentice Henry Robbe to serve him as by his indenture appeareth and hath payed for his entrance the sum of 2/6d."

In the fourth case the implied distinction between taking and entering an apprentice will be noted. Also that the above entry fees comply with the Statute 22, Henry VIII *c.* 4, 1531 (Craft entry fees), quoted previously. Even so, some apprentices, on entering this craft, paid not only the entry fee, but also for a breakfast to the company, as well as a sum for "reparation of the hall". Such a case was John Sar, admitted an apprentice, paid 2/6d. and "promised to pay his breakfast and 4 feet of glass".

As at Edinburgh, so in Bristol, apprentices had first to be enrolled in the city registers, and comparison of these manuscripts with the craft book shows that the majority became entered apprentices shortly afterwards. On the other hand, taking a sample period from 1623 to 1627, seven apprentices were entered into the craft from seven to 40 months after enrolment. Thus, in this company of small masters we find entered apprenticeship proceeding on very much the same course as at Mary's Chapel.

THE CARPENTERS' COMPANY OF LONDON

The detailed records of this Company,⁶ so very much akin to that of the Masons, cover (with some gaps) a period from 1438 to 1694. They are of exceptional interest in that they

¹ M. Lyon, *ibid.*, p. 414.

² W. F. Vernon, *ibid.*, p. 13.

³ R. F. Gould, *History*, vol. ii, p. 262.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, lxii, p. 139.

⁵ H. E. Matthews, *The Company of Soapmakers*, Bristol Record Soc., vol. x.

⁶ B. Marsh, *Records of the Carpenters' Company*, 4 vols.

include almost every facet of apprenticeship, and, indeed, from first to last one of the most impressive features is the importance of apprenticeship fees to the income of the fellowship. This will be understood when it is realised that between 1654 and 1674 no less than 1,658 apprentices were entered.

The earliest mention of E.A.'s is in 1458, when the following appears, typical of many similar:—

“Received of Wyllm Robt for Entryng of a prentys xijd”.

Prior to 1654 the entries of apprentices are noted in both the Wardens' accounts and the Court Books, but after that date a single book was commenced entitled “The Book of Entries of Apprentices”.

It was the rule prior to 1607 that apprentices be entered into the company by their masters within a year and a day of being taken on, similar to Alnwick. In 1567, 10 freemen were fined by the Court of the Company for not doing so; in 1568, 12 freemen were fined; in 1569 there were 13; and in 1571 the number was 14. Here, then, is another reason why some apprentices remained unentered.

Descriptive details of the formalities of entrance do not appear, but, in reverse, they seem to have been serious enough. At a Court held on December 19, 1567, Anthony Wylle, of Chesterfield, the apprentice of John Saxby, “was discharged of his bondage and in the presence of the Master and Wardens did deliver unto his master his apron, rule and prickers [compasses] and his Indentures cancelled”.

It is necessary to add that the Carpenters' Company developed on very much the same lines as that of the masons, and after c. 1600, if not earlier, the position of the apprentice seems to have diminished as organisation increased. But the apprentice records of the Company cover so wide a field as to be worth study on their own.

THE LONDON MASONS

The survival of so many detailed records of Scottish Mason organisations, by comparison with the paucity of those in England, is, in my opinion, the result of the later development of Scottish gilds. In England generally, and London particularly, craft gild organisation had begun to break down long before it was even established in Scotland.¹ Hence, the further we go back, albeit with few and fewer records, the nearer the apparent London parallel to the Scottish E.A. The complete social equality of master and apprentice such as existed in the Cordwainers in 1271,² when the entrant apprentice had to pay the then large sum of 40/-, besides other dues to the craft, had by the seventeenth century given way to a system in which apprentices, entered or otherwise, were very small fry. Some companies, such as those which supplied the wool industry, had so far lost control of their trades as to become little more than convivial societies. Such a one was the Wire drawers and Cardmakers³ of Bristol (1312 to 1797), whose records from the middle of the seventeenth century are largely taken up by detailed descriptions of the splendid variety of foods which they had at their many feasts. No opportunity was missed, not even the funeral of a brother or the presentation of accounts, without celebrating the occasion by drinkings.

The London Masons, by 1620, when the surviving *company* records begin,⁴ had so far developed on the lines of a livery company, as distinct from a fraternity, that clearly the period had passed when the apprentice entered into the craft was of a significantly higher status than one who was not. Conder gives the procedure at this period for an apprentice to become an “entered apprentice”, but, unfortunately, had no previous minute books from which to trace the development in earlier times.

However, we know from the ordinances of 1521⁵ that a master had first to present the apprentice to the Wardens and six of the Livery, who were to examine him to ascertain his qualifications, including stature “to exercise the manual feat thereof”, the latter suggestive, as in the case of the Paviers and Carpenters, of maturer age. If satisfactory the apprentice was accepted and 3/4 paid by the master into the common fund of the craft. This was formal entry into the craft and compares with the Lodge at Edinburgh, c. 1671.

It is important to remember that these ordinances of 1521 (as well as those of 1356 and 1481) were expressly designed to satisfy the Municipal Authorities, who over centuries waged an incessant war on the question of wages paid in all the building trades. Hence the rules, having stated the terms of entry, went on to say that after four years' service the same (*i.e.*, already entered) apprentice was to be brought before the City Chamberlain and the Wardens

¹ I. F. Grant, *Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603*, p. 410, etc.

² G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, p. 83.

³ MSS. 5029-30, Bristol Central Library and H. R. Schubert, *Iron and Steel Institute Journal*, vol. 159, part 1, p. 16. May, 1948.

⁴ E. Conder, Jr., *The Hole Craft*, p. 53.

⁵ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, p. 256.

of the Fellowship to ascertain whether his master would henceforth be entitled to claim a full mason's wage on his behalf. Evidently this was too loose an arrangement, because 17 years later the Municipal Authorities had further thoughts. In a Regulation by the Common Council in 1538¹ concerning hours and wages of carpenters, masons, tylers, plasterers, bricklayers, gardeners, etc., it was enacted "that none of the said craftsmen shall take wages by day or otherwise for any of their apprentices during the first two years of their apprenticeship, but only as labourers do, and not as craftsmen or journeymen. And that after the apprentice has served two years, then the master shall take only such wages as shall be admitted and appointed by the Chamberlain of London and by the Wardens of the said occupation".

The point that is obvious from these last regulations is that they were concerned with apprentices who belonged to the craft organisation, *i.e.*, youths or men who were already "entered" in the company and subject to its jurisdiction. And to avoid our being left in any doubt, the second clause of the 1521 Ordinances specifies "any apprentice in the said fellowship".

THE OVERALL PICTURE

In so far as it is possible to generalise on an aspect of industrial life that, like industry itself, was ever changing, which varied as between crafts (and for that matter lodges), the pattern is fairly well defined.

In towns the apprentice was bound with due formality before the municipal authorities² and paid the customary fee. If apprenticed to a freeman of an organised craft, the next step was entry into that fraternity, usually taking place immediately following at the hall of the society. He was given instruction in the duties he owed to his master, his trade and as regards his moral conduct. Oaths of various kinds were often enacted.³ A craft entrance fee was required of him or a contribution to the upkeep of the hall or altar, and sometimes a feast in addition. Henceforward he was admitted into the household of his master, with the gild always keeping a watchful eye on his progress, not merely with the narrow outlook of a trades organisation, but also as the authority charged by state and municipality with the responsibility for producing future citizens and leaders.

At the expiration of the term, if successful, he became a burgess and freeman of his craft with further formalities⁴ and freedom fees.

Thus, to be or remain an unfree apprentice was to court permanent servitude. To become an entered apprentice was to pass through the gateway leading to independence and the many privileges which rightly followed from being a member of a proud homogeneous fraternity.

This general pattern was common to so many English crafts that it seems unnecessary to quote further examples of the ubiquity of entered apprenticeship.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am particularly indebted to Bro. Carr for his great work on Scottish operative masonry, although for the present our interpretations differ somewhat. To the staffs of the Bristol City Archives and Central Library for access to manuscripts and for invaluable assistance in so many ways.

APPENDIX

Typical examples of obligations or charges.

- (a) On becoming entered apprentice to the Hammermen Craft of Dundee, c. 1585
(A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, p. 499.)

The maneir and forme of ye aith qlk ye prentesis of ye halmermen craft sall giff ye tyme zai ar inrollit in yis Lockit Buik

I sall be trew to our sourane Lord ye King and to ye comoneweill of yis burt. I sall me-teyne and defend ye evangell of Christ p'ntlie professit. I sall obey my dekin and haill acts and statuts maid be him for ye welfair of our craft. I sall obey and serve my master (during ye tyme of my prenticship) in all lesum and godlie affairs. I sall be trew, leill and obedient to him, and sall never heir nor see his skaitht privatlie nor oppivlie, but sall mak him advertisment hereof. I sall frequent ye kirk on ye sabbot day twyiss at ye leist, during ye time of prayaris or preching, be ye haly name of God ye father, sone and holy gaist.

¹ Tawney and Power, *Tudor Econ. Documents*, p. 115, quoting *Guildhall Journal*, vol. xiv, ff. 100-100b.

² Ed. L. T. Smith, *Ricarts Kalendar*, c. 1479, p. 102.

³ Statutes of the Realm, 28, Hen. VIII, c. 5, 1536. (See also appendix.)

⁴ *e.g.*, C. Welch, Oath of the Pewterers in *Pewterers' Company*, p. 31. (See also appendix.)

- (b) Apprentice (or redemptioner) becoming a freeman in the London Pewterers, c. 1463.

(C. Welch, *The Pewterers' Company*, p. 31.)

You shall swear that you shall be faithful to our Sov. Lord the King and to his heirs . . . and the peace of the City you shall keep to your power. You shall be good and obedient to all lawful commandments of the Master and Wardens of the Fellowship of Pewterers . . . and the counsel of the said craft that is said here or in any other place conserving the weal of the fellowship you shall keep and not utter to no strange person within the City or without. You shall know no prejudice nor hurt to be done to the fellowship but you shall let [hinder] it to your power and give warning to the M^r and Wardens thereof. And all the good rules and ordinances of the said craft made or to be made by the M^r and Wardens or Commonalty of the said Craft you shall keep. And you shall come to all and every summons of the Master and Wardens lawfully warned by the Beadle in their name. And that you shall not work privily nor apart with any person except he be free of the same craft. And shall be contributor to all charges within the said craft now accustomed or heretofore hath been. You shall aid and succour the poor brethren to your power. In all these things above rehearsed and in all that to the same crafts belongs well and truly for the weal and worship of the same craft you shall behave and keep you so God help and all the saints.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Ward on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. H. Carr, A. F. Hatten, G. S. Draffen and W. Waples.

The W.M. said:—

Following so closely on Bro. Carr's valuable paper, "The Mason and the Burgh", which contained so much new material on "Apprenticeship", it seemed a bold venture indeed by Bro. Ward to offer another contribution on the subject. That this boldness is fully justified, I feel sure all who have heard this afternoon's paper will fully agree.

The subject of Apprenticeship is of considerable importance and of particular interest to Masons, and the present paper, in conjunction with that of Bro. Carr, is a valuable contribution to our literature on the subject.

The fact that our two Brethren fail to agree in all points in their interpretation may be deemed an advantage, for it shows that finality is not yet reached in this branch of research. Each has produced new material, which stimulates the hope that more may be forthcoming.

Bro. Ward has cast his paper in a form which many of us find most acceptable. So often we are left guessing until the end approaches; but he has set his conclusions at the very beginning, and so has enabled us to follow the argument with much greater ease.

The second part of the paper is of particular value. We generally regret that so much of the material evidence has to be drawn from Scottish sources, where conditions may not have been absolutely parallel with those in England.

Bro. Ward has given a reason for this paucity of English evidence which may well be true, and he has succeeded in quoting a number of English authorities and a quite early record of the Entering of an Apprentice—as far back as 1458.

From the interest which, I feel sure, will be aroused by these two important papers, it is to be hoped that further search will be stimulated and be fruitful in bringing further new material to light.

Bro. JOHN RYLANDS, acting S.W., said:—

W. Master, as I am deputising for Bro. George Draffen, our Senior Warden, perhaps you will allow me the privilege of seconding the vote of thanks you have just proposed. May I also add a few comments now, before they are made rather pointless by the heavy artillery of Bro. Carr?

The subject on which we have heard Bro. Ward's excellent dissertation is one which, I suppose, our Junior Warden has made particularly his own in recent years, and when a new planet of the magnitude of Bro. Carr swims into our ken, we lesser Masonic star-gazers tend to be lost in admiration and to blunt the edge of critical appraisal.

But, to modify a sentiment of Voltaire's, such is the stature of Bro. Carr in these matters that if Bro. Ward had not existed it would have been necessary to invent him. Personally, I should imagine that this aspect of the subject, namely, Operative Entered Apprenticeship,

after Bro. Carr has commented and Bro. Ward replied, will be well-nigh exhausted. I have the feeling, though it may be heresy to give utterance to it, that we "Modern" speculative Masons owe much less to our operative forerunners than is generally supposed. Some operative practices were no doubt copied, and in some cases operative Lodges survived by turning into non-operative and subsequently speculative Lodges. But, to my way of thinking, the current notion of "descent" or "transition" requires much modification.

These remarks do not detract from the interest *per se* of the subject matter of tonight's essay, and I join in heartily applauding Bro. Ward's effort and courage. I have pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

Bro. H. CARR writes:—

I must congratulate Bro. Ward on his choice of subject, but I wish that he might have been more successful in carrying out the promise, implicit in his first sentence, *i.e.*, "to remove current misconceptions . . . and to show that (Entered Apprenticeship) was much more widespread than is generally appreciated". Here is a subject full of pitfalls for the unwary student.

Broadly speaking, the paper covers two distinct subjects. The first is really a revival of the old question, "When did an apprentice become 'entered apprentice'?"

The second subject of the paper is an attempt to show

- (a) that the system of "entered apprenticeship" was not only Scottish practice, but was also customary amongst English operative masons; and
- (b) that similar practices were current in other crafts as well.

This part of the paper, which might have been of tremendous importance and interest, is, however, completely dependent upon Bro. Ward's ability to provide a satisfactory explanation of entered apprenticeship in the first part of his work. He must first of all show an accurate appreciation of the system as it functioned in Scotland before he can claim to prove that parallel systems existed elsewhere.

My comments are, therefore, directed mainly towards what I would call the "first part" of Bro. Ward's paper.

Limitations of space make it impracticable to examine here all the evidence that bears on the question of apprentices and "entered apprentices". Briefly, up to 1938 the opinion was generally held that the titles were synonymous. There were, indeed, some misgivings because of the numerous Lodge minutes and trade regulations which could not be reconciled with this easy solution.

In 1938, Douglas Knoop published his Prestonian Lecture on *The Mason Word*, in which a beautifully reasoned chapter on "Entered Apprentices and their Secrets" showed

- (a) that the status of apprentices and "entered apprentices" were different;
- (b) that the latter were admitted "entered apprentice" generally towards the end of their terms of service; and
- (c) that "entered apprentices" . . . "had a real if subordinate share in the government of the craft and in its privileges . . ." which would have been inconceivable in the case of ordinary apprentices.

At about this time, Bro. Meekren, working quite independently in Canada, was preparing his examination of the "Aitchison's Haven Minutes" (*A.Q.C.*, liii, 1941). His evidence was drawn from a narrower field, but argued with his usual clarity and force, and on this question he came to precisely the same conclusions as Bro. Knoop. No study of the question could be complete without reference to these two works. On the evidence then available their findings appeared to be unassailable, and when a great body of factual evidence was subsequently discovered which brought vast new light to the question, their conclusions suffered only slight modification.

Bro. Ward's essay seems to take us back to the pre-1938 position. In short, he argues that "apprentices generally could become E.A.'s more or less whenever they could afford to do so without any question of a time qualification . . ." (para. 6, page 14), and that "The essential qualification for entry was ability to pay the entrance fee and other dues . . . Hence the youth who was in the fullest sense presentable [What does this mean, H.C. ?] and possessed the cash could enter almost at once" (Conclusions 2, page 12).

It may be noted that Bro. Ward has not gone to the extreme limit of saying that apprentices and E.A.'s were equal; indeed, he agrees that there was a distinction (Conclusions 2, page 12), but, so long as financial obligations could be met, an apprentice might enter "almost at once" (*ibid.*, line 27) or within fifteen days (page 13). Unfortunately, it is obvious that throughout his essay the arguments are clouded by his belief that the word "entry" in relation to apprentices automatically stamps them as "entered apprentices".

It must be agreed that many of the early minutes are recorded in ambiguous terms, and their interpretation is often a matter of some difficulty. This calls for more than usual care in attempting to explain them. A typical example appears in the Edinburgh Council's "Decreet Arbitral" of 1583, a code of regulations for the overall government of the Edinburgh merchants and crafts.¹ In a regulation which relates entirely to the preliminary booking of apprentices of all trades before the municipal authority, we read that ". . . the names of all preteissis . . . the name of thair master, day of thair entres, and space of thair prenteischip sall be insert and buikit . . ." Here, quite definitely, the word "entres" refers to the date of booking, and has nothing to do with entered apprentices. In a later passage the booking fees are specified for various trades, and we find that an apprentice of the merchant class was ". . . to pay at his entrie the day of his buiking . . . Thretty shillings . . ." Here the word "entrie" specifically implies the day of his booking. In the same regulation we read: "The prenteis to ane masoun and wricht at his entrie . . . (13/4) . . ." Again the word "entrie" is used, but it still refers to the preliminary booking.²

The booking of apprentices at the beginning of their terms was made under municipal regulation in all towns of England and Scotland. The booking had to be made within a specified time, usually within thirty days from the commencement of the apprentice's term, but the practice varied in different places from fifteen days to twelve months. The purpose of the booking was to ensure an official record of apprentices' terms of service for the benefit of those who ultimately claimed their freedom in right of having duly served their terms.

In the small places where there was no municipal authority, the mason lodge, company or fellowship would be the only authority dealing with craft matters, and there would have been some modification of practice so that the craft organisation dealt with all the various stages in a mason's career, including the preliminary booking, which elsewhere was made under municipal authority.

With this brief but necessary explanation, we may now examine the extract from the Falkland Statutes, which Bro. Ward uses as the foundation of his arguments (page 12). From this extract (which he has converted to modern English) he draws "three points of special importance":—

Point (a) "Distinction is made", he says, "between the apprentice newly indentured and his becoming an entered apprentice".

I see no grounds for this inference. Here is a simple regulation for booking apprentices, with instruction that this must be done within fifteen days from the beginning of the Indentures, but Bro. Ward, misreading the word "entries", says "the entries of the apprentices to be valid from the date of their bookings", *i.e.*, he argues apprentices could become entered apprentices within fifteen days. But if the word "entries" does mean E.A.'s, then clearly there was no need for them to wait fifteen days, for the regulation would apparently entitle them to become E.A.'s on the day of their bookings! I shall deal with this question again, later.

Point (b) Bro. Ward uses the word "entries" in his comments, although it does not appear in the regulation.

Point (c) Before I comment on Bro. Ward's third point, I would like to set another regulation side-by-side with Bro. Ward's extract. It is the *original* from which Bro. Ward prepared the "conversion":—

Bro. Ward's Extract
After "Conversion"

"that all masters of the said arts of this Kingdom, except the privileged companies shall within fifteen days after making indentures book their apprentices with their servants and journeymen in the craft books of their companies and the entries of the apprentices to be valid from the date of their bookings. Apprentices to pay 40/- etc. and Journeymen and Servants 20/-", etc.

The Original Regulation as transcribed in Lawrie's "History . . .", p. 448 (1859 Edn.)
Item: "That all M^{rs} of the saids Airtis of this Kingdome quhair the saids priueledgeit companies ar not sall within the spaice of fyftein dayes eftir the making of the Indentors buik their Prenteissis with thair Servands and Jornaymen in the Craftis buiks of thair companie and the entries of the Prenteissis to be onelie reput fra the date of thair buikingis and the Prenteiss sall pay the soume of fourtie schillingis quhairto the s^d Generall Wardane the equall halff and the vther equall halff to the box of the companie . . . and the soume of XXs for the Journayman or Serveand . . ."

¹ Extracts from *Rec. of Burgh of Edr.*, 1573-1589, pp. 265 folg.; cf. Carr, *Mason and Burgh*, p. 79.

² If this regulation were read with Bro. Ward's interpretation of the word "entrie" it would be possible to demonstrate that mason apprentices were made "entered apprentice" by the Clerk of the Edinburgh Burgh Council!

I need not comment on the nature and extent of the "conversion" that has been executed here, except to say that if any serious arguments or conclusions were to be based on this regulation, then Bro. Ward was singularly ill-advised to do the "conversion" at all, and the omission of the crucial word "onlie" was a sad error of judgment.

Now, as to the significance of the regulation. Clearly it was a general rule (for all building trades except where privileged companies existed) to regulate the "booking" of apprentices, servants and journeymen, and the inclusion of the two latter groups shows that it had nothing to do with "entered apprenticeship". So far as apprentices were concerned, the crux of the regulation was contained in the words ". . ." and the entries of the Prentesses to be onlie reput fra the date of thair buikingis . . ."

This phrase can be interpreted in two ways:—

- (a) That the apprentice's term of service shall only count from the date of his booking, *e.g.*, if he was "booked" two years after the beginning of his indentures, instead of within the statutory fifteen days, then his qualification to be made "master" would start *not* from the beginning of the indentures, but from the date of his booking.

This, I surmise, is the correct interpretation. The alternative is:—

- (b) That if the booking was delayed beyond the fifteen days, then the date when the apprentice was to be made "entered apprentice" would count only from the date of the booking, and not from the date of the indentures.

This interpretation, which appears reasonable at first glance, is, however, quite out of keeping with the remaining regulations. The Falkland Statutes are a very lengthy and comprehensive code, and apart from the machinery of management of the crafts, which they portray in detail, they are concerned only with masters, apprentices, servants and journeymen; they do not appear to recognise the status of "entered apprenticeship", and when we remember that they were intended to apply to literally every branch of the building trades (including shipwrights, coopers and glaziers), I think it is highly improbable that this particular regulation was intended to refer to "entered apprentices" as we understand the term.

The extract from the Falkland Statutes provides the main evidence that Bro. Ward adduces for his theory. In his chapter entitled "E.A.'s at Mary's Chapel" (Galley 1), he seeks a measure of confirmation for his views by an examination of some of the data in my essay on *The Mason and the Burgh*. From that study, three important and indisputable facts emerged in relation to E.A.'s at *Edinburgh*:—

- (1) That mason apprentices were made "entered apprentices" upon their first admission (or entry) into the Lodge.
- (2) That this admission usually took place some two or three years after the beginning of their indentures, *i.e.*, after the initial booking of the apprentices in the Burgh records.
- (3) Throughout the very extensive records of Mary's Chapel there is not a single case of an apprentice appearing in the *Lodge* records during that initial two to three-year period.¹ Apprentices definitely had no status *in Lodge* and formed no part of the Lodge until they had been made "entered apprentice." After that they were of the Lodge, enjoyed certain rights and privileges, and had to bear certain charges and responsibilities.

One further point is derived from the Schaw Statutes, 1598, which permitted entered apprentices to take a limited amount of work on their own account, implying that they must have had some period of training before they became E.A., and this applied to E.A.'s outside Edinburgh as well.

With the exception of No. (2), *i.e.*, the dates of bookings, all these findings were known to Knoop and Meekren when they were preparing their work on the subject. Only the vital dates of booking were lacking, and as regards the masons of Edinburgh, the discovery of these details in relation to a huge number of apprentices helped to complete the picture, so that it was possible to draw conclusion No. (2) with some degree of certainty.

It is true that there were a number of exceptions to the general practice (15 exceptions in 149 recorded cases), and I drew attention to them, giving valid reasons which might explain them. Bro. Ward takes the few exceptions as the basis of his argument in an endeavour to show that the customary two to three-year delay between booking and entered apprenticeship was not a rule at all, *i.e.*, "that there was no question of a time qualification" (para. 5, page 14). But nobody has ever suggested that there was a "time-qualification". I showed only that in the vast majority of recorded cases a delay of two to three years was *customary*.

¹ There are two exceptional instances when the Lodge promised to enter two apprentices within a given time, and in due course we find the normal record of entry.

Bro. Ward also takes up the point which I made regarding the large number of E.A.'s whose bookings were apparently not recorded, and from this point, too, he concludes that time was not a qualifying factor. This is simply faulty logic. No absolute conclusions can be drawn from non-existent evidence. A large number of the missing records may belong to those ten years for which all records are missing. Some of the unrecorded E.A.'s may have been booked *outside* Edinburgh, and, indeed, the Falkland Statutes make provision for such cases. They may have been properly booked in Edinburgh in trades other than masons, in which case they would have been excluded from my study; *e.g.*, if a slater member of the Lodge had his apprentice entered in the Lodge, his "booking" as a slater's apprentice would have been excluded from my study, which dealt only with masons.

There may, indeed, have been a number of apprentices who were never booked at all, but even this does not invalidate the evidence as regards the two to three-year delay. These lads may also have waited two to three years, even if they were not booked.

Time and space will not permit me to continue. I fear that Bro. Ward has failed to fulfil the promise of his opening sentences, and I have written only what was necessary to show that his conclusions are ill-founded. It is true that we have much to learn about entered apprenticeship, both in the large cities and in the smaller places. More especially we need to find out what *were* the qualifications which enabled an apprentice to become E.A.; we need data from places outside Edinburgh which may confirm or modify our views on the practices in the Scottish capital, and we are still a long way from making any kind of broad generalisations on the subject. The answers will only be found after a great deal of research and patience.

Bro. A. F. HATTEN said:—

From the first extant minute book of the Lodge of Dunblane, dating from 28th January, 1695, it is evident that this apparently revived Lodge of thirteen members only, four of whom were of the masons' trade, was not clear as to its capacity or powers for regulating apprenticeship. The following appears in the minute book under date 27th December, 1705:—

"The said day it is statute and ordained that each mason of this Court who takes a prentice to the masons' trade shall be obliged to pay in twenty shillings Scots money for each prentice's entry booking money to the said trade [?] box thereafter and that they shall be obliged to cause the clerk of the Court to write their indentures and to pay him therefor under the penalty of 40/- Scots."

There are notes in the minute book that indicate that one such booking was made in 1710 and another in 1714.

In a minute of 27th December, 1722, the Lodge identified itself with the City Incorporation of Masons, and even called Robert Duthie, the "Master Measson", by the trade name of "Deacon"; and in the same minute it is recorded that "William Duthie who was formerly Entered prentice and desired to be past the which desire the members granted and accordingly he is past from the Square to the Compass And from a prentice to a fellow of Craft".

From this date there is nothing whatever which refers to the regulation of the masons' trade.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN said:—

Bro. Eric Ward's paper offers us some further interpretations as to the status and the value of being an "operative entered apprentice". He instances the value of being properly entered as being the only method by which a young man could ultimately become a burgess. There were, however, other advantages in being properly entered. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the Nine Trades in the City of Dundee kept a very close grip upon all persons who desired to set up in business in one of these trades. Nobody, but nobody, could set himself up in any one of these trades within the city boundaries of Dundee unless he had been entered an apprentice with a master already in the trade in the city.

It must not be assumed that all entered apprentices of necessity had their eye on a "burgess-ship". In many cases their ambitions probably did not fly higher than setting up in trade for themselves. This also was barred unless a full entered apprenticeship had been served. As a matter of interest, the Nine Trades—which still exist as a form of local authority—are the Bakers, the Shoemakers, the Glovers, the Tailors, the Bonnetmakers, the Fleshers (Butchers), the Weavers, the Dyers and the Hammermen. There is also a further "three united trades" consisting of the Masons, the Wrights and the Slaters.

Bro. W. WAPLES said:—

Bro. Eric Ward has ably contributed to the much-debated status of the “entered apprentice”, and with the exception of minor points I agree.

The impression gained over many years of study of Gild life is that the status of an “entered apprentice” has been made too complex, whereas it should be simple and straightforward. The term “free and unfree” is, in my opinion, one of those which may add to the complexity. Either an apprentice completed his servitude satisfactorily or he did not. If the former he could claim his freedom; if the latter, then his indenture was invalid. If Bro. Ward is suggesting that, after a duly accredited apprenticeship, that the young man

- (1) did not wish to join the Gild and take advantage of its protection and its several provisions, and,
- (2) to claim his freedom of the local civic or burgh authority in order to become a free burghess—and to share in the several privileges of a freeman,

then one may conclude that such an act showed a lack of initiative and prevented any possibility of becoming a master on his own account.

The question of inability to afford the cost of “registering” and of delayed payments for the same has not come within my purview. At Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne and, I think, also London, the charge for “registering” in the Gild Books was 2/6, and to be “registered” in the books at Guildhall cost 3/4.

At the end of the apprenticeship the charge of being “Made free of his Indentures” (*i.e.*, made “free” of the Company) was 2/6 and 3/4 at the Guildhall to be made a “free” burghess.

The charge for “registering” in the Lodge at Swalwell, 1725-79, was 6d. The time limit for registering and for freedoms was three calendar months from the actual date on the indenture and 40 days at Swalwell and the same period following the completion of the Servitude. The only additional cost to the young man who had completed his indenture being a breakfast to the ancients of his Gild and the giving of working gloves.

As I read in the Northern Gild minutes the “registering” in the Gild books was an essential, as was the freedom of the company in which the boy had registered, the reasons are obvious. The registering at the Guildhall and the claiming of the civic freedom was entirely a matter for the boy and his parents to decide. If the apprentice registered with the Guildhall and later claimed his ticket as a free burghess, then it was a first step to the privilege of becoming a useful citizen and of enjoying the many privileges gild and civic life offered and possibly, in due course, of representing his Gild on the City Council.

It is possible that conditions of servitude varied in Scotland and were introduced at times to control intake of apprentices and, as Bro. Ward states, to help pay for charges.

Bro. ERIC WARD *writes* in reply:—

I am most heartened by the generous expressions of the W.M., Bro. Bruce Oliver, and Bro. John Rylands, the latter's comments containing what is perhaps the most important point which has emerged from this study. For I must confess to an ever-growing uneasiness that the principal substance from which the link between Scottish operative and English speculative masonry has been forged is imagination.

Bro. Draffen's contribution is particularly appreciated, both on account of his knowledge of Scottish trade customs and, no doubt because of that, his support for the contention that entered apprenticeship was common to many trades. He uses the expression “entered” in the same impartial way as his seventeenth century predecessors, without concern at the subtle and largely academic distinction between that and “booking”, and his letter is the more valuable if it emphasises how unimportant the difference in terminology really was when the meaning was clear; and Bro. Hatten's extracts also afford useful confirmation of this.

The comments of Bro. Waples are always stimulating, and his support for the revised views appreciated. I am sorry now to have used the terms “free and unfree” apprentices, but did not coin them. They were in common use in Scotland,¹ and I think revealingly explain the meaning of entered apprenticeship. Thus the Dundee Dyers, 1669,² decreed that “Everie prentise to be entered frie prentise shall pay the sowme of ten merks Scots money”. The Convener and Deacons of Dundee tell us in 1703³ “that it is a practice in some of our Incorporations to receive in amongst them unfree apprentices, commonly caled bastard prentises, whos names are not insert in ther locked books by reason they agree with their

¹ E. A. Horne, *Condition of Labour in Scotland in the Seventeenth Century*.

² A. J. Warden, *Burgh Laws of Dundee*, p. 550.

³ A. J. Warden, *ibid.*, p. 262.

masters only for two or three years of prentiship and can have thereby no right to the privileges of the Trades or of the Burgh".

Similarly, many trades, both in England and Scotland, admitted or entered what they called "free" journeymen, as they did "free" masters, but, as I said once before, this has nothing to do with either freemasons or Free Masons.

To Bro. Harry Carr, I am grateful for candid criticism, but regret that he did not take as much care reading mine as I did his work, for had he done so I am sure he could have made a more constructive contribution. He says that I have failed in my aim to remove misconceptions, and then goes on to demonstrate further ones, to which I will refer later.

As I see it, we differ mainly in that whilst Bro. Carr endows operative entered apprenticeship in Scotland with some mystical quality beyond normal experience, to me it is a very ordinary aspect of trade regulation practised by small fraternities primitive by comparison with some of their contemporaries. I do not accept the view that a young apprentice entered into a lodge was different from any other apprentice entered into kindred organised Scottish crafts of the period, for I have yet to trace customs of the seventeenth century masons which were not practised by other crafts.

THE ARITHMETIC OF ENTERED APPRENTICESHIP (EDINBURGH)

Throughout all Bro. Carr's contributions to this subject we are told *ad infinitum* of a two-three year gap between booking and entry as the key to the problem. "Incontrovertible evidence" in the *Mason and the Burgh*, again in *Apprenticeship* and an "indisputable fact" now, the very marrow of his researches. But no one, he says, ever suggested it was a time qualification—the delay was only "customary"; and in *M. & B.*, p. 32, "there can be little doubt that it was founded on sound economic trade custom". Now a trade custom is a usage which by continuance has acquired the force of a law or right (*O.E.D.*). In *Apprenticeship* (Script p. 7) an instance is quoted with the conclusion "that the qualification for becoming an E.A. was merely a recognised period of service in the status of apprentice". Thus, if I have wronged Bro. Carr by calling it a time qualification, I can only point to his own words. However, when we consider how this two-three shibboleth was arrived at it is apparent that it rests upon a method of analysis which is fundamentally erroneous.

Expressed in statistical jargon, Bro. Carr took the arithmetic mean of a series of observations and assumed this demonstrated a sort of mathematical law, *viz.*, "that A.'s became E.A.'s on average about two-and-a-half years after the beginning of their indentures".¹ The fallacy of such a conclusion can be seen at once by tabulating his own data in a form which speaks for itself. This is done by taking the whole of the 89 apprentices recorded previous to the year 1700 as having been both booked and entered, finding the time between each transaction and grouping them according to periods thus:—

Average = 28

Months between booking and entering	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-100
Number of cases	21	13	19	15	10	6	5

Comparison of the table with the "average" shows why the latter is misleading—it fails to tell us anything about the distribution of data above and below the mean. Statistically, the preponderance of cases falling outside the average is so significant as to establish with certainty that entry did *not* follow a custom requiring any given number of years of probation. In computing the above figures, I have regarded those apprentices entered *before* being booked as merely entered without a waiting period. Had they been given their proper values the differences would have been even more striking.

The correct deduction from the figures is that the majority became E.A.'s in *less than* two-and-a-half years, and nothing further is statistically justified. But since a significant number of these were entered at the beginning of their careers, the important question passed over by Bro. Carr is what prevented everyone from doing the same?

ST. JOHN'S DAY AT EDINBURGH

One fact, apparent from the minutes, but evidently unnoticed by Bro. Carr, or perhaps considered inconsequential, is the very large proportion of apprentices after 1650 who were admitted as E.A.'s on December 27th. Whenever trade records indicate a semblance of

¹ H. Carr, *Apprenticeship in England and Scotland*, p. 6, in para. commencing: "One of the major . . ."

regularity the first thing to look for is an ordinance to that effect, and, sure enough, on 20th December, 1680, an order decreed that masters were to give notice on St. John's Day of the apprentices they were to enter, and, on failing to do so, "they shall not be heard nor have access to enter [the apprentices] for ane year after".¹ A similar kind of regulation was made at Melrose in 1675.

Clearly, then, there must have been cases where an apprentice was taken on in the early part of a year and not entered until St. John's Day, but is it conceivable that had there been any custom which required years of probation some mention would not be made of it in such an ordinance as this?

UNBOOKED APPRENTICES AND WHAT IT MEANS

Bro. Carr thinks I am not justified in drawing any conclusions from the fact of there being 233 unbooked apprentices out of his 393 E.A.'s. But in *Mason and the Burgh*, p. 54, he tells us of the "high proportion of entrants to Mary's Chapel [1601-1700] who failed to make their booking", and that from 1701 to 1755 "apparently booking was no longer necessary". I assumed that these statements indicated a very large section of apprentices who could not be left out of any consideration of the subject, and, despite the latest retraction, still think so. Is it not apparent that the true reason why so many were not booked in the Burgh Council's records is that they were never destined to become burghesses and thus usually of the master=employer class?

For support of this view, consider the F.C. Founders of the Lodge of Journeymen, seceders from Mary's Chapel. Of the 44 names quoted by Hunter,² only four appear in Bro. Carr's list of booked apprentices, and three of these are the only ones who were then burghesses. It is obvious that those destined to become permanent journeymen=employees would have no need of burgh booking, particularly when Mary's Chapel, e.g., in 1671, openly encouraged segregation. Hence the existence of a very large body of apprentices known to us only as E.A.'s cannot in the face of the evidence be left out of account, and the fact that they were, in my opinion, invalidates Bro. Carr's conclusions on that score alone.

THE A.B.C. OF ENTRY AT EDINBURGH

An overwhelming majority of apprentices joining the Lodge of Edinburgh (1599-1686) were admitted on similar lines to this: "The quhilke day Cuthbert Peterson is entert prentes to Thomas Petersone".³ He was entered, i.e., booked, to an individual, nothing whatever being said in these cases of entry into the Lodge, although the implication is obvious. It is thus quite clear that two different functions were covered simultaneously by the same term "entry", first in the sense of making a record that a particular apprentice was now in the service of a master and accepted by the craft, and then as a corollary that he had entered the Lodge. This is illustrated (a) by the case (1620) of an E.A., Thos. Robertsoun, "enterit to his said M^r and that be right of his prenteisship",⁴ and (b) of the consent to the "buiking and entring of Andro Hamilton".⁵ Similarly, in Glasgow, where from 1605 apprentices were booked (after signing indentures) in the Deacon Convener's Book,⁶ innumerable cases occur where A is booked apprentice to B to serve from him "entry thereto", that entry date usually being specified in the indenture. Here the word simply means regularised entry into a craft. Again, in the Edinburgh Warden's book we find in 1638 the names of a number who were "admittet enterit prentissis unto the said craff".⁷ Not, it will be noted, to the Lodge as such, but to the craft.

It is, therefore, difficult to see any difference between the Edinburgh Warden's book and any other craft book regulating, amongst other things, the input of apprentices, and this is confirmed by the presence of the apprentices' masters at entries. The importance of this is shown by a minute of 1645, when Wm. Prestone "was maid entrit prenteis to his father Rot. Prestoun Deacon for the present being absent".⁸

Surely there can be no doubt of these being simple apprentices distinguished only by their being accepted as such by the trade organisation.

KNOOP AND MEEKREN'S VIEWS

I came to the conclusion that although these Brethren correctly saw that *some* E.A.'s were ex-apprentice journeymen, they were wrong in assuming this to indicate the normal. I

¹ Mary's Chapel, *Verdene Book*, p. 54.

² W. Hunter, *Hist. Lodge of Journeymen* No. 8, pp. 235-6.

³ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 21a.

⁴ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ H. Lumsden, *Records of Trades Houses*, 1605-1678.

⁷ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 27a.

have already pointed out that many E.A.'s remained as such without bothering to pass as F.C.'s, and, under the heading "Other factors", referred to the practice of making individuals E.A.'s who had served apprenticeships elsewhere. It was common at Edinburgh to enter servants in the Lodge as E.A.'s, and it may surprise Bro. Carr to realise that in some Scottish crafts even masters were on odd occasions made E.A.'s. Thus, in 1592 the "unfrie maister" weavers (there were thirty of them) of Hilltown, near Dundee,¹ were "entrattit or compellit to becum prentises" to the Deacon and Freemen of the Dundee Craft for five years, "immediatlie following ye daie and dait hierof, quhilk sall be ye day of yair entrie". These ex-master apprentices were each allowed to take an apprentice, for whom they were to pay to the Deacon "at his entrie ten schillings money".

Can there be any doubt that these were E.A.'s in the same sense as Lodges used the term, or that this was merely one aspect of a closed shop policy? But we delude ourselves if we regard the abnormal as the criterion for the normal.

THE STATUS OF THE E.A.

The Warden's Book² (1598-1686) leaves no doubt that, at Edinburgh, E.A.'s had no share in the government of the Lodge. On all matters of any importance decisions were taken by the Deacon (an official above and beyond the Lodge), the Warden elected by the Lodge, and the Masters (*i.e.*, employers). Fellow crafts who were servants, and still less entered apprentices, had a status which at all times appears insignificant. According to the Lodge, he who was "but an E. apprentice" had no liberty to take on any work. There is some evidence that outside the burghs (*e.g.*, Aitchison's Haven) a different form of mason organisation existed, but Bro. Carr speaks only for Edinburgh, of course.

IN THE FULLEST SENSE PRESENTABLE

This means that the individual possessed of intelligence, good personal appearance, sound character and presented by a responsible person known to the employer or craft, then, as now, stood a better chance of getting on.

An example of an apprentice with at least one of these was John Stewart, recorded in the Glasgow Deacon Convener's book on 27th October, 1613, "to serve from this day" his master (and father), John Stewart, senior, Deacon of Masons. This is the same apprentice noted by Cruikshank,³ whose father required him to be entered into the Lodge, which was done on January 1st, 1614. Here is a clear case of an apprentice becoming an entered apprentice virtually at the outset of his career, and this typifies what I regard as the normal.

HE WHO IS WITHOUT BLEMISH

Since Bro. Carr considers me incapable of recognising what the term "entry" really means and gives instruction by quoting the Decreet Arbitral of 1583, it is interesting to see how he treated this same document in *The Mason and the Burgh*, p. 11.

We are told that every apprentice, at his booking, should pay "sex pennies" to the Clerk of the Council, which is correct. Then follows an observation that fees were paid to the Common purse of the *Burgh* when the original said "ane common purse", and means common to all the merchants and craftsmen, the monies to be collected by their representatives and distributed for relief, etc., of decayed burgesses and craftsmen. Then comes the statement that masons' and wrights' apprentices paid 13/4 for "booking" when the original term was "entrie", and Bro. Carr still sees nothing amiss in the change. Now, the decree⁴ expressly states:—

- (a) "That there be in the whole town but one collection, and one purse, not peculiar to any but common to all [merchants and craftsmen] of the whole duties and casualties called the entries silver of apprentices . . ."
- (b) The initial booking "shall be to the apprentice a sufficient probation of his entry".
- (c) 13/4 was to be paid by the mason and wright apprentice "at his entrie the day of his booking, to the said collection".

Thus, in 1583 there were two distinct transactions, booking *and* entering, and in one place (The Skinners' group) they are thus differentiated. Nothing more was necessary or legal. No other collections of any kind were to be permitted. The booking fees were to be paid to the Clerk, and the entries silver and all other dues to the craft representatives. Obviously, the apprentice was intended to become an entered apprentice on the day of his booking, and from

¹ A. J. Warden, *ibid.*, pp. 532-533.

² H. Lumsden, *ibid.*, p. 48.

³ J. Cruikshank, *Incorporation of Masons, Glasgow*, p. 53.

⁴ J. Marwick, *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts*, p. 131.

the bare facts we are not justified in seeing anything else. For we have no evidence that the Lodge was a going concern at that date, but several positive indications otherwise, and when Bro. Carr asserts that in this case entry really meant booking, he is merely anticipating his own conclusions drawn from later times.

THE FALKLAND STATUTES

It cannot be assumed merely because signatories to these statutes belonged to sundry building trades that the regulations could not refer to E.A.'s as "we understand the term". Apart from Aitchison's Haven, the Lodge of Stirling also confirmed agreement on 5th November, 1637.¹ Later, at a meeting of "Mechanicks" (Masons, Wrights, Smiths, etc.) held on 7th March, 1638, evidently for the purpose of obtaining incorporation, the General Warden nominated and elected Alex. Cunningham, Wright, Deacon, and John Service, Mason, Warden, "to us within the ludge and company of Stirling . . . and James M'Kewen officer and dempster within the said ludge". Here, then, we have a Lodge of mixed trades reminiscent of the Squaremen Incorporation of Wrights and Masons at Ayr. The association of Masons, Wrights and Hammermen mixed up with Lodges at the signing of the second St. Clair Charter, c. 1628 (at which the above-mentioned John Service is there described as "M^r of ye craftis in Stirling" and several Edinburgh mason officials are included), is not without significance. As is the case at Edinburgh when, in 1603, an apprentice was entered into the Lodge with the consent of John Mansoun, Deacon of the Wrights.²

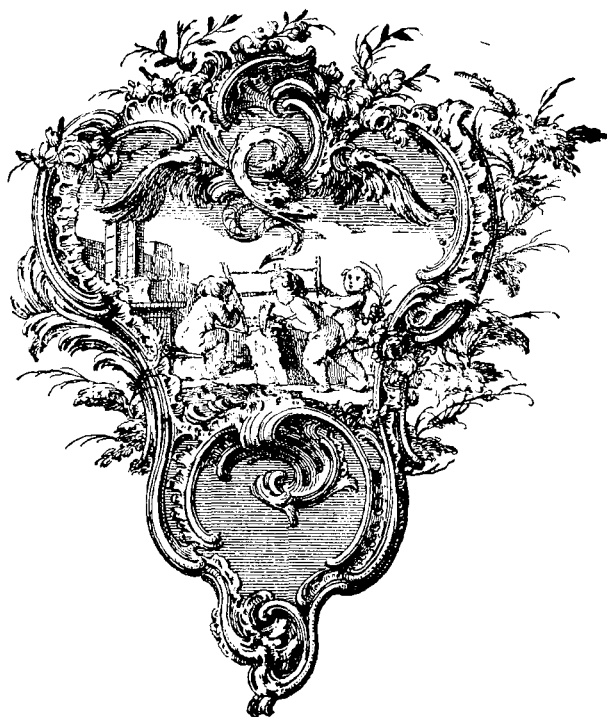
Neither can these Statutes be ruled out because the clause to which I drew attention also includes servants and journeymen, for the records specifically refer to both servants³ and journeymen⁴ being entered in Lodges.

¹ D. B. Morris, *Incorporation of Mechanics at Stirling*, p. 17, etc.

² M.C., *ibid.*, p. 8a.

³ M.C., *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ W. Hunter, *ibid.*, p. 43.



FRIDAY, 1st MARCH, 1957



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as S.W.*; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer*; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M., D.C.*; F. Bernhart, L.G.R., Stwd., *as S.D.*; A. Sharp, *M.A., J.D.*; Norman Rogers, *M.Com., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P., P.G.D., P.M.*; and *Lt.-Col. E Ward, T.D.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. D. J. Gawthorn, N. Hackney, R. V. Bailey, J. E. Trott, W. H. Crees, F. M. Shaw, A. J. Beecher-Stow, A. G. Stukeley, K. K. Kcamariš, T. O. Haunch, C. M. Westley, S. A. Hills, F. Holt, *Sir* George Boag, A. J. Gray, E. H. Wilson, F. V. W. Sedgeley, R. C. W. Hunter, A. G. Roose, H. E. Cohen, A. F. Hatten, A. H. Berman, W. Joseph, T. W. Marsh, C. W. Davis, T. P. Tunnaard-Moore, H. S. Philips, W. L. Harnett, M. R. Wagner, J. L. C. Dribell, R. A. N. Petrie, R. Gold, B. Foskett, F. H. Anderson, W. Laws, G. P. Daynes J. H. J. Dewey, A. I. Sharp, E. Winterburgh, A. F. Ford and J. T. Watson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. S. Moody, Lodge 4576; L. W. Saunders, Lodge 4106; P. J. Hooren, Lodge 2860; H. F. Hutchings, Lodge 3415; E. N. Hall, Lodge 6106; R. C. Head, Lodge 3160; J. H. Williams, Lodge 4660; and J. Marsh, Lodge 5699.

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.)*; *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.G.St.B., 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, *B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., S.D.*; G. Brett, P.M., 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W.*; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.

The W.M. referred to the sad loss that the Lodge had suffered by the death of two Past Masters, Bros. F. M. Rickard and W. E. Heaton, and the Brethren stood to order in silent sympathy with their relatives. The Master read the following:—

IN MEMORIAM

With great regret we have to record the passing of two of our members, both of whom had occupied the Chair in this Lodge.

COL. FRANK MARTYN RICKARD was born in Madras, but educated in England, first at Bedford and then at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. His military career was distinguished, and during the 1914-18 war he was one of the Directors of Inspection in the Ministry of Munitions, and at the end of the war was appointed to command in Queenstown, Ireland. Returning to England, he became Chief Instructor at the Artillery College.

Retiring in 1926 with the rank of full Colonel, he embarked on extensive travels abroad; returning to London he settled down to serious Masonic research work. *Col. Rickard's* Masonic career commenced in 1894, when he was initiated in the Royal Lodge of Friendship, No. 278, at Gibraltar. In the period up to the outbreak of war his Masonic activities were enormous and he took almost every degree available to English Masons, and received London Rank in 1912. With the coming of peace his Masonic activities were resumed in full measure. During the years that followed he acted as either Treasurer or Secretary to many of the Lodges or Degrees in which he was interested, and in all he achieved Grand Rank, including the appointment of Grand Sword Bearer in both the Craft and the Royal Arch. In the *Societas Rosacruziana* in Anglia he achieved great eminence; after acting for some years as Recorder-General he became Supreme Magus in 1939, only resigning a few months before his death.

In *Quatuor Coronati*, he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1908, was elected a member in 1937, and the following year became a successful Secretary; he not only aided the Lodge to recover from the losses of the war years, but he also edited that valuable and now lamented publication *Miscellanea Latomorum*. He contributed papers on Oddfellowship and on that intriguing figure, William Finch. If

my own experience is any guide, he must have put in an immense amount of work into his analysis of the papers to be read in this Lodge. To him I owe most grateful gratitude for the painstaking care with which he guided me in the re-modelling of my first paper to Q.C. I knew him, too, in the S.R.I.A., where again he gave such sound guidance to a rather ignorant beginner.

For ten years he gave of his immense energy to this Lodge, of which he was Master in 1944. Resigning, he was succeeded by W.Bro. Poole in 1948, whose secretaryship was so suddenly terminated by death in 1951. Seeing the great difficulty in which the Lodge was placed, he did not hesitate to return and take up his old post, acting for six months until Bro. John Dashwood was appointed.

His health failed badly in the last few years, and we must be glad that his great desire was to close his life in Cornwall. A pleasant home was found for him in the little seaport of Fowey, where on a sunny day he could sit in the garden with its view over the picturesque harbour, looked after by true friends who worthily performed their office "to walk with, to intercede for, to love, to assist and to pray for our Brethren".

WALLACE HEATON also became a full member of Quatuor Coronati, and was its Master in 1947. Born at Stockton-on-Tees, bred in the Yorkshire Dales and educated at Barnard Castle, he qualified as a Pharmacist, and later took over a photographic business in Sheffield. At the end of the 1914-18 war he came to London and opened that business in New Bond Street which became the mecca of all amateur photographers. For nearly twenty years he held the Royal Warrant, and was privileged to coach and encourage members of the Royal Family in photography.

Initiated in the Furnival Lodge No. 2558, Sheffield, in 1912, he was quickly active in the cause of Freemasonry, and was a Founder and third Master of Talbot Lodge in Sheffield. In London he was Founder and Master of Helio Lodge.

His strong interest in Craft Masonry brought him into close contact with Bros. Songhurst and Wonnacott, with whom he worked in the Grand Lodge Library, and on the decease of Bro. Songhurst he was co-opted on the Board of General Purposes. Appointed G.St.Br. in 1929, he was promoted to P.A.G.D.C., and in 1942 to P.G.D. He was appointed to the Board of General Purposes in 1929, and was elected Chairman of the Library and Museum Committee of Grand Lodge.

Wallace Heaton also held Grand Rank in the Royal Arch and the Mark, was a Past Preceptor in the Knight Templars, and received the 31st Degree in the A. and A. Rite. Joining the Correspondence Circle in 1923, he became a full member of the Lodge in 1940, and was its Master in 1947. His contributions showed his especial interests. In 1946 he read a paper on Masonic Antiquities, whilst his Inaugural Address dealt with Masonic Jewels and the Art of the Collector, showing his love of beautiful things and admiration for the beauty and form of the earlier jewels. A great collector, he gave the valuable "Heaton" collection to the Grand Lodge Museum.

A kindly, friendly man, he will be remembered by many of us for the encouragement he gave to members of the Correspondence Circle. Col. Rickard and himself were contemporaries in this Lodge and close friends, and when Bro. Rickard became too infirm to leave his house Bro. Heaton was a regular weekly visitor.

Many tributes to his memory have appeared in the Photographic Press, and with W. D. Emanuel, writing in the *Amateur Photographer*, we also would say: "He stays in the recollection of all who knew him irrepressively alive—a man fixing his sights on the wide horizon."

Brethren, will you be upstanding in silent tribute to the memory of these two worthy Masons.

One Museum, nine Lodges and thirty-four Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. BERNARD E. JONES read an interesting paper, entitled *Passing the Chair*, as follows:—

‘PASSING THE CHAIR’

WITH SOME INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON THE RISE OF THE CRAFT INSTALLATION CEREMONY

BY BRO. BERNARD E. JONES, P.A.G.D.C.



THE subject of this paper offers a most rewarding study, but far from a closed one, a study still finding room for the expression of many differing points of view. Research by many students—members of this Lodge prominently among them—has produced evidence enabling us to trace the course of the ‘passing the chair’ ceremony which, apparently originating with the “Antients”, was worked in England for nearly a century and is still the vogue in some jurisdictions overseas. ‘Passing the chair’ was a ceremony whose *general* purpose was to qualify Master Masons who had not the genuine status of Installed Masters to become candidates for the Royal Arch. It was a device, a subterfuge or an evasion, originally introduced, it is thought, by the “Antients”, but quickly copied by the “Moderns”. Its basis was the Craft Installation Ceremony, with which the “Moderns” are not supposed to have had any general and early acquaintance, and only by first considering the rise of that ceremony does it seem possible to see the custom in its proper perspective.

The “Antients” believed—or appeared to believe—that the Installation Ceremony was of time-immemorial; Masonic authors have commonly lent this belief their support and have asserted that a distinguishing feature between the two systems was the abandonment by the “Moderns” of the Installation Ceremony. A statement to this effect has been repeated over and over again, but the authority for it is doubtful and, in my humble opinion, non-existent; it rests, I feel, upon an unreliable inference. Although the Lodge of Promulgation decided in 1809 that the Ceremony of Installation was one of “two” (thought to be a literal error for “true”) landmarks that ought to be preserved, it does not follow that the “Moderns” had ever abandoned it. My position is that they, in general, did not have it until late in the eighteenth century, and in many, many cases not till later. Although the “Moderns” were branded as innovators by the “Antients”, the amount of innovation of which they are known to have been guilty was small indeed compared with that of their opponents. In general, the “Antients” were less conservative; on the whole, lesser educated; they were a simpler and, I should say, a more credulous people, who found no particular difficulty in accepting as time immemorial any piece of ritual offering an attractive ceremonial and, at any rate, appearing to be dusty with the cobwebs of “antique time” (to borrow a simile from Shakespeare).

With little more than negative evidence and a hint or two from the irregular prints on which to base myself, I would suppose that the earliest date of the introduction of the Installation Ceremony into possibly a few Lodges of “Antient” persuasion would be some time in the 1740’s, which would allow of the “Antients” generally adopting by the middle of the century a ceremony which they might well have believed to be a time-immemorial rite. (A minute of the “Antients” Grand Committee, June 24th, 1752, given later in this paper, indicates that the ceremony was not familiar to the rank and file of the Brethren.) Growing, I should suppose, from the bare practice of merely placing the Master in the Chair, the Installation Ceremony had become, by the time the “Antients” were established, a rounded-off ceremony containing clear references to the Hiram story and probably already complete with an obligation and penalty of its own. My assumption as to the date is generous compared with that of Gould (*A.Q.C.*, vol xvi, p. 62), who states that “if there are earlier allusions to the degree of INSTALLED (or PAST) Master than those” appearing in catechisms of 1760, 1762 and 1766, “I am unaware of their existence”. Elsewhere he has endeavoured to show that the degree “was neither known nor practised in England during the early stages of the Grand Lodge era”. Gould (*A.Q.C.*, first reference above) could “trace no sign” amongst the “Antients” of the existence of the Degree of Installed Master

"until the growing practice of conferring the Arch upon Brethren not legally qualified to receive it brought about a constructive Passing through the Chair".

I find it impossible to believe that the Installation Ceremony—which, it is most important to note, would be nothing if robbed of its Hiramic allusion—could ever have preceded the coming of the Hiramic Degree, and as that Degree did not reach the few Lodges until late in the 1720's and the generality of Lodges until many years later, it is difficult to see how the esoteric Installation Ceremony could have been in even restricted use until, say, the fifth decade of the eighteenth century. Then, too, how difficult it is to accept that so significant a ceremony and one so reminiscent of the Hiramic tradition could ever have been "abandoned" by the "Moderns"—the claim commonly repeated by Masonic writers and frequently taken for granted.

There is, of course, Anderson's reference (1723) to significant ceremonies and ancient usages when installing the first Master of a new Lodge; further, the frontispiece to his 1738 *Constitutions* includes a diagram of Euclid's 47th Problem—the Past Master's Jewel—but Anderson's unsupported reference means little in the light of his frequent inventions, and I am not aware of any interpretation of the Euclid diagram relating it to the Installation Ceremony of the mid-eighteenth century era, although, of course, some early feature of the ceremony might well have been lost. As I see it, everything points to some such inference as that the ceremony was introduced, possibly from Ireland, into one or more of the independent Lodges that later came under the "Antients'" banner, was warmly adopted by other Lodges of the kind, and was available when the "Antients'" Grand Lodge was founded.

Some of the "Moderns", a more conservative body, are likely to have met the ceremony in its early days, but they were working under at any rate some amount of external discipline and could not so easily please themselves in such a matter. As we well know, as the century progressed the "Moderns" did adopt a version of the Installation Ceremony, but in general not for the purpose of serving its original and proper intention, but as a means of conferring a qualification whose real significance was bound to escape them—and would continue to escape the majority of them for half-a-century or so.

HOW THE "ANTIENTS" REGARDED THE INSTALLATION CEREMONY

The "Antients'" attitude to the Installation Ceremony was much more than approbation, it was more than regard; it had something in it of veneration, and it follows that the Master was not only a Chairman or past Chairman, a senior member of his Lodge, but one who, having passed through an esoteric ceremony of distinction, was now of a peculiarly higher grade than the mere Master Mason. This we recognise in their refusal to confer the Royal Arch degree upon a Brother who had not passed through the chair; he was simply not yet good enough to be given a place among the "Royal Arch Masters".

There is a remarkable minute of the "Antients'" Grand Committee as early as June 24th, 1752, upon the occasion of Laurence Dermott being "installed" as Grand Secretary and being

"proclaim'd and saluted accordingly. — After which he repeated the whole Ceremony of Instalng Grand & in the manner which he had learn'd from Brother Edward Spratt Esq^r. the Celebrated Grand Secretary of Ireland. The long Recital of this solemn Ceremony gave great satisfaction to the Audience, *many of which never had an Opportunity of hearing the like before*". (Author's italics.)

The "Antients" insisted that their Masters of Lodges not only be correctly installed, but be able to install their successors. Take, for example, this further minute of the "Antients'" Grand Lodge (June 2nd, 1756):—

"The Grand Secretary was Order'd to Examine several Masters in the Ceremony of Installing their Successors, and declared that many of them were incapable of performance. Order'd that the Grand Secretary shall attend such difficient lodges and having obtain'd the consent of Members of the said Lodges he shall solemnly Install and invest the Several Officers according to the Ancient Custom of the Craft."

One year later (June 24th, 1757) we learn from the "Antients'" minutes that the

"Grand Lodge Open'd in Antient Form, &c. Some of the Masters of Lodges begged that the Grand Lodge might be form'd with a Grand procession that the Grand Secretary shou'd exhibit the Method of installing Grand Master for the Instruction of the Several Lodges present. Upon which the R.W. Deputy G. Master gave the Necessary Orders for performing the whole Ceremonies (except one which cannot be written) which Ceremonies were perform'd with General Satisfaction".

Lodge warrants of the 1761 period help us to understand the insistence which the "Antients" placed on the Installation Ceremony:—

"We do hereby further authorise and impower our said Trusty and well-belov'd Brother ——— to nominate chuse and install their successors to whom they shall deliver this Warrant . . . and such successors shall in like manner nominate chuse and install their successors . . ."

From these quotations it is apparent that the "Antients" were most definitely teaching, and insisting upon, an Installation Ceremony in the middle decades of the eighteenth century at a time when, in the "Moderns" Lodges in general, possibly not in particular, the Installation could have been nothing or little more than the incoming Master taking the chair. Nevertheless, it is curious, but, I would suggest, merely fortuitous, that what is probably the very earliest record of an Installation being worked occurs in the minutes of a "Moderns" Lodge—Anchor and Hope, Bolton, founded in 1732, and at the time meeting at the Hope Inn, Bolton; at a Lodge of Emergency, held on November 30th, 1769, "Bro. John Aspinwall, Bro. James Lever and Bro. Rich^d Guests were installed Masters and afterwards Bro. James Livesay Sen: was re-installed". Now, Livesay had already been installed on June 24th of the same year, and James Lever had served as the Master of the Lodge.

"ANTIENTS" INSIST ON R.A. CANDIDATES BEING INSTALLED MASTERS

Dr. Fifield Dassigny, in his much-quoted book, dated 1744, refers to the Royal Arch as "an organised body of men who have passed the chair". Laurence Dermott, in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756, scornfully alludes to those "who think themselves Royal Arch masons without passing the chair in regular form". It is hardly open to doubt, therefore, that by the time we hear of the "Antients" working the Royal Arch ceremony they were already observing (and probably had always observed) the rule that Candidates must be Installed Masters.

With the increasing vogue of the Royal Arch, the rule obliging every Candidate to have presided as the Master of a Craft Lodge soon proved impracticable—and for an obvious reason: it created a bottleneck. A way out of the difficulty was quickly found. The subterfuge was adopted of passing a Brother through the Chair for the one and only purpose of qualifying him as a Candidate for Exaltation. He went through a "constructive" ceremony and became a "virtual" Past Master. (The term "honorary" is reserved for use in rather different circumstances, as explained later.)

The word "virtual" has many definitions; the one best suiting the present purpose is "in essence or effect, not in fact: although not real or actual, equivalent or nearly so". Thus the Virtual Master or Virtual Past Master was invested in the same way as the actual Master, but was not entitled to the same rights and prerogatives, except in a very few known cases. Thus, when a Virtual Past Master came, in the course of time, to be elected Master of his Lodge, the virtual ceremony seldom availed him in a Lodge in which installation was the rule, and he was required to be installed in the normal way.

The subterfuge was invented by the Lodges themselves, and not by their Grand Lodge, as we must assume from a minute of the "Antients" Grand Lodge for December 4th, 1771:—

"The Rt. Worship^l. Deputy Grand Master informed the Grand Lodge of the Proceedings of the *Royal Arch* meetings, *Viz.* on the 2nd October and 6th of November last and expatiated a long time on the scandalous method pursued by most of the Lodges (on St. John's Days) in passing a Number of Brethren through the chair on purpose to obtain the sacred Mystery's of the *Royal Arch*, and proved in a concise manner that those proceedings were unjustifiable; therefore Moved for a Regulation to be made in order to Suppress them for the future. The Deputy was answered by several Brethren, that there were many Members of Lodges who from their Proffessions in Life (the Sea for Example) that could never regularly attain that part of Masonry tho' very able deserving Men, and humbly Moved that might be Considered in the new Regulations. The Grand Lodge in General thought such a Clause necessary and therefore the Question being put for the Regulation, it was unanimously Resolved

That no person for the future shall be made a *Royal Arch Mason* but the legal Representative of the Lodge, except a Brother (that is going abroad) who hath been 12 months a Register'd Mason; and must have the Unanimous Voice of his Lodge to receive such Qualification—and in order to render this Regulation more Expedient it is further Order'd that all Certificates granted to Brethren from their respective Lodges shall have inserted the Day the Brother or Brethren joined or was made in said Lodge and that this Regulation take place on St. Johns Day the 27th Dec^r. 1771.

The Deputy Grand Master . . . informed them that there was several Brethren of Different Lodges that had been Admitted amongst the *Royal Arch*

Masons Illegally and that it would be necessary to take their case into consideration but as it was concerning the *Royal Arch* presumed they would leave it to the next Grand Chapter and they might depend that every thing should be pursued for the real honor of the Fraternity. The Grand Lodge having duly weighed the forgoing proposition and considering that several of the Members of the Grand Lodge were not *Royal Arch Masons*. It was agreed by the Majority That the R: A: Chapter were the properest persons to adjust and determine this matter and therefore it was agreed that the case should be referred to the Royal Chapter, with full Authority to hear, determine and finally adjust the same."

On St. John's Day, twenty-three days later, the Grand Lodge confirmed the "New Regulations", the Deputy Grand Master giving the Brethren present "to understand that it was to be strictly observed in their respective Lodges". It is rather doubtful whether this protest and resolution had much effect; indeed, the "Antients'" Grand Lodge itself was hardly consistent in the matter, for it seemed to have no objection on principle to constructive or virtual ceremonies when, for example, on 2nd December, 1789, Sir Watkin Lewis, Knight, City of London's Alderman and M.P., having been elected Junior Grand Warden, it smoothed the way for his Obligation and Installation by resolving "that his private lodge be directed to pass him through the Chair in the Morning of St. John's day next, if he should not before that time be installed Master of a Lodge". Actually, he was "obligated and installed" at a meeting of Grand Lodge at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on St. John's Day, December 28th.

THE "MODERNS" ADOPT PASSING-THE-CHAIR CEREMONY

It is well known that the "Moderns" were working the Royal Arch Degree at an early date, although they knew nothing (officially) of an esoteric Installation Ceremony and originally could not have demanded the Master's qualification. Grand Lodge did not sanction the ceremony of Installation until 1828, many years after the Union, although there is plenty of evidence that it was being worked in many or most Lodges long before that year. Undoubtedly, as the eighteenth century progressed, many "Modern" Lodges did work an Installation Ceremony, as they did other things borrowed from the "Antients", but in so doing they were acting unofficially. But in preparation for the Union, the Lodge of Promulgation, on December 23rd, 1811, was practising and teaching the Installation Ceremony, and Lodges having been instructed were passing on their knowledge. According to a revealing minute dated 23rd December, 1811, of the Strong Man Lodge No. 45 (constituted 1733), four Brethren were installed, one as a Past Master of No. 25 and three as Past Masters of No. 41. Then "the lodge was opened in due form" and four other Brethren were installed by the first four candidates.

Whatever the Royal Arch candidate's qualification became in the course of a decade or so, it was not necessary under the original rules of the first Grand Chapter ("Moderns", it will be remembered) for the candidate to be of higher rank than Master Mason. Neither the Charter of Compact (the document authorising the first Grand Chapter) nor the rules of the private chapter working in close association with Grand Chapter required or could require the candidate to be a Past Master; obviously so, inasmuch as the Installation Ceremony was unknown officially to the "Moderns", although individually and irregularly they may have been aware of it. And here, I think, a question arises: if the Virtual Past Master degree for Exaltees had been common practice among the "Antients" in 1766, is it unreasonable to assume that the Charter of Compact and the rules of the Grand and Royal Chapter would have made an oblique reference to it? But they did not. The wording in the Charter of Compact is quite simple: "That none but discreet and Experienced Master Masons shall receive Exaltation to this Sublime Degree . . ." It is a strong assumption that in the year of the Charter of Compact (1766) the "Moderns" had not heard of the practice, and the "Antients" had either not begun or had only just begun to observe it. As to the "Moderns", here is an instance in support: in March, 1766, four Brethren took the Royal Arch Degree in the Mourning Bush Lodge, Bristol, a "Moderns" Lodge founded in 1740; two had been made Master Masons in the previous September and two in the December; not one of the four had been in the Chair and not a suspicion of a hint is given in the books of the Lodge that they had passed through any "constructive" ceremony.

However, the "Moderns" were not long before they were demanding that prospective Exaltees should be Virtual Past Masters, that is, to have taken a ceremony or degree learnt chiefly from their opponents, a degree whose true or full meaning or significance was largely unknown to them and one that was not recognised by their own Grand Lodge. We find the Regulations of the "Moderns'" Grand Chapter in 1778, that is, twelve years after its founding, laying down that none should be admitted to this Exalted Degree but those who were proved to have "been regularly apprenticed and presided as Masters, to be justly intitled to, and have received the Past Master's token and pass word". Three years later (May, 1782)

this was altered to those "who have passed through the three probationary degrees of Craft Masonry; and have presided as Masters". A further alteration made in 1796 was a mere textual amendment. J. Heron Lepper thought that obviously "the Regulation could not be enforced". It is to be assumed that the reference to "Past Master's token and pass word" must have been derived from the Virtual ceremony, for by 1778 only some few "Moderns" Lodges would have had experience of an actual Installation Ceremony.

It is to be expected that, as the century neared its end, the "Moderns" could, and would, do nothing to prevent their R.A. candidates taking the Virtual Past Master Degree. Obviously, the "Antients" had set the fashion in this matter, and as they started so they continued, for the "Antients" Grand Chapter Regulations, approved in 1807, provide that a Brother who is well versed in the Craft degrees and qualified otherwise is eligible for the Fourth Degree, the Holy Royal Arch, but Rule 6 insists that candidates must have 'passed the chair' and have been registered in the Grand Lodge books as Master Masons for twelve months at least.

The matter might be briefly summed up in this way: all "Antients" Chapters required candidates to have 'passed the chair', actually or virtually, and a great number of "Moderns" Chapters did the same, but certainly not all of them; for instance, Bro. J. R. Rylands has shown that the Chapter at Wakefield did not regard the Past Master degree as a necessary prerequisite, and he records that of five Royal Arch candidates in 1816, all Master Masons, two had passed the chair and three did not appear to have done so.

CRAFT LODGE PERMISSION TO TAKE THE "DEGREE"

A Brother wishing to 'pass the chair' had customarily to get the consent of his Lodge, which indicates that a member had to arrive at a certain standing before he was thought worthy of Exaltation. It was quite common in the old days for the candidate to be elected to the honour. He might be proposed by a Brother or, quite commonly, could propose himself, just as in some early Craft Lodges a Fellow Craft might propose himself to be raised to the Third Degree. The result was not always a foregone conclusion; for instance, in the Mount Moriah Lodge, then No. 31 ("Antients"), in the year 1801, permission was refused because, apparently, the prospective Exalte was going abroad and was Senior Warden; the Lodge would "not approve . . . without leave from the Deputy Grand Master".

It is quite usual to find the proposal taking the form of the candidate asking for a certificate as a Geometric Master Mason to allow of his being made a Royal Arch Mason. Thus, in Neptune Lodge No. 22 ("Antients") at Rotherhythe, London, 8th August, 1809, open in the Third Degree, Bro. Peter Rokes "moved for his Private Lodge Certificate as a Geometric Master Mason, for the purpose of passing the Holy Royal Arch". The certificate, duly signed by the officers, was handed to him in open lodge. This was not quite a simple case, though, for Bro. Rokes was actually the Master of the Lodge and, as S.W., had been 'passed to the chair' the previous February; in June he had become Master, having, however, already served in the meanwhile as Acting Master for about six weeks on the strength, it is to be assumed, of his "virtual" qualification; but he still needed a certificate as a Geometric Master Mason to get him through the door of the Chapter.

CONFERRING THE VIRTUAL "DEGREE"—OFTEN IN CHAPTER

As the "virtual" ceremony developed in the course of time into what was in effect a distinct degree—the so-called "Past Master Degree" (still recognised under that name in the U.S.A.)—the practice arose in some places of conferring it in Chapter instead of Lodge, a likely indication that it was coming to be regarded as one of a sequence of Royal Arch Degrees and that its original significance was in danger of becoming dimmed. Naturally, however, the practice of conferring the Craft Degree in Chapter met with much opposition (echoes of which remain in American Masonry to this day). We note one instance, recorded by H. Hiram Hallett, in which a West of England Chapter expressed the opinion that Chapter should not be adjourned to allow candidates to 'pass the chair', but that the ceremony should be performed at a regular lodge or at a lodge held prior to the opening of the Chapter. From this it seems that the custom had been to adjourn the Chapter; open a lodge for the conferring of the Past Master degree; and then change back to Chapter for the Exaltation.

The by-laws of the St. James's Chapter in 1811 directed that the First Assistant Sojourner should "take the Chair as Master of the Previous Lodge and open the same in due form, in the Third Degree . . . and then prepare the Candidate for the Ceremony of Exaltation according to ancient usage". In this "Previous Lodge" the Candidate occupied a Warden's chair, was proposed as W.M., elected, and a "short *ad libitum*" Obligation administered at the Pedestal. He was then raised, took the Chair and "exercised the duties of W.M." He was then again taken to the Pedestal, and the Principal Sojourner, acting as W. Master, explained the purpose of the qualifying ceremony, following which the Candidate was told that he was not entitled to consider himself a Past Master or to wear the badge of a Master

of a Lodge. He was then entrusted with the secrets of a Master of Arts and Sciences, was introduced into Chapter and the ceremony of Exaltation then proceeded. (But often elsewhere the Virtual Master was considered entitled to wear the Master's badge.)

Care was generally taken to impress upon the Virtual Master that he was not being qualified to rule over the Lodge for anything more than a very brief time, but there was considerable variation in the form of words. Occasionally he was empowered to preside over a Lodge *pro tem.* and also to conduct a ceremony (as, for example, at Wakefield). In an American ceremony, obviously stemming off from early English practice, the "Virtual" Master is told that "no test of his proficiency is at this time required of him". In the Mount Moriah Lodge No. 34, Wapping, in the year 1785, he was installed "to be Master until next stated lodge night, if in his power to be so long in the place".

A MS. in the possession of Bro. Bruce Oliver gives a ritual which, in its broad lines, must represent the Virtual Chair ceremony of the 1790-1835 period. The ceremony is assumed to take place in a lodge opened by members of a Chapter preceding an Exaltation. The lodge is opened in the "Past Master Degree", and the W.M. declares that it is dedicated to the noble Prince Adoniram. In general, the working suggests the Craft Installation of to-day, and many present-day familiar phrases are found in it. The Candidate is admitted on the four points of Geometry formed by the square and compasses united, and is presented to be passed a Past Master of Arts and Sciences. In the Obligation the Candidate places his right hand on the V.S.L., and with his left suspends the compasses over it. The Obligation is on customary lines, the penalty clause being more or less the one familiar to the Installed Master of to-day. The W.M. conveys a distinguishing mark or signature used by the Brothers of this Degree, and the Candidate is now entrusted with the signs, etc., of the Degree, these being those familiar nowadays to a Master who has been present at the Extended Ceremony of Installation permitted by the English Grand Lodge, much emphasis being laid on the symbolism of the plumb-line. The Candidate, having been invested with a Master's jewel, is informed that he is placed in full power and position, and warned to exercise his new authority with becoming discretion, but he is quickly but delicately relieved of the semblance of the Master's honours. He is reminded that "as it has ever been an invaluable rule in Masons' Lodges for the Master thereof, when the workmen have performed their several tasks with fidelity, to regale them with a suitable refreshment, we trust you may not, during the short period you may at present fill that high station, neglect that necessary duty, when the Steward will feel great pleasure in executing your lawful commands. W.M., lest you should find your present situation in any degree inconvenient, I beg leave to tender my services to remove that inconveniency by exchanging situations and regalia betwixt you and your lawful successor". The Virtual Past Master now leaves the Chair, returns the Master's Jewel and is invested with the Past Master Jewel.

NOT ALL "PASSINGS" RELATED TO THE ROYAL ARCH

Bro. Andrew Hope's history of St. John the Baptist Lodge No. 39, Exeter, a Lodge dating back to 1732, records that, following the Union, officers of that Lodge, in cases of emergency, had the degree of Past Master conferred upon them; at an Installation meeting of 27th January, 1823, four Brethren "were (in order to assist at ye installation) admitted to ye degree of Past Master". In December of the following year occurs this revealing minute: "The Lodge was then opened successively to the Past Master's Degree", and after the W.M. had appointed and invested his officers, "the Lodge was then closed in the Past Masters', Masters' and Fellow Crafts' Degrees . . ." In the minutes of St. John Lodge No. 348, Bolton, in the 1816-1840 period, appear numerous references to 'passing the chair', with no accompanying indication that the Brethren concerned were proposing to be Exalted; indeed, a Chapter warrant was not obtained until 1840. Bro. J. R. Rylands, in his paper on Masonry in Wakefield (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxxv), sheds more light on the subject, and makes clear that in Unanimity Lodge, for a period ending in 1826, the "virtual" Past Master Degree was worked without reference to, or association with, the Royal Arch; it seems that sixteen Brethren were raised to the Past Master Degree in 1826, and of them only two (and then nearly two years later) proceeded to the Royal Arch, there being no evidence that any of the remaining fourteen were Exalted. The same author gives other instances, and suggests that, in the 1815-1816 period, the Brethren of Unanimity Lodge assumed that the possession of the constructive degree of Past Master entitled a Brother to preside over a Lodge *pro tem.* and also to conduct a ceremony. Indeed, following the Craft and Royal Arch Unions, the same Lodge affords a remarkable instance of the "Moderns" adapting or applying a ceremony to what, to the majority of them, was an unfamiliar purpose—a ceremony long known to many of them in a different connection, but one whose true significance they had in general only dimly, if at all, understood. The instance (it may have been one of many about that time) is given in the above-mentioned paper. When, following 1823, the Master of Unanimity Lodge, Wakefield, had to be installed "according to ancient usage", no such usage was known, so

apparently the "passing ceremony—involving a formal opening and closing with esoteric matter appropriate to a separate degree—was adopted to meet the new rules!

THE CEREMONY WAS "AN UNCONSCIONABLE TIME A'DYING"

The custom of 'passing the chair' should have disappeared as from 5th February, 1823, when the Past Master qualification for Royal Arch Candidates was abandoned, but, in fact, it was "an unconscionable time a'dying", although in general, by the middle of last century, it had been long in decline, and in most Lodges and Chapters in England had become obsolete; however, it is on record that it was still practised in a number of places.

I have space for only a very few of many late examples. The Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love, an old Sussex Lodge, opened in 1822 or 1823 "into the fourth degree", and a Brother was "rewarded with the degree of a Past Master of Arts and Sciences"; in this same Lodge, in the year 1833, five Brethren "passed the chair in ancient form".

In the Chapter of Sincerity No. 261, Taunton, apparently the first occasion of 'passing the chair' was not till 1825, and the last entries are in 1832, when ten Brethren went through the ceremony.

In the old Bury Lodge, now Prince Edwin's Lodge No. 128, four Brethren were made "Virtual" Masters in 1828, and in this Lodge the ceremony continued to be worked until 1840; Bro. Norman Rogers tells us that, in one case, two Brethren took the degree two months after Initiation.

In the Durham Faithful Lodge No. 297, Gibraltar, in June, 1837, six Brethren "received the fourth . . . degree which they withstood manfully"; in the following December, four Brethren were "advanced to that degree which they underwent with fortitude and courage". Bro. E. Ward provides copies of the minutes giving this information.

In Bolton's old Lodge, originally Hand and Banner, now St. John's No. 221, several Brethren 'passed the chair' in 1846; one of them, the Master of the Lodge three years later, has recorded that these several candidates "were the last persons in Bolton permitted to go through this Ceremony, the New Authorities having prohibited the practice".

In the Lodge of St. John and St. Paul, Malta, five Brethren 'passed the chair' in 1852, and apparently about four years earlier any Brethren wishing to take the Degree had it "conferred upon them".

In an old "Antients'" Lodge, Commerce No. 215, founded in 1796 and then and now meeting in Haslingden, Lancs., a Brother was Initiated in February, 1862, raised in July and 'passed the chair' in October of the same year, according to information provided by Bro. Norman Rogers; the Candidate has left a note saying that when ordinary Masonic business was not pressing it was customary to confer the Chair degree on Master Masons; in the chair, the "Virtual" Master sounded the gavel, closed the Lodge in the third and second degrees respectively, and was called upon for a small fee. Most surprisingly, nothing of an esoteric character was communicated to him, or so the Candidate has stated.

It must be said that the suppression of the Past Master Degree met with some resentment, Candidates tending to be disappointed at failing to receive what had come to be regarded as one of a sequence of degrees. Only two instances will be given. The Lodge of Probity No. 61, West Yorkshire, raised the matter in 1851 with the Deputy Prov. Grand Master, who, in his reply, said the practice was "altogether illegal" and he "was not aware that one Lodge could be found in the Province of West Yorkshire pursuing such a practice". The Bristol Lodge No. 334, Cape of Good Hope, in 1851, decided to ask Grand Lodge whether its custom of 'passing the chair' was at variance with Masonic rules; eight years later, in 1859, Grand Scribe E wrote saying that no such degree as the Past Master Degree was "known to or acknowledged by either the Grand Lodge or the Supreme Grand Chapter . . . I think the Companions who feel aggrieved at not receiving an irregular degree ought rather to congratulate themselves, and the Chapter, that the orthodox working has been restored".

Whilst undoubtedly the United Grand Lodge did its best to suppress the ceremony, and succeeded in doing so, I cannot find authority for a statement that, about the middle of the nineteenth century, Grand Lodge threatened with erasure any Lodge continuing the practice; but, unofficially, it may well have done so.

HONORARY PAST MASTERS

A distinction should be drawn between "Virtual" and "Honorary" Past Masters. Bro. G. W. Speth (quoted in *Misc. Lat.*, xxx, pp. 28 and 29) thought that Brethren appointed under the title of "Past Master" to deliver lectures were not necessarily Brethren who had been Masters of Lodges, but "past masters of the art", that is, exceptionally skilled masons. Be that as it may, it is certain that the status of Past Master with the "Moderns" was vastly different from what it was with the "Antients". In the early "Moderns'" Lodges, the fact that a member had occupied the Chair did not confer upon him a distinction corresponding to that of the Past Master of an "Antients'" Lodge or of a Lodge of to-day. The incoming

Master of many an early "Moderns'" Lodge was just placed in the Chair or even did no more than just take it, and he did so, apparently, in the presence of all the Brethren; consequently, after he came out of office he was little or nothing more than a Past Chairman, enjoying some little standing and liable to be called upon to fill certain offices—Secretary, Treasurer, Steward, etc.—not always open to junior Brethren. You see a very late reflection of this when the Castle Lodge of Harmony (now No. 26), originally a "Moderns'" Lodge founded in 1725, resolved "that Bro. Kingsmill have the rank of Past Master, he having served the office of Junior Warden". You might suppose that this resolution goes back to the eighteenth century, but it is not older than 24th February, 1879, the Lodge historian explaining away the minute by saying that the Brother had been abroad and unable to proceed to the Chair in due course. You may feel this to be an instance not of "passing" but of "by-passing" the chair.

PASSING THE CHAIR IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

In Ireland, in the later part of the eighteenth century, Lodges made a common practice of conferring the Past Master Degree, conforming in this respect with the Lodges of the "Antients", with which they were in close accord in their regard for the rank and status of a Past Master. But one instance in support need be quoted: In the Banagher Lodge No. 306, in 1794, a Past Master's lodge was opened and closed; a Royal Arch chapter then opened; the proceedings of the Past Master's lodge read and approved; and the Brethren who had been advanced in that Lodge to the Chair degree were then made Royal Arch Masons. Continuing into the nineteenth century, the "virtual" degree was commonly worked in Ireland, but in 1864 the custom was brought to an end by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland.

In Scotland there was no (official) ceremonial installation of the Master of a Lodge until 1865. In that year, as I learn from an MS. due to Bro. G. S. Draffen and from his recent book, *The Triple Tau*, "a ceremonial for the Installation of a chairman of a Lodge" was adopted. This was followed in 1872 by the introduction of the English Installation Ceremony now in use, the "only Craft Degree for which there is an authorised Grand Lodge ritual" (a degree, you will note). The Scots Grand Lodge resolved that this Ceremonial or Degree should not be conferred on anyone except the Master of the Lodge or one who produces a certificate from the Lodge that he has occupied the Chair as duly elected Master.

The lack of early official recognition did not prevent the "virtual" Past Master Degree from being worked in Scotland, although it is doubtful whether much was known of it before the early nineteenth century. The Supreme Grand Chapter of Scotland (not the Grand Lodge) authorised charters in 1842 to what were called "Chair Master Lodges", and in these Lodges was worked the Degree called in Scotland "Master Passed the Chair". There was some anomaly here, because these Lodges were Craft Lodges and (quoting Bro. Draffen) "the Royal Arch chapters were already empowered to work the [P.M.] degree by virtue of their existing charters and required no further authority". Not more than three of these "Chair Master" charters were issued: (a) Kinross, 1842, recalled four years later. (b) Edinburgh, 1842, recalled four years later, although the Lodge insisted on working the degree until 1856, when it became dormant; the Lodge was revived without sanction in 1867 and finally dissolved in 1899, when it took out a charter as a Royal Arch chapter. (c) St. John's, Manchester, England, 1845, recalled in the following year.

The degree of "Master Passed the Chair" was removed in 1846 from the Royal Arch rite in the chapters of Scotland, but Scottish chapters overseas continued to work it until 1872, when it was finally abolished. The "Excellent Master Degree", which is an integral part of the Scottish R.A. is concerned with "passing the veils", not with "passing the chair".

"PASSING THE CHAIR" IN THE U.S.A.

Conditions in the 49 Masonic jurisdictions of the United States of America vary so greatly between themselves that it is impossible to convey in a few words any fair account of the position. It is clear that the eighteenth century differences in English Masonry were still acutely reflected in American Masonry all through the nineteenth century, and that noisy echoes of them remain even to-day, for whilst some American jurisdictions are completely at one with the "Antients" in their high regard for the esoteric Installation Ceremony and their insistence upon the Exalted being a Past Master (actual or virtual), others deny that the Installation Ceremony is even a part of true Masonry and yet tolerate the "Virtual" passing—more or less the position in English Masonry in the late eighteenth century.

Only about one-third of the jurisdictions existing in 1943 required the Master-Elect to be installed as English Masons understand that word, and, even so, did not always insist on that being done; in some jurisdictions, each Lodge could please itself. The Installation Ceremony is frequently termed a "degree"; the Virtual Master is made in the "Past Master Degree", the two ceremonies being practically identical and retaining a strong likeness to the eighteenth century English originals.

The virtual ceremony appears to be, at least in theory, obligatory for the vast majority of prospective exaltees, but in spite of this—and here the perplexity of the position will be recognised—a great many Masters of Craft Lodges have not been esoterically installed, and public Installations are the rule in many places.

I am offering only a few notes on American conditions, wholly based upon a 20,000-word MS., *The Degree of Past Master : A Degree of the Chapter*, generously placed at my disposal by its compiler, Bro. Ward St. Clair, Chairman of the Library and Museum Committee of the Grand Lodge of New York. Particularly about the middle of the eighteenth century there was great controversy on the validity of the "Past Master Degree" (passing the chair) and on who should control it. Many Grand Chapters saw eye to eye with Iowa in scorning the idea that among their members could be found anyone who would assist in conferring the R.A. Degree upon a Brother who was not a Virtual Past Master; they believed that such a Companion would be "clandestine", and that an R.A. Chapter of Masons who were not Virtual Past Masters was but a "myth". Many instances were known of Virtual Masters being regarded as properly-installed Masters, with every right to rule their Lodges.

Controversy was fierce on the question whether the Degree came under the control of Grand Lodges or Grand Chapters. Up to about 1853 or so, many Grand Chapters sought to justify a claim that the two related ceremonies—Craft Installation and Passing the Chair—came under their exclusive control; on one occasion a Grand Chapter refused to confer the Degree upon a Master-Elect of a Craft Lodge, who consequently was compelled to decline his prospective office, a high-handed proceeding that was not generally approved. Some Grand Lodges equally emphatically refused to recognise Past Masters made under the auspices of Chapters, and held that rank so conferred was a "mere fiction". A few Grand Lodges, while not objecting to Virtual Masters being made in Chapter, doubted the necessity of conferring upon a Master-Elect any secrets of the Chair. As late as 1923, a Grand Lodge ruled that Virtual Masters were entitled to be regarded as true Past Masters, irrespective of whether they had been made in Lodge or Chapter.

One or more jurisdictions had a regular routine of passing-through-the-chair all Wardens of Craft Lodges on their appointment or election. Pennsylvania went much farther and took up a position peculiar to itself by passing in this way *all* Master Masons, thus automatically providing them with one of the two qualifications required of R.A. candidates in the U.S.A., the other being the Mark.

I feel I may not unreasonably sum up the position by saying that, in general and probably subject to many exceptions, irrespective of the attitude of the particular jurisdiction to the validity of esoteric Installation, the R.A. candidate is required to have passed the chair.

If our Editor thought it desirable, a more detailed account of U.S.A. conditions in relation to the subject of this paper could be prepared for publication as a Note in our *Transactions*.

I bring my paper to a somewhat overdue conclusion with the reflection that, purely as regards the course of the ceremony in the English, Irish and Scottish jurisdictions, 'passing the chair' is unique in having had its rise, its active vogue, and finally its decline all within a hundred years or so of reasonably well-recorded history.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Bernard Jones for his paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. H. Carr, Norman Rogers, E. Ward, R. A. N. Petrie, N. B. Spencer, F. L. Pick, H. Crumbleholme, H. C. Booth and W. Waples.

Bro. B. W. OLIVER, W.M., said:—

Bro. Bernard Jones justly claims that the subject of his paper "offers a most rewarding study". I am sure none of you here present will disagree with me when I say that the paper we have heard read "offers a most rewarding study".

On receiving the rough proof and noting the title, I, of course, turned to that invaluable book of reference, *The Freemason's Compendium*, but found little to aid my criticism. As was to be expected from such a skilled pen and from a past Prestonian lecturer, we have a paper full of carefully marshalled evidence and easy to listen to.

Coming, as I do, from the Provinces, where the ceremony of Installation is held in especial regard, and where many, not always "Ancient" Lodges, work the full Ritual of a Board of Installed Masters, with its additional "secrets", I have found this evening's paper of especial interest, even if, as seems to be invariably the case, the mists of the eighteenth century cloud the view of the proofs we should like to see.

In the West Country we have St. John the Baptist Lodge No. 39, warranted 1732 at Exeter, who claim to have worked the Board of Installed Masters from an early date, and

they give reasonable proof of having done so from the opening years of the nineteenth century.

Lodge minutes, particularly in the eighteenth century, are disappointingly lacking in detail, and the earliest recorded Installation in my own Lodge, Loyal No. 251, in 1785, says no more than: "B^r. Kimpland duly placed B^r. Barrett in the chair as Master." This may be interpreted by either school of thought, but I would read it in the light of the minute of Union Lodge, Exeter, 27th December, 1786:—

"Bro. Ellicombe was unanimously chosen Master of this venerable Lodge, who after being duly installed according to the rites of this royal order, appointed B^r. Moore Senior Warden, B^r. Cornish Junior Warden . . ."

And it should be noted that these were warranted under the "Moderns" Grand Lodge.

Of the many interesting details with which Bro. Bernard Jones has dealt, I would comment that the Ritual of the Past Master's Degree shows that it was no empty formula, but a constructive ceremony closely conforming to the Exeter and many other Provincial workings.

The Past Master's Degree in my own Lodge was first recorded in 1811, and continued until 1830; its use was solely as a qualification for the Royal Arch.

The practice in Scotland of installing a "Chairman" of a Lodge certainly took me by surprise, as did also the late adoption of an installation ritual similar to ours, and I hope that our Senior Warden, Bro. Draffen, will enlarge on this point.

With the greatest pleasure I move that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded Bro. Bernard Jones for his interesting and valuable paper.

Bro. JOHN RYLANDS said:—

W. Master, may I once again, deputising for our Senior Warden, claim the privilege of seconding the vote of thanks so well earned by Bro. Bernard Jones. His excellent paper brings into useful compass the relevant knowledge on the subject and points out the direction in which further inquiries may be made.

What pleases me personally is the additional evidence brought forward by Bro. Jones to support the views I myself advanced some years ago, namely, that "Passing the Chair" was not necessarily always associated with the Royal Arch, that it was sometimes an end in itself, and that it was on occasion regarded as conferring a degree which empowered the holder to preside in a Lodge and to perform a degree ceremony.

Reading Bro. Jones' paper, I was again reminded that our modern Masonic system has many apparent inconsistencies, although it is none the worse for that. But it does seem that we make some of our own difficulties in Masonic research by being imprecise in our definitions of the meaning of words. Are we also perhaps sometimes led astray by assuming that particular terms have always had the meaning and the connotation they now possess?

What, for example, in a Masonic sense, is a degree? We know that at one time the synonym "step" was widely used to mean what we now understand by "degree". The M.M. Degree was the "3rd Step", and the R.A. Degree was the "4th Step". When and why was the expression "step" dropped, and when and why was the expression "degree" introduced?

We have also the term "Grade"; it comes from the same root as "degree", but we give it a different shade of meaning. Again, what is the difference between a "degree" and an "order"? To the average Mason the essential feature of a degree is that it communicates distinctive recognition secrets; the essential feature of an order is that it has its own governing body. An order can presumably include one or more degrees, but can a degree include an order? The preamble to our English *Book of Constitutions* declares that ". . . pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch".

It must, of course, be remembered that this ingenious and ambiguous formula was devised at the time of the Union to reconcile certain strongly-held opposing views. The student of Masonic history need, therefore, not attempt to frame his definitions to fit this declaration. On the other hand, he encounters serious difficulty with "Passing the Chair", a ceremony which, apparently, involved the communication of recognition secrets. In this respect, if in no others, it is similar to the modern ceremony of Installation, but here a decision has been taken by authority that this ceremony does not confer a Masonic degree. As members of the English Craft we must loyally respect the decision, but it emphasises the need for care in the understanding of terms by the student. It may well be that this problem of nomenclature is insoluble except by extreme casuistry; it may be that a certain measure

of Humpty Dumptyism is inseparable from Masonic research, but it is desirable to reduce it to a minimum. Perhaps we cannot do better than use an empirical list—these ceremonies, let us agree, confer degrees; those others, despite their conferment of recognition secrets, do not. Arbitrary, perhaps, but in the face of an edict there may be no alternative.

Indeed, Bro. Jones' valuable paper seems to confirm the opinion that it is not possible to frame a definition of the Masonic term "degree", which definition would be satisfactory to the student and would also conform to the law. I commend the exercise to Bro. Jones, and have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks he has well deserved.

Bro. H. CARR writes:—

We are indebted to Bro. Bernard Jones for a lively paper on an interesting subject, and the fact that he has left a number of questions unasked and unanswered is merely an added temptation to those of us who want to be drawn into the discussion.

The two outstanding points that arise are those which relate to the date of introduction of the Installation ceremony, and of the Royal Arch as a *separate* degree. The evidence from Fifield Dassigny and other Irish sources seems to indicate beyond doubt that the Royal Arch was known and practised in Ireland before 1744, and Dassigny makes it perfectly clear that in his day it was already known to be a ceremony that could only be attained after "Passing the Chair".

Dermott confirmed this point in 1756 (*Ahiman Rezon*), and the "Ancients'" minute in 1771, which condemned the then widespread practice of "fictitious" passing, shows that both the R.A. ceremony and the Chair degree had got a very strong hold in "Ancient" practice.

In the circumstances, I cannot see why Bro. Jones has practically discarded his own evidence (galley two) when he tries to show in a later paragraph that the Chair degree was little known among the "Ancients", and that therefore no hint of it was given in the "Moderns'" Charter of Compact.

It seems to me that the evidence of Dassigny, Dermott and the 1771 minute are conclusive proof of widespread practice, though I am ready to believe that in certain places both R.A. and Chair degree were quite unknown. Indeed, even nowadays it is not at all unusual to find some Lodges working various items of ritual, lectures, section work, etc., which are very well known in their own particular sphere and completely unknown elsewhere.

As regards the R.A., a number of questions arise which cannot properly be discussed here. One point, however, which has puzzled many of us may be touched upon, *i.e.*, the question whether it had always been a "separate" ceremony or had ever formed a part of the ordinary Craft ritual, *e.g.*, a part of the third degree.

When Dermott, in 1756, derided those who claimed to be R.A. without having passed the chair "in regular form", it is possible to interpret his words as implying that they may have had the *proper* R.A., and that they only lacked the "intermediate stage" (*i.e.*, a chair ceremony of some sort, with or without some kind of "entrusting").

The "Moderns", before and after 1769, were apparently able to confer the R.A. without recourse to this intermediate stage, and since there is a noticeable absence of evidence as to any *differences* between the R.A. of the "Ancients" and that of the "Moderns", I am inclined to believe that the ceremonies were fundamentally similar.

The probable similarity of the ceremonies, and the fact that "*Moderns*" were known to confer the R.A. *in Craft Lodges*, raises the possibility that the ceremony had once been a part of the third. If this was the case, it had certainly been detached from the body of "blue" Masonry *before 1744*, *i.e.*, before the "Ancients" as a Grand Lodge had come into existence. The absence of early (pre-1744) evidence, either in England or Scotland, as regards the R.A. being practised as a separate ceremony, seems to imply that the "separation" had taken place in Ireland, and that if the R.A. was practised here at all it was probably given as a part of the third degree.

In any event, the R.A. was quite clearly a Speculative development and this places a fairly strict limit as to the date of its introduction.

The Installation ceremony and the "fictional" "Passing the Chair" were likewise of Speculative origin. None of the records of operative Lodges, either in England or Scotland, afford even the slightest indication of any kind of ceremony in conjunction with election to the Chair. Masters were "chosen" and took their seats accordingly. The earliest description of an Installation ceremony that I have been able to find in Scotland appears in the minutes of the Lodge of Kelso under the year 1754.¹ It is a full-length description of the procedure, including an oath of fidelity, with details of the presenting of jewels, etc., but it contains no trace of what we would call "Inner Working", and there is no evidence of any secrets being

¹ See Vernon's *Hist. of F.M. in Roxburgh and Selkirkshire*, pp. 121-123.

communicated. It should also be noted that the scribe gives no indication of having omitted anything that may not be written, implying that at this date, in Scotland at least, the Installation was little more than a bare formality, and that, of course, was true in England as regards "Moderns'" practice.

In an age when expansion and embellishment of the ceremonies was prevalent, the rise of the Installation ceremony was inevitable. It was just the kind of distinction that was needed for those Brethren who had presided in a Lodge, and the amazing thing is that the "Moderns" were able to dispense with the ceremony for as long as they did.

The fictional "Passing the Chair" was in a different category altogether. Dermott and Dassigny prove conclusively that, in Irish practice at least, the Chair was an essential prerequisite for the R.A., and had the latter been confined to Past Masters alone the R.A. might have disappeared altogether for lack of men qualified to practise it.

This leads to the conclusion that the "Ancients", who regularly pronounced against the ceremony, were probably responsible for its introduction in the first place.

The practice of this fictional "Passing" was so widespread that there is no need to quote examples beyond those already cited by Bro. Jones, but there is one interesting record in Scotland which may be worth mentioning.

In 1778 a team of members of the "Lodge of Perth and Scoon" were in the Edinburgh Royal Arch Chapter No. 1, and apparently by way of demonstration, and as a compliment to the Office-bearers of the St. Stephen's Lodge, they gave them "... the compliment of that degree of Masonry viz.: called Past the Chair . . ." I need only add that at this date Scoon and Perth knew nothing of an Installation Ceremony!¹

Our thanks are due to Bro. Jones. He had given us a great deal to think about.

BRO. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

A most interesting subject has again been selected by Bro. Bernard Jones, who has done great service to the cause of Masonic research by collecting much of the available information, even though he has not yet succeeded in clarifying the issue; indeed, with so much conflicting evidence, one wonders if finality will ever be reached.

It is true, as he states, that Masonic students have been inclined to believe that the "Antients" had an Installation ceremony, but the "Moderns" hadn't until the Lodge of Promulgation of 1808-1811 ordered it "to be observed". This may have been the case in London, but it wasn't in the Provinces, for there are many old records to the contrary.

One instance is my own Lodge, Anchor and Hope No. 37, Bolton, which, as early as 1768, elected its Officers (Master, Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary and Deacons) each half-year, these being installed at the Festivals of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. The By-laws of 1790 seem to have clarified this method, for No. 2 states:—

"That the election of a Master, Wardens, Deacons, Treasurer and Secretary of this Lodge shall be by a majority of its members, on a ballot to be taken at the regular Lodge night held next before the Festival of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, and that each new elected Master shall be *install'd and take the Chair* on the aforesaid Festival days."

This is the "Moderns'" Lodge that in November, 1769, "re-installed" the Master of another "Moderns'" Lodge, *i.e.*, Relief No. 42, Bury, and also "installed" three other Bury Brethren, only one of whom afterwards served as Master. Previous records of this Lodge are, unfortunately, not available, having apparently been burned. This is the record of which Hughan said:—

"It points to the fact that the ceremony of installation of an actual, and that of a constructive or supposed Master, were not one and the same, possibly the first-mentioned at that period not being of a secret character."

As far as the "Antients" were concerned, there was no Lodge of theirs, in either town, as early as 1769. We must remember that Dermott, in the 1764 *Ahiman Rezon*, encouraged "Passing the Chair" before the Arch was conferred, whereas the Deputy Grand Master, in December, 1771, decried the ceremony, Grand Lodge deciding that it should be conferred only on M.M.'s of twelve months' standing. But, against that, the 1794 Regulations specified that no one should be admitted to the H.R.A. until he had performed the office of Master in his Lodge, and the 1795 Regulations approved "Passing the Chair".

¹ Crawford Smith, pp. 140-141.

The records of Lancashire Lodges show that some worked the ceremony at their meetings, others in their Chapters. One should remember that in 1793 there were twice as many Chapters in Lancashire as there were in London; indeed, even according to the 1823 Regulations, there were:—

London	...	...	17
Lancashire	...	...	38
Yorkshire	...	...	19

The cases quoted by Bro. Jones regarding "Passing the Chair" which are not related to the Arch can be explained quite simply—they joined other Chapters. Indeed, one instance quoted, St. John's No. 348, have minutes referring to this fact.

Undoubtedly, the Union of Chapters in 1817 ensured that new Regulations would be made, and so we find that the old one that only Past Masters could be admitted to the Arch (and, indeed, to the Mark) was abrogated in Grand Chapter on 8th May, 1822, for one allowing M.M.'s of twelve months' standing to be admitted. This alteration was quite evidently of little avail in the Provinces, and particularly in Lancashire, where many Lodge records show "Passing the Chair" down to 1846, when it was stated that the Authorities—presumably Provincial, for a new Prov. G. Master was appointed in that year—had banned the ceremony. Bro. Jones' notes on the banning of the ceremony from Scottish Chapters in the same year is interesting as establishing uniformity.

But, even after 1846, the ceremony was continued in some Lodges. During the past six months I was called on to compile the Centenary History of Earl Ellesmere Lodge No. 678, Farnworth, Lancs. One of the first records is:—

"17 December, 1857. The W.M., Robert Peet, had the Past Master's degree conferred on him by two Past Masters from Bolton Lodges."

(Bro. Peet was the first Master, installed at the Consecration in October, 1856, by the Provincial Grand Secretary.)

Further records show that at the 1858 and 1859 Installations the outgoing Masters received the degree, and two Past Masters had it conferred in the Installed Board on St. John's Day, 1867. Nearly all these ceremonies were worked by the Provincial Grand Secretary, who should have known better. Even on the 5th January, 1870, it is recorded that the Provincial Grand Secretary (Bro. John Tunnah) installed the W.M.,

"after which a P.M. Lodge was opened, when Bros. Blackhurst and Kirkman (who hadn't been through the Chair) had the P.M. degree conferred on them. By virtue, the Lodge was closed to the Installed Masters, when Bro. James Tonge was placed in the Chair as ruler of the Lodge for the ensuing year".

Even in January, 1875, the retiring W.M. was given the Past Master's degree, which indicates that, at this late date, there was some ceremony of which we do not now know the full details. Certainly, this was not the Extended Working of a Board of Installed Masters, of the practice of which there is presumptive evidence in the minutes, and which is still worked *in extenso* in certain Lancashire Lodges. The principal point in this Earl Ellesmere evidence is that there was no Chapter attached to the Lodge, nor is there even today, the only Chapter for five Lodges in Farnworth being attached to the Mother Lodge, No. 350. I have not had the opportunity of examining this Chapter minutes, but I hazard the guess that all these names will be found there.

There are many records in Lancashire of this degree, conferred sometimes on M.M.'s, sometimes as a qualification for Officers of a Lodge and at others on Masters and Past Masters, and I am sure that every one of us will be very interested in Bro. Bernard Jones' comments on these late minutes of the ceremony following the Installation, of which there is also evidence in 1769. One query I should like to put to him is: "Where did the Extended Working come from, if it was not of anterior date to the customary Installation Ceremony approved in December, 1827?"

I believe we have not yet heard the last word on the subject, but, at any rate, we can tender our grateful thanks to Bro. Bernard Jones for introducing it, and for his excellent and thoroughly enjoyable résumé.

Bro. ERIC WARD said:—

Bro. Bernard Jones' paper is, as usual, such a model of precision and readable presentation that I am sorry I have to disagree even with part of it, but this is largely because I do not follow some of his opening references to the Installation ceremony.

Consequently, I fail to see why Anderson's observation about significant Installation ceremonies should be suspect and brushed aside, for although an Hiramic allusion may be of

importance to some of our present rites it does not follow that it was necessary in his time. Indeed, the particular one with which I am most familiar would lose practically nothing by its removal. Nor do I feel that we are in any position to deride Anderson the inventor, when we now confer what has become in every sense a degree and then proceed to tell the recipient that it isn't one at all. And, again, I cannot see why the nineteenth century assumption of the 47th Proposition as a P.M.'s jewel should be introduced to disparage Anderson when *he* never claimed any such connection with Installation.

I consider not only that Anderson's references to Installation are convincingly indicative of some kind of ceremony being already established in 1723, but that it would be surprising were it otherwise. The installation formalities practised for centuries by the trade fraternities when at the annual feasts the new Masters and Wardens were invested with crowns or garlands (*e.g.*, London Carpenters, Pewterers, Ironmongers, etc.) was the sort of custom which the transitional Masons would surely have to retain at the start in order to demonstrate their claim for continuity with ancient traditions. Hence, when the *Defence of Masonry* was published in 1730, the author supported his thesis by drawing a detailed parallel between Free Masonic organisation and that of the City Companies.

Furthermore, those speculative knowledgeable of city companies, including the Masons, would have been familiar with the principles of passing the chair. For example, the 1672 Ordinances of the Bristol Masons Company (operative) not only prescribed formal installation of its Master, but specified a fine for refusal to take office.

At first sight it might appear that the disappointment of the company having been mollified by receipt of the penalty, that would end the matter, but examination of many local craft records clearly indicates that payment of the fine was an acknowledgment that the office had been "held". To the master tradesman of the seventeenth century, a Wardenship of his craft usually meant that he could take two apprentices instead of one, and, as Master, three. So that to pass these chairs by redemption not only relieved him of the burden of office, but at the same time procured the substantial perquisites. The practice became so prevalent in Bristol that three crafts in the 1670's petitioned the Common Council for permission to make drastic increases in their fines, as an acute shortage of actual Masters was being created. In one craft, the Wire drawers, a Master had served *de facto* for no less than ten years.

Thus, the raw materials of both ceremonial installation and passing the chair were commonplace in operative masonic and kindred organisations well before the formation of the first Grand Lodge, so that when Bro. Jones dismisses Anderson's statement about installations as of no account and suggests that the ceremony emanated from the G.L. of Ireland, he rejects evidence on a wholesale scale. For example, not only did the G.L. of Cork in 1730 affirm its acceptance *in toto* of the English 1723 *Constitutions* and with it presumably "significant ceremonies and ancient usage" apropos installation, but Dermott's own *Constitutions* copied precisely these same words of Anderson. Is it conceivable that Dermott of all people would follow Anderson so completely if the latter had invented the idea?

I suggest that the documentary evidence on this particular issue can safely be taken at its face value, *i.e.*, in 1723 there already existed an established ceremony of installation *of a kind*, in which then, as now, neither an Hiram content nor reference to the 47th Proposition formed a necessary part. That it was not generally practised by the "Moderns" in the first half of the eighteenth century seems beyond doubt, but the fact that it came to be revered by the "Ancients" could well be because it was one of those very customs which they accused their rivals of having dropped.

Finally, in the absence of a reference, I cannot follow the extract from the minutes of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, which, from the fact of three being installed on one evening and one re-installed, does not seem to point to anything intelligible. In any case, there are other examples. In Bristol a "Modern" Lodge held at the Crown recorded the installation of its W.M. on 27th December, 1758, again in 1759, and in 1760 used the expression "according to Ancient Custom the new officers were installed". Another Bristol "Modern" Lodge (Hospitality), in 1773, required the W.M. to be re-installed because previously it had not been "regularly done" (*vide* Powell). I mention these examples only because of the very special place which installation always seems to have taken in Bristol working, and which even now is strangely reminiscent of Anderson's (or possibly Payne's) description.

CORRECTION.—Bro. Jones refers to "Mourning Bush Lodge, Bristol". The tavern was "The Bush" (no Mourning by special request), but from 4th February, 1766, it met at "The Fountain". Therefore, it was at the time Lodge No. 116 meeting at The Fountain (see Powell).

Bro. R. A. N. PETRIE said:—

Bro. Bernard Jones queries the authority of earlier Masonic writers for an early date for the ceremony of Installation. It is reasonably clear from Bro. Knoop's paper, "The Genesis

of Speculative Masonry" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lv, pp. 15-16), that he regarded the "Manner of constituting a New Lodge" in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 as principal evidence in support of this belief. We may, perhaps, suggest that esoteric elements in the ceremony were still evolving, and that its association with the name of the Duke of Wharton may, after his quarrel with Grand Lodge in general and Dr. Desaguliers in particular, have influenced its future development in England.

It may also be of interest to note the suggestion of Bro. Lt.-Col. W. E. Moss (*A.Q.C.*, vol. li, p. 223) that the peculiar subscription of the *Graham MS.* should be read as "Tho Graham chaireing Master of Lodges . . ."

According to Bro. J. Heron Lepper (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lvi, p. 143), the Lodge of Antiquity claims to have administered an obligation and imparted secrets to the Installed Master from as early as 1726; it is quite clear from a copy of a letter from Bro. James Savage to Bro. Charles Bonnor, Secretary of the Lodge of Promulgation, that they were doing so in 1810, and it would seem likely that this was the source from which the ceremony was obtained by the Lodge of Promulgation.

The introduction of the ceremony of installation into the Lodge of Promulgation is of some interest. Having decided on October 19th, 1810, that "the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges is one of the two Landmarks of the Craft" (it might be pointed out here that a minute of December 28th, 1810, cites five), on November 16th, "Bro^s. John Bayford, Grand Treasurer, Thomas Carr, Charles Valentine and Charles Bonnor . . . formed a Board of Installed Masters", who then installed Bro. James Earnshaw, R.W.M. of the Lodge of Promulgation and of St. Alban's Lodge No. 22; the S.W. and J.W., who were both reigning Masters, were then installed, followed by seven other members of the Lodge, all R.W.M.'s. It was at this meeting that Bro. Savage was refused admission, occasioning the letter mentioned above.

Of the four Brethren forming this Board of Installed Masters, only one appears to have had "Antient" affiliations. This was Valentine, who had been expelled by the "Antients" in 1801 for taking the Warrant of No. 245 (now the Lodge of Industry No. 186) to the "Moderns". Three of them, however, Bayford, Bonnor and Valentine, were members of the Lodge of Antiquity, and Bayford and Bonnor were Past Masters of it.

On December 14th, 1810, a somewhat different procedure was used; the R.W.M. tendered a temporary resignation of his office in order that Bro. Brettingham, P.G.W., "not being at this period a Master of a Lodge, may be by being elected to the Chair be rendered eligible to be Installed", and he was then installed, as also were Bros. William Shadbolt and Isaac Clementson, who were both R.W.M.'s. Bro. Robert Randall, a Past Master of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, was then elected to the Chair on the resignation of Bro. Brettingham for the same reason and installed, after which: "On the resignation of Bro. Randall, Bro. Earnshaw was re-elected R.W.M. of this Lodge, and the Lodge was closed in the third degree."

On January 4th, 1811, four Brethren were installed, and at Grand Lodge on February 6th the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master, was installed, three other Brethren having previously been installed.

The last meeting of the Lodge of Promulgation recorded in the minutes took place on March 5th, 1811, when twelve Masters of Lodges presented themselves for installation, and the Warrant of the Lodge expired at the end of this month.

An examination of Irish influence on the "Antients" in matters of ritual might well prove of value; our earliest references to the Royal Arch are Irish, and, though I do not stress the argument, present-day Irish craft practice differs so considerably from English, and still more so in the Royal Arch, as to suggest an early origin for this.

Bro. N. B. SPENCER writes:—

I am afraid I cannot agree with some of the arguments used by Bro. Jones. He dismisses Anderson's version of the Installation Ceremony in view of his frequent inventions. The ritual of the Installation ceremony is the only ritual of any kind given by Anderson. The very wording of it shows, I think, that he is speaking of a ritual which he has seen worked. I agree it would have nothing of the Hiram legend in it, as that legend did not come into use until several years after 1723.

Is it not possible that this ritual was used by Grand Lodge at the consecration of new Lodges? It always seems to be coupled with the Consecration ceremony. It would take a long time to come into general use in private Lodges. It took many years for the third degree to come into universal use. It would take longer still for an Installation Ceremony. It was obviously one of the "Moderns'" official ceremonies, as it was contained in every *Book of Constitutions* published by the "Moderns".

Bro. Edward Spratt, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, took his Installation Ceremony from Anderson's. In the Dedication of his *Book of Constitutions* to the Grand Master of Ireland, Lord Kingborough, published in 1751, the year of the inception of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients", Bro. Spratt made the following statement:—

"This single consideration, my Lord, independent of your Lordship's many other personal qualifications, would be alone sufficient to engage, and embolden me with all due humility to commit the following sheets to your Lordship's protection and patronage, not in quality of an Author (a task I am every way unequal to) but only as a faithful editor, and transcriber of the works of our learned and ingenious Brother James Anderson D.D. dedicated to His Royal Highness, Frederick Prince of Wales at a time when the dignity of Grand Master in England was supported by the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Caenarvon and that of the Lodges in Ireland by the Rt. Hon. the then Lord Mountjoy, now Earl of Blessington, who appointed a select Committee of the Grand Lodge over which he presided, to confirm the customs and regulations in use here with those of our Brethren in England. But no essential difference appearing, except in those rules that tended to the formation of the Stewards Lodge (a thing not practised here) they were therefore omitted and a regulation of the other differences that remained was rather wished for than established till your Lordship's being chosen for the Chair."

It is obvious from the above that Bro. Spratt and his Committee went through Anderson's *Constitutions* and adopted every item which applied to the Irish workings, leaving out those which did not apply, such as the rules which applied to the Grand Stewards' Lodge. The fact that they adopted Anderson's Installation Ceremony shows that it was the one worked by them.

Bro. Pennell, in the first *Book of Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, published in 1730, had already adopted Anderson's ritual of the Installation Ceremony without any alteration.

The quotation in Bro. Jones' paper from the minutes of the meeting of the "Antients' " Grand Committee, eleven months after the formation of the Grand Lodge, states that the Installation Ceremony demonstrated at that meeting was learnt by Bro. Laurence Dermott from Bro. Edward Spratt, the Irish Grand Secretary. It seems obvious, therefore, that the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" was adopting the Installation Ceremony of the "Moderns", which had come to them through the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

This Installation Ceremony, first appearing in Anderson's first *Book of Constitutions* in 1723, is found in every *Book of Constitutions* of both the "Antients" and the "Moderns" up to the Union in 1813. It is included in the early Irish *Books of Constitutions* of 1730 and 1751, and, with very minor alterations, in all of Preston's *Illustrations* from the first edition in 1772 until years after the Union in 1813. It is found, as far as I know, in all the Pocket Companions of the eighteenth century, though several of them I have not been able to check. It is found in many of the first *Books of Constitutions* of the American States, such as Pennsylvania, 1783, Massachusetts, 1792, Maryland, 1797, and South Carolina, 1807, which, of course, were taken some from the "Moderns" and some from the "Antients".

It is published in the *Freemason's Magazine* in 1796. In all these cases there are very few variations.

In a number of the exposures of the second half of the eighteenth century the secret parts are given in full. I know it is not wise to put much credence in exposures, but when a number of different ones agree on one point it is probable that they come near what is being done in the Lodges at the date of the exposure. The main portion of the ceremony appears to be an obligation embodying the penalties of the three degrees, and a grip and a word given to the Master in a whisper as he is raised.

The evidence available seems to show that Anderson's Installation Ceremony was the basis of that used by the Lodges under the Grand Lodges of the "Antients" and "Moderns" up to the year 1827 and of those under the Grand Lodges of Ireland until a much later date. There does not seem to be any evidence whatsoever of any esoteric ceremony connected with the Installation containing any references to a Hiram story until after the findings of the Special Board set up by the Grand Master in 1827 to decide on a definite ceremony.

It seems that many of the Lodges, particularly the "Moderns", up to the early part of the nineteenth century, used no real Installation Ceremony, but merely placed the Master in the Chair, invested him with his collar and jewel, and he was then addressed by a Past Master and invested his officers. Some, apparently, used more of Anderson's ceremony, and some may have used it in full. In many of the old Lodge minutes quoted in the histories, one finds such entries as the following in the minutes of the Lodge of Amity No. 137, Poole, for the 26th January, 1767:—

"The several officers (as mentioned 7th inst.) took their respective seats after the usual ceremonies being used on such occasions."

If one might perhaps hazard a guess, I would say that when Laurence Dermott, who was a tough fighter on behalf of the "Antients", found that the Installation Ceremony was rarely being worked by the "Moderns", he determined to insist on its being worked by his Lodges and made it a point of superiority over the "Moderns". He would naturally prefer to get it through the Irish than direct from the "Moderns". For the same reason he pushed the Royal Arch. I would also think that it was his Grand Chapter who first made the Past Master degree a requisite for the R.A. It would thus enhance the prestige of the Installation Ceremony. However, it created such a bottle-neck that the Lodges and Chapters took it into their own hands by organising the ceremony of "Passing the Chair".

I cannot see any real evidence for the theory advanced by Bro. Jones that an esoteric ceremony of Installation containing the Hiramite allusions had its origin in Ireland and was adopted by the Grand Lodge of the "Antients", being copied later by the "Moderns".

The following extracts from Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley's *Caementaria Hibernica* are interesting as giving that eminent Irish historian's view of the Irish Installation Ceremony:—

"A striking proof of the fidelity with which the Grand Lodge of Ireland has adhered to the ancient usages will be found in the fact that, if Anderson's rubric were literally observed today, no Irish Brother would notice any serious deviation from our current work, except in one particular, where the symbolism of the Arch, hinted at by Anderson, has long since developed into a separate degree. Even the trifling detail of including the installation of the Master under the general head of 'Constituting a New Lodge' is still preserved.

"No question can arise as to the importance which Bro. Anderson attached to the Ceremony. He has shown this in many ways: he has given it the unique distinction of being made the sole Ceremonial laid down in his Constitution. He has inserted it as a postscript with all typographical devices that could catch the eye. He has placed it between Payne's Regulations and the Grand Master's Approbation, as to mark their concurrence with it.

"It will be observed that there is no express provision in the text for the ordinary Brethren to retire from the Lodge room while the secret instructions are being given. As so much of this ceremony has been preserved intact by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, perhaps an explanation may be found in the practice which prevailed amongst us, till within our own memory. During the communication of the Secret instructions to the new Master, the Brethren were not required to quit the Lodge Room, but were directed to betake themselves to the West, behind the Senior Warden's chair, where they stood with their faces turned from the East. In the meantime, The Conclave (we do not call it Board) of Installed Masters surrounded the Master's Chair, forming a hedge between it and the Brethren in the West. Within the Conclave thus formed, the Secret Instructions were communicated in a whisper, and the new Master installed. The present writer well remembers when this practice was common among Irish Lodges, though it has since become a thing of the past."

Bro. FRED L. PICK writes:—

One would expect an interesting paper on this subject, which, as Bro. Jones says, "is far from closed", and one is not disappointed.

It might be worth while to expand the account of a late "passing" in the Lodge of Commerce, Haslingden. The late Bro. R. V. S. Houghton, who died about 1927, devoted some space to this in his History of the Lodge of Amity, 283 (Haslingden). W. H. Heys, P.P.G.W., of this Lodge, was on 24th December, 1863, "Raised to the Sublime Degree of Master Mason and at the same time passed the chair in ancient form". This Bro. Heys died in 1914, and when Bro. Houghton was engaged on his history he discovered that Bro. Clement Rawstron, born in 1834, Initiated in January, 1862 and Raised in April, 1862, in the Lodge of Commerce, now 215, in the same town, and had "Passed the Chair in ancient Form" on 9th October, 1862, was still alive and distinctly remembered the ceremony 53 years later, in September, 1915.

"It was customary", he said, "at this period of Freemasonry, when ordinary Masonic business was not pressing, to confer upon Brethren who were not M.M. the honour of "Passing the Chair". Being selected for this honour I was conducted to—and occupied—the Worshipful Master's Chair. After a few moments had elapsed the assembled Brethren showed signs of unrest by the shuffling of feet, and subdued conversation. Feeling somewhat embarrassed in my new position, I was entirely at a loss as to the method of procedure I should adopt, but a happy thought stole on me, I sounded the Gavel, and at once perfect order and quietude was restored.

"I then asked for permission to close the Lodge in the 3rd and 2nd Degrees respectively, which request was granted, and I was then conducted from the 'Chair', leaving it by the left side, and was called upon to pay a small fee. No w . . d, s . . n, or g . . p was communicated to me. Thus concluded the Ceremony of Passing the Chair."

Bro. Rawstron, who died on 25th July, 1916, must have been one of the last survivors of those who "Passed the Chair", and in his case the "ceremony" appears to have been complimentary rather than a qualification for Exaltation.

"Passing the Chair" probably varied widely from place to place and time to time. Examples after the late 1840's are relatively few.

Bro. H. CRUMBLEHOLME writes:—

The following are extracts from an old Minute Book now belonging to Lodge No. 170:—

Petition to be made an I.M.

To the Right Worshipful the Master and the Worshipful Wardens and Brethren of the Most Excellent Lodge of Free and Accepted Excellent Masons held at St. John's Hall in Tiverton, Devon,

We your humble Petitioners beg to be admitted to that Secret and Sublime Degree of a Most Excellent Mason and are willing to pay all Demands thereunto belonging and hope to be found worthy,

We are your affectionate Bros.,

Percy Dickens

Richard Strong

Richard Tucker

31 March 1773

St. John's Hall, Tiverton, April 4th, 1773

Minutes

This night was held a sacred solemn just and perfect Chapter of Free and Accepted Excellent Masons

Present

Bro. Blackamore R. W. M.

Bro. B. Wood

Bro. Lang W. S. W.

Bro. Sweetland

Bro. Dyor W. J. W.

Bro. T. Warren

Bro. Percy Dickens, Bro. Richd. Strong, and Bro. Richd. Tucker were admitted to the sacred solemn just and perfect degree of Excellent Mason.

A Lecture was given.

Chapter was closed in due form.

Petition to be exalted

To the W. W. R.W.M., Fellows and Companions of the most excellent sacred holy and sublime Chapter of Excellent and Royal Arch Masons in Chapter assembled at St. John's Hall, Tiverton, Devon.

We your humble Petitioners having faithfully served as Entered Apprentices, passed to the degree of Fellow Craft, raised to the degree of Master Masons and admitted to the degree of most Excellent Mason, do petition to be exalted to the sacred holy and sublime degree of a Royal Arch Mason and are willing to pay all demands thereto belonging and hope to be found worthy and approved.

Your Affectionate Bros.

Percy Dickens, Richard Strong, Richard Tucker.

Minutes April 6th, 1773 St. John's Hall, Tiverton

This night was held a most excellent sacred holy and sublime R.A. Chapter by the assistance of P.H. Z.B. V.J.

Present

Bro. Blackamore	W.W.R.W.G.M.		
Bro. Lang	D.G.M.	Bro. Sweetland	S. Scribe
Bro. B. Wood	P.G.M.	Bro. Warren	J. Scribe

Bro. Percy Dicken, Bro. Richd. Strong, and Bro. Richd. Tucker were exalted to the most excellent sacred holy and sublime degree of Royal Arch Masons

a Lecture or Exposition was given

Chapter closed in due form.

W.Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I am interested in Bro. Bernard Jones' paper on the degree of "Passing the Chair".

From his second paragraph I wonder if he has *not* read Bro. Henry Sadler's book, *Masonic Facts and Fictions*. Bro. Sadler was Sub-Librarian of Grand Lodge in 1887, he had access to all the minutes and documents, and was an authority on the Lodge of Promulgation. Also, *A Short Account of the Lodges of Promulgation, Reconciliation, Stability and Emulation*, by our late W.Bro. H. Hiram Hallett, P.M. I think if he read these, especially Sadler's book, he would get a better impression of what did happen and would change his opinion.

With regard to the Installation Ceremony, I have a copy of the full ceremony, which was taken from an MS. copy, which is said to date back to the time of the Duke of Wharton, 1722.

I gave this ceremony in full at my Installation into the Chair of Q.C. on the 8th November, 1950, but, of course, it could not be printed in the *Transactions*.

On page 3 he refers to an MS. in the possession of W.Bro. Bruce Oliver, a copy of which I also have, and I expect they both came from the same source, Old Swalwell Lodge, and were extracted from the old ceremony referred to above for the purpose of "Passing the Chair" when it was initiated.

I am quite at a loss to understand his remarks about the Hiram Legend and the Installation Ceremony. The Hiram Legend has never had anything to do with the Installation Ceremony. It is confined exoterically and esoterically to the second and third degrees. Before the Union the whole of Masonry, including the R.A., was Christian, and we lost a great deal through the Union when the "Ancients" gave way to their rivals on certain points, particularly in the R.A.

Bro. W. WAPLES writes:—

The able contribution by Bro. Bernard Jones to this none too well-known subject will prove helpful to many. It is apparent that the practice varied at different times and places, and that much remains to be added to present knowledge.

Space does not permit one to answer some of the points raised by Bro. Jones; nevertheless, some data regarding procedure, etc., in North-Eastern England may prove interesting. The degree of "Passing the Chair" is not mentioned in the Lodges of the "Moderns" until about the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was, however, a prerequisite for the Royal Arch known locally as "The Harodim" (1756-1809), and which did not confer a P.M. status.

St. John's Lodge No. 80, of Sunderland, formerly a Lodge under the Banner of the "Ancients", gave the degree of Passing the Chair at its second meeting after the Installation of its Warrant, and continued the practice until after 1862. A photograph of the Officers of the Lodge, dated 1859, shows that all the Brethren, from the Senior Warden to the two Stewards, wore the Levels on their Aprons. Five of the officers had previously been regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge, three attained the Chair some years after the photograph was taken, whilst six of them were never installed in the Chair of K.S. All had "Passed the Chair".

In a frame displayed in the Lodge room are two Aprons formerly belonging to Bro. George Watson, initiated 1825, Passed the Chair in 1835 and regularly installed Master in 1836. The "Passing the Chair" Apron is of white kid, bordered with pale blue ribbon one-and-a-half inches wide, and has two levels of the same colour. The Apron as Master of the Lodge in 1836 is bordered with a two-inch ribbon of Cambridge blue and has two levels

of silver lace. Bro. Watson is described in the 1835 minutes as a P.M. The late Bro. John Graham, Master in 1863, a subscribing member for 67 years, told me that he "Passed the Chair" prior to his Mastership of the Lodge, and that there was a continuity until arrangements could be made to secure a Warrant from Supreme Grand Chapter in 1867. Much of the property of the Royal Arch Chapter under the "Ancients" is still in use.

With regard to the Installation Ceremony, St. John's Warrant is dated 1761, and includes the clause *re* "chusing and installing their successors". Until *circa* 1816-17 each Officer was *obligated* and addressed by the W. Master. There was also a short ceremony of handing over the keys of the chest and the pedestal to the new Master and his Wardens respectively.

Mention of the "Ancients" being less conservative on the whole, lesser educated, simple and more credulous, stings a bit. It may be true of the first half of the eighteenth century, but research into the history of eight early Lodges of the "Moderns" shows conclusively that both personnel and administration lowered until *c.* 1814, and that by the time the two Grand Lodges were united there were six of one and half-a-dozen of the others.

Bro. BERNARD E. JONES *writes in reply*:—

I am very happy that my paper has occasioned so much interest and am not surprised that it has aroused keen controversy. I expect there will always be sharp differences of opinion on many of the points raised.

For the W.M.'s comments I am grateful, and agree with him that mists "cloud the view of the proofs we should like to see", and that the Past Master's Degree was a ceremony closely conforming to a number of provincial workings. Bro. John Rylands emphasises a point dear to him—that the degree was sometimes an end in itself and on occasion empowered the holder to preside in a Lodge and conduct a ceremony. He raises a good question: "What is a degree?" I think we could arrive at an acceptable definition without much difficulty were not the issue clouded by the unfortunate decision at the Union in 1813 not to extend, or continue to extend, to the R.A. the status of a separate degree. Bro. Harry Carr offers much thoughtful criticism; I would remind him that the separate P.M. degree does not *appear* to have been worked much before the 1771 period (see minutes of "Antients" Grand Lodge, December 4th, 1771). True, the esoteric Installation has long been insisted on by the "Antients", but we get no evidence of the irregular practice until the minute referred to. I have had occasion to give much time and thought to the question whether the R.A. has ever formed part of the Third Degree. The argument is too long to be gone into here, but I trust I may be allowed to say that the pros and cons are stated at length in the writer's new book on the Royal Arch that will have been published long before these words see the light; personally, I quite fail to see that a claim made by some "Moderns" that the Third Degree was "mutilated" to provide the separate ceremony of the Royal Arch has anything to commend it, but it must be agreed that there were certainly "borrowings". Dermott's plainly-expressed dislike of the virtual passing ceremony appears to rule out Bro. Carr's hint (as I understand it) that he may have countenanced what fifteen years later he officially labelled as "scandalous".

My thanks to Bro. Norman Rogers for his additional information. He instances his own Lodge, Anchor and Hope No. 37, as one in whose records an Installation Ceremony is mentioned as early as 1768; I suggest more than once in my paper that some of the "Modern" Lodges had such a ceremony long before the Union, but it did not become general until the 1820 period. I am glad to have his further information relating to late "passings".

Bro. R. A. N. Petrie offers many welcome instances. His suggestion of the possibility of an appreciable Irish influence on the "Antients'" ritual is a fair one, and any real evidence in support would be most valuable. I wonder whether, at this late day, it might yet come to light? Bro. Eric Ward kindly goes to much trouble in presenting his criticisms, and I appreciate them, even if I do not find it easy to accept or even deal with many of them, my time and space being limited. Of course, I agree that some kind of Installation Ceremony was worked at an early date in some places, but many authorities are with me in believing that the ceremony serving as a basis of the Virtual Ceremony and as a prototype of today's Installation Ceremony could not have arrived until somewhere about the rise of the "Antients'" organisation, and it follows, therefore, that any claim that the "Moderns" abandoned it is beside the mark. It is obvious, however, that in this matter, as in others, my critics and I must agree to differ. I completely fail to accept that there is the slightest evidence or even likelihood that any such esoteric ceremony was ever practised by operative Lodges. I must thank Bro. Eric Ward for his correction of my reference to Mourning Bush Lodge. The Bush Lodge was of Bristol; the Mourning Bush of London. Some part of this altogether too brief reply applies to the arguments so kindly presented by Bro. N. B. Spencer, a proper reply to which would occupy pages. If, as he states, Anderson's ceremony of Installation was in effect worked "up to the year 1827", and as the P.M. Degree then and

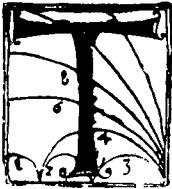
now is a fair parallel of the Installation Ceremony as we know it, then it follows that Anderson is the recorder or, much more likely, the predominant author of today's ceremony! Wouldn't it be comforting to believe it?

I am obliged to Bro. Fred L. Pick for his instances, and particularly for the extract from the History of the Lodge of Amity No. 283, already familiar to me and always a cause of wonder! And my thanks to Bro. Harry Crumbleholme for his informative extracts from an old Tiverton Lodge, No. 170. To Bro. H. C. Booth, for whose comments I am grateful, I can say that I read Bro. Henry Sadler's book many years ago, and that I have great respect for it and for its author, whom I met within a month or so of my initiation in 1905. I am not aware that in fundamentals I am at variance with that extremely well-informed writer, but I will read him again as soon as time permits. I thank Bro. William Waples for his very useful communication (and wish he could have *read* it to the Lodge). His intimation that the officers of St. John's Lodge No. 80, in the year 1859, all wore levels on their aprons is new to me and quite an interesting point. We know it was common in some, perhaps most, Lodges to make a distinction between the aprons of actual and virtual Masters.

In conclusion, may I say how very grateful I am for all the comments and criticisms my paper has aroused, and how much I regret that considerations of time and space prevent my making an adequate reply.



NOTES



THE FOURTH TEMPLE.—I had originally intended this as a Comment on Bro. Lewis Edwards' paper on the "Fourth Temple". Reasons of health, however, prevented my doing so in time, and I am reduced to writing it separately; what I write, however, should be regarded as a footnote to that paper.

What interested me particularly about it was its closing passage, about the relation of the legend of the Fourth Temple with that of the Royal Arch, and the quotation from Photius' *Epitome of Philostorgius*. I was interested because, apart from the fact that the Royal Arch degree transfers the legend from the Fourth Temple to the Second, I cannot believe that that part of the legend was in any way original, to Philostorgius or to either Temple. That is because the legend seems to be a very late example of the age-old, semi-magical tradition of the underground cavern, or buried treasure. The magic element appears in the earliest written example of it I know, the Greek story of Gyges and the Ring. Gyges, a countryman, was on his land one day when a violent storm opened the ground. He entered and found himself in a cavern where, among other marvellous things, he saw a hollow brazen horse, with windows in the sides. In it was a giant corpse, and on the corpse a golden ring, which Gyges abstracted and used for a number of purposes which are not our concern here.

This "Buried Treasure" story appears in a great many different forms. It is, in fact, one of the Protean myths which lie behind individual stories over a long time, and we may even not be far off the mark in suggesting that the Thing Which Was Lost of many of the Masonic Legends is basically this same. With the decline of the ancient world the story received particular encouragement. The number of vaults, cellars, half-open sarcophagi, ruined buildings, and other remains half above and half under ground, gave rise to endless versions of it, and it seems to have been specially popular in Jerusalem in connection with the tombs of David and Solomon and the treasure believed to have been buried with them. There were all sorts of variations, especially of the way the entrance to the cavern was concealed and how it was found. Inside, the corpse or corpses and something valuable are permanent features. Most magician figures are bound up with the story at some point in their career. Even Solomon himself is, in a mediæval Arab legend, which takes him to a cavern with all these features, and the most famous mediæval magician, Gerbert, of Pope Sylvester II, is another. What concern us most here are two late examples. One is from the Spanish Jewish chronicler, Benjamin of Tudela, who wrote a travel book of a tour he made in the countries bordering the eastern Mediterranean in 1163:—

"Fifteen years ago one of the walls of the place of worship on Mount Sion fell down, and the patriarch commanded the priest to repair it. He ordered stones to be taken from the original wall of Sion for that purpose, and 20 workmen were hired at stated wages, who broke stones from the very foundation of the walls of Sion. . . . They then continued to break out stones, until happening to meet with one which formed the mouth of a cavern, they agreed to enter it in search of treasure, and they proceeded until they reached a large hall, supported by pillars of marble encrusted with gold and silver, and before which stood a table with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of David, king of Israel, to the left of which they saw that of Solomon in a similar state, and so on the sepulchres of all the kings of Juda who were buried there. They further saw chests locked up, the contents of which no one knew, and were on the point of entering the hall, when a blast of wind like a storm issued forth from the mouth of the cavern so strong that it threw them down almost lifeless on the ground. There they lay till evening, when another wind rushed forth, from which they heard a voice like that of a man calling aloud 'Get up, and go forth from this place'. . . . The patriarch ordered the place to be walled up."

We should notice first that this is alleged to have taken place 15 years before Benjamin wrote, *i.e.*, just before A.D. 1150. Familiar events in the story include the accidental discovery of a cavern by the opening of a tomb. The King's supulchre again introduces the motive of the corpse, which we met with in the story of Gyges and the Ring. The violent blast of wind and the mysterious voice are a variant of a common feature of the story—that to touch the

treasure is forbidden. This does not occur in the Gyges story or in that version of it we are acquainted with in the Royal Arch, but it is very common in others.

A different version of this same story, this time referring to the reign of the Emperor Julian in the middle of the fourth century A.D., is told by the Greek Church chronicler, Nicephorus Callistus, writing a thousand years later. It has been quoted before in these pages (*A.Q.C.*, lxi, p. 43).

This is a story considerably nearer to those we know, and bearing an extraordinary resemblance to that quoted by Bro. Edwards. We should notice once again the accidental discovery of the opening, and on this occasion the round altar which seems to replace the corpse in several of the later versions. The "forbidden" elements of so many earlier stories, including the Benjamin of Tudela example, seems to have passed out of currency by the time the chronicler was writing.

The gap in time between the Callistus story and the writing down of the Royal Arch legend is, so far as I know, bridged by only one work,¹ the *Fama Fraternitatis* of the original Rosicrucian Brotherhood. This was written a few years one way or the other from 1600, and is known to have been in existence not later than 1604. It has been printed many times since its first appearance at Cassel in 1613, and doubtless is known to many Brethren already. As we would expect from a work written in the sixteenth century, the magical background is as noticeable as ever before. The story is as follows:—

Brother N. N., desirous of rebuilding his house before setting out on his travels, undertakes the work himself, being a skilled architect. The first thing he comes on, we suppose in the course of demolition, is a Memorial Table giving the names of Rosenkreutz and all the first Brothers. Stuck in the edge of this is a nail, and in pulling out the nail the party dislodges some of the plaster and stone surrounding the table itself. This act of dislodgement reveals a hidden door leading to an inner chamber. The following day they pursue their way into this chamber; it is seven-sided, with one light in the ceiling. On the floor is a round altar, with an engraved brass plate on the top, bearing a dedication and formulæ words in Latin.

There follows a confusing section about the details of the walls and floor of this chamber. They divide them into three parts in a manner, and for a purpose, both of which are very far from clear. "Several figures and sentences" on each of the seven back walls are mentioned, the rendering of which is promised, but not given. Against each of these walls was a covered chest, and in these were found a number of books, including the *Vocabularia* of Paracelsus, looking glasses, bells and lamps. Then they come to what one would have thought was the main discovery, but of which curiously little is made. Underneath the floor, below a strong brass plate, they find the body of Rosenkreutz himself, "a fair and worthy body, whole and unconsumed", and holding in one hand a parchment "the which, next unto the Bible, is our greatest treasure".

There are many elements in this story which members of the Royal Arch will recognise, and which are familiar to other examples of this same Buried Treasure tradition. It does, in fact, seem as though the Rosenkreutz story should be looked at in the light of an example of it. But the Rosenkreutz story is something more than this; it is a story of the Buried Treasure group taking place in a typically sixteenth century magical setting. For it seems to me that the *Fama* description of the inner chamber reflects nothing more nor less than the private room in which actual magicians are described as carrying out their rites and invocations, and that the Royal Arch legend is another and more distant reflection of this. The story of the accidental discovery of its entrance would agree with the fact that for obvious reasons the entrance to this room was generally concealed. The description of the seven-sided vault, with its great details about ceiling, walls and floor, is of the same class; the insertion of elaborate and exact detail in the description of unimportant points of this kind is a feature of most magical writing. The brass dedication plate on the round altar, with the curious and almost meaningless formulæ, is also, I believe, magical in origin, and also finds a reflection in the later story. The circle and the enclosed triangles and figures on it are remarkably similar to many of the invocation circles in which magicians were accustomed to stand for a supposed protection when performing their rites.

A number of other magical features are mentioned—the books—contained in the mysterious cupboards and chests, the looking glasses, and perhaps the bells also. The climax of the story, the discovery of the body of Christian Rosenkreutz, fair and unconsumed 120 years after his death, strikes a distinctly magical note, besides its relation to the corpse of the Buried Treasure story.

It is my contention that a definite influence was exerted by the early sixteenth century story on what we know as a mid-eighteenth century one, and that the magical character which is so clearly present in one case is present in the other as well. But with this speculation I am travelling beyond the limits of the subjects covered by Bro. Edwards, and it is appropriate that I should stop.

G. BRETT.

¹ Apart from Samuel Lee's quotation from Callistus,

Newspaper Advertisements.—The following Newspaper extracts have not, to the best of my knowledge, been previously recorded. They are all taken from the "Public Advertiser", and, with the exception of the last two, are all from the year 1754.

JANUARY 3RD

The most Ancient and Honourable Society of *Free and Accepted Masons*, are desired to take Notice, that

In a few Days will be published,

The History of FREEMASONS:

Containing their Constitutions, Laws, Customs, and Essential Usages. With many other Particulars.

[This is probably the advance notice of the *Pocket Companion* advertised at greater length on February 2nd.]

JANUARY 25TH

This Day is published, Price 6 d.

THE FREEMASON EXAMINED:

or, The World brought out of Darkness into Light. Being an authentick Account of all the Secrets of the Ancient Society of Free Masons, which have been handed down by Oral Tradition only from the Institution to the present Time. In which is particularly described, the whole Ceremony used at making Masons, as it has been hitherto practised in all the Lodges round the Globe, by which any Person, who was never made, may introduce himself into a Lodge. With Notes, Explanatory, Historical, and Critical. To which are added, The Author's Reasons for the Publication hereof, and some Remarks on the Conduct of the Author of a Pamphlet, called *Masonry Dissected*. With a new and correct List of all the regular Lodges, under the English Constitution, according to their late Removals, and Additions.

By ALEXANDER SLADE.

Late Master of Three Regulated Constituted Lodges in the City of Norwich.

Printed for R. Griffiths, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

[There are many subsequent repetitions of this advertisement, which are not transcribed. In later versions the word "Regulated" is changed to "Regular".]

FEBRUARY 2ND

This Day is published, Price 6 d.

The TWELFTH EDITION, of

MASONRY DISSECTED: Being an universal and genuine Description of all its Branches, from the Original to this present Time: As it is delivered in the regular constituted Lodges, both in City and Country, according to the several Degrees of Admission: Giving an impartial Account of their regular Proceedings in initiating their new Members in the whole Three Degrees of Masonry, viz. entered Prentice, Fellow Craft, and Master. With a List of regular Lodges, according to their Seniority and Constitution.

Sold by G. Kearsley, at the Golden Lion, in Ludgate street.

FEBRUARY 2ND

On Tuesday next will be published, Price 3 s.

THE *Pocket Companion* and History of FREE-MASONS, containing their Origin, Progress, and present State: An Abstract of their Laws, Constitutions, Customs, Charges, Orders and Regulations, for the Instruction and Conduct of the Brethren: A Confutation of Dr. Plot's false Insinuations: An

Apology, occasioned by their Persecution in the Canton of Bern, and in the Pope's Dominions: And a select Number of Songs and other Particulars, for the Use of the Society.

Per bonam famam & infamiam.

Printed for J. Scott, at the Black Swan in Duck-lane, near West-Smithfield; sold by R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Paternoster-Row; and Mr. Allison, at Falmouth.

FEBRUARY 6TH

THE Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Order of GREGORIANS, belonging to the Sun Chapter at Rotherhith, are desired to meet at the Half-Moon Tavern, Cheapside, this Evening, at Seven of the Clock, in order to pay a Visit to the Grand Chapter held there

By Order of the Vice Grand
J. P. Secretary

FEBRUARY 27TH

This Day is published, Price 1 s.

AN Antique History of FREE MASONRY:

Shewing in what vast Esteem this most Noble and Useful Mystery has been held in all Ages, and in all Empires, Kingdoms and States in the known World, where the Science hath flourished, with the many Privileges and Immunities granted by several Potentates to this peculiar Set of Artists, from the earliest Age to this Day; also the first Institution of their Assemblies or Lodges, from Julius Cæsar coming into Britain to the present Time; deduced from Sacred and Profane History.

Printed by W. Owen, at Homer's Head, near Temple-bar; and sold by Mr. Oakey's Print-shop, St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet street; and by the Author, Ed. Lyon, in Blue Anchor Alley, Bunhill-row.

[Not recognisable in Wolfstieg.]

APRIL 26TH

Pocket Companion; same as February 2nd, except

This Day is published,

Price 2s 6d sewed, and 3s bound

and omitting Mr. Allison at Falmouth

JUNE 13TH

May 12, 1754

AT a Meeting of the Hon. Order of GREGORIANS, at the Pope's Head Chapter, it was agreed to pay a Friendly Visit to BROTHER COOPER, at Will's Coffee-house, Cornhill, on Tuesday next, the 18th inst. to which all Brethren of the Order, who will favour him with their Company, are invited.

You are desired to meet at Seven in the Evening.

JUNE 17TH

THE Brethren of the Right Worthy and Amicable Order of UBIQUARIANS, are desired to meet the Dictator and Senate (in General Convention) at the Roman Eagle, Deptford, on Monday, the 24th Instant, at Eleven o'Clock, to proceed from thence to St. Paul's, Deptford, to hear a Sermon from the Chaplain of the Orders, and then to dine with

Your very humble Servants

The STEWARDS

JUNE 26TH

In the Press and in a few Days will be published

THE MASON'S CREED

To which will be subjoin'd,

A curious Letter from BROTHER LOCKE, Author of the Essay
on the Human Understanding.

[Not recognisable in Wolfstiege.]

JULY 8TH

*This Day is published. Price 6d.*THE MASONS CREED. To which is
subjoined, A Curious Letter, written by Mr. Lock, Author
of the Essay on the Human understanding.

The Attempts of our Foes miscarry

And even in vain are found,

Or so wide that they need no parry

Or so weak that they make no wound.

Printed for the Author, and sold by W. Owen, in Fleet Street.

JULY 25TH

To the Most Antient and Honourable Frater-
nity of Free and Accepted MASONS.

Brethren,

YOU are hereby required to attend the

Corpse of Brother *Richard Kitchen*, from the George in Pic-
cadilly, late Post-master, and member of No. 29, on Sunday the
28th instant, as near the Hour of Four as possible, in order to pro-
ceed in due Form to the Place of Interment near Carnaby Market.The Brethren will be so good as to attend in proper Cloathing
according to the Office they bear, and wait on the Secretary for Instruc-
tions concerning the Procession.

AUGUST 30TH

THE Gentlemen GREGORIANS belong-
ing to the King's Head Chapter, the Corner of Tower-hill,
are desired to dine there next Friday, being the 6th Day of September.
Dinner to be on the Table at Half an Hour after Two precisely.

C. C. Secretary

Particular Business to be done after Dinner

NOVEMBER 16TH

Now in the Press, and speedily will be publish'd

AHIMAN REZON, or, A complete

POCKET COMPANION for FREE MASONS; contain-
ing every Thing necessary for the true Regulation of Lodges and Be-
haviour of Free Masons. To which is added the grandest Collection
of Mason's Songs, Prologues, and Epilogues, that were ever pub-
lished.

By Brother LAWRENCE DERMOT, Secretary.

The above is chiefly collected from the Works of Dr. Anderson,
Desaguliers, Pennell, Deasigny and Spratt, with several Things never
before published.Subscriptions are taken in at Mr. Bedford's, the Crown in Paul's
Alley, St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr. Jackson's, the Admiral Ver-
non in Bishopsgate-street; Mr. Galbraith's, Watch-Finisher in Great
Arthur-street; at Mr. Hamilton's, the King's Head, in Mary-le-
Bone-street; and at Mr. Richmond's, the Cheshire Cheese, Savoy-
Hill, Strand.

The Proposals are to be seen at all the above Places.

[The title-page of the 1764 Edition of *Ahiman Rezon* states that it is the *second* edition ; therefore there can have been no edition earlier than that of 1756 ; so although the book was in the press late in 1754, it was not published until nearly two years later. The dedication to the Earl of Blessington, although it does not call him Grand Master, which he did not become until December, 1756, seems to indicate that the book was not published until towards the end of the year. I imagine that Dermott had deliberately held up publication until his book could be dedicated to a Nobleman.]

DECEMBER 31ST

The Right Worshipful Masters and Wardens,
&c. of all Regular Lodges, to be careful to see them
well Tiled.

This day is published

Price 6d plain, properly coloured One Shilling

THE FREE MASON surprised ; or the
Secret discovered, a very humorous Print. To which is an-
nexed, A true Tale from a Constituted Lodge in Canterbury.

Sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster Row: A Dodd, without Tem-
ple Bar: B. Dickenson, on Ludgate Hill: and J. Abree, Printer in
Canterbury &c.

PUBLIC ADVERTISER for 1756

APRIL 2ND

To the Free and Accepted MASONS

The Brothers who intend to favour Mr.

Lauder with their Company at his Benefit on Thursday
the 8th inst. at the New Theatre in the Haymarket, are desired to
meet at Brother Rankins, in Bear-street, Leicester Fields, at Four
o'Clock that Afternoon. A Free Mason's Song to be sung by Mr.
Lauder.

JUNE 19TH

This Day is published

The Book of Constitutions of the An-
cient and Honourable Fraternity of FREE and ACCEPTED
MASONS. By Order of the Grand Master.

The Subscribers, by sending for their Books, shall have them deli-
vered by Brother Scott, at the Black Swan in Pater-noster Row, up-
on producing their Receipts for the Subscription Money signed by the
Grand Secretary.

[This is Entick's edition of the "Moderns" Constitutions: curiously enough *Ahiman Rezon*
does not appear to have been again advertised.]

J.R.D.



REVIEW

THE HISTORY OF THE OLD SINJINS LODGE, No. 3232

By John F. Nichols



OR a Lodge twice within its first fifty years to have issued its History speaks well of the pious affection of its members ; Dr. J. G. Taylor's volume of 1935 has been followed—it is now out-of-print—by that of Dr. J. F. Nichols twelve years later. Not only “in their flowing cups” are its forbears to be freshly remember'd.

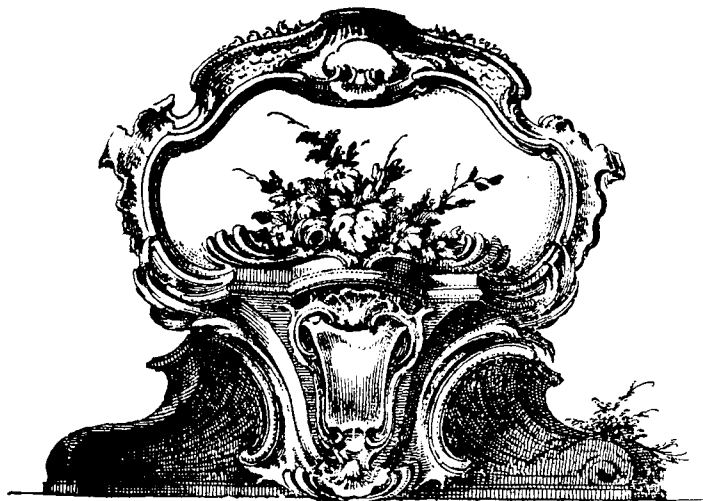
Founded in 1907, and, as the author states, to be regarded as an off-spring of the Old Boys' Association of Sir Walter St. John's School, Battersea, it draws its members not only from the latter, but also from Battersea Grammar School, with those from St. John's School numerically preponderant.

What, rather unusually for London, characterises the story is a unity of purpose, of personnel and of place. If we seek an earlier and an outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace which inspired the Schools and the Lodge, we may find it not altogether fancifully in the celebrated St. John East Window of the Church of Our Lady of Bateria, designed possibly in the early thirties of the seventeenth century. The Schools owe their endowment to the munificence of the St. John family, and the Lodge its existence to the Schools, and in the Parish Church it holds its occasional Masonic Services.

A pleasant feature is the connection maintained between the Lodge and the educational work of the Schools. Since 1918 prizes for one of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, Geometry, given by the Lodge, have been awarded in the two Schools. Rehearsals of the ceremonies and Emergency Meetings have been held at St. John's School and generous support has been given to Special School Efforts.

The volume under review has been more than usually well written, not inappropriately by one who is a Past Master of the Lodge and a former Master of Sir Walter St. John's School. Its format and its printing are worthy of commendation.

LEWIS EDWARDS.



FRIDAY, 3rd MAY, 1957



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M., *as* S.W.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.W.; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B., Steward; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. W. Marsh, H. L. Philips, E. M. P. Williams, H. H. Ponsford, H. Jenkins, A. K. Colborne, A. J. Beecher-Stow, P. J. Watts, P. P. Williams, G. M. Shaw, R. C. W. Hunter, S. G. Bailey, A. G. Stukeley, C. Y. Willcox, R. D. Reel, A. F. Hatten, C. Lawson-Reece, V. Roe, H. Stanley, F. A. Rosedale, R. A. Pratley, S. R. Gibbs, W. T. Hogg, W. J. Wyse, B. Foksett, R. A. Abell, F. E. Barber, E. Winterburgh, G. Norman Knight, L. E. L. Jones, H. E. Merritt, J. Denny and two illegible.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. W. Saunders, Lodge 4106; C. A. Carr, Lodge 2187; E. H. Ball, Lodge 21; and two illegible of Lodges 3458 and 4528.

Letters of apology for absence were recorded from Bros. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; 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.); 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.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.G.D., S.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., I.G.; and Lt.-Col. E. Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. 5386.

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

LODGE MEMBER

Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer - F. Bernhart

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE

Active Office—

Senior Grand Deacon - - - -	N. L. Eckhoff
Junior Grand Deacon - - - -	R. E. Pleasance
Assistant Grand Registrar - - - -	W. H. Coles
Assistant Grand Secretary - - - -	A. R. Jole
Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies -	T. D. Jenkins
	J. Huggins
	A. Burnand
Deputy Grand Sword Bearer - - - -	Major C. S. Dodwell

Promotion—

To Past Grand Deacon - - - - A. Leslie Smith, P.A.G.D.C.

Past Ranks—

Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies	L. J. Biddle
	R. R. Chamberlain
	R. H. Gummer
	E. T. Hand
	W. J. Howard
	H. W. Timms

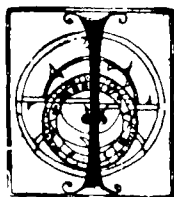
Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer	-	-	<i>Dr. R. Stansfield</i>
Past Grand Standard Bearers	-	-	<i>S. L. Addleman</i>
			<i>R. N. Birley</i>
			<i>J. E. Gimblett</i>
			<i>H. H. Hoffmann</i>
			<i>F. L. Holt</i>
			<i>H. C. Middleton</i>
			<i>E. Muddimer</i>
			<i>F. A. Nixon</i>

Four Lodges, one Royal Arch Chapter and forty-three Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

A short paper was read by the SECRETARY, entitled *Early Records of the Antients' Grand Lodge*, as follows:—

NOTES ON THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF THE ANTIENTS

BY BRO. J. R. DASHWOOD



HAVE to apologise for offering the Lodge an immature paper very inadequately worked up. I had expected to have for this meeting a paper on Freemasonry in Sweden, by our Bro. Lenander, of Kalmar, but owing to the sanction of the Swedish Grand Secretary not being received it has been necessary to find a substitute at short notice. I had hoped to offer this paper later, when I had something more worthy of your attention, for on it, and still more on the discussion, I hoped to base an introduction to the suggested Volume XI of *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, to consist of a transcript of the "Antients'" first Minute Book, plus (if the Lodge agrees) some 25 pages of Morgan's first Register. I am frankly out to pick your brains for that purpose, and hope that the discussion which follows will be worth far more than the paper which provokes it.

Prior to 1887 the existence of two Grand Lodges in London during the eighteenth century was always referred to as the "great Schism"; but in that year Henry Sadler published his *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, which, I believe, convinced all his readers except one (R. F. Gould) that no schism had ever taken place, since those who founded the "Antients'" Grand Lodge had never owed allegiance to the premier Grand Lodge of 1717. Rather was it an invasion of the territory of the original Grand Lodge by Masons who derived their origin principally from the Grand Lodge of Ireland; an invasion, moreover, which had occurred before any theory of exclusive jurisdiction had ever been formulated.

Poole (Gould's *History*, iii, p. 5) says: "We know nothing whatever of the preliminary steps taken; the first indications we have show a *fait accompli* . . . in February, 1752." This is hardly accurate, since a footnote to the Minutes of September 14th, 1752, refers to a General Assembly held on 17th July, 1751, for the purpose of compiling Rules and Orders for the government of the general body, and Morgan's Register records the same fact and gives the full text of those Rules and Orders.

Sadler gives it as his opinion that the foundations of what ultimately became the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" were laid about the year 1730, or alternatively (but not, in his opinion, so probably) in 1739, and were based upon the antagonism between the old Operative Masons and the more aristocratic Speculatives. Bernard Jones (*Compendium*, p. 193) says that the "Antients" were ". . . known in committee stage from 1739", but he quotes no authority for this statement. I suggest that there is no evidence bridging the gap between either 1730 or 1739 and 1751. I am quite willing to believe that at various times during that 12 or 21 years there had been dissatisfied Masons and Clandestine Masons, against whom the Grand Lodge fulminated; but that they were the same people, or even the lineal ancestors of the people who united to form the Grand Committee in 1751, seems to me quite unproven and inherently unlikely. The authentic school has always set its face against attempts to deduce the descent of Freemasonry from prehistoric times on the ground that there is no continuity; but just because the time between 1730 and 1751 is 20 years instead of 20 centuries, they have been quite happy to *presume* a continuity for which no evidence exists, so far as I know. And the fact that in 1751 the "Antients" numbered only five Lodges and about 80 Brethren is, in my opinion, a complete negation of any long-continued existence. A protestant band which was in being for 20, or even for 12, years must have built up to far more than five Lodges and 80 Brethren, or else have faded out. Moreover, the whole tenor of the Rules and Orders seems to me to indicate clearly that the movement had only recently begun when the Brethren held their meeting on 17th July, 1751.

According to the first Athol Register (Morgan's), the "Antients" sprang into existence with the registration of five Lodges (Nos. 2-6) on 17th July, while a sixth was added 12 days later—the number "1" was reserved until they should have a Grand Master and a Grand Master's Lodge. Morgan makes no claim which would justify us in thinking that all or any of these Lodges had been working for any great length of time, much less as much as 12 or 21 years. And, indeed, an examination of the Register shows that in 1751 the number of Masons in each of the six Lodges was only—

No. 2	...	...	12	members	
3	...	...	10	"	
4	...	...	18	"	
5	...	...	20	"	
6	...	...	19	"	
7	...	...	5	"	(the co-opted Lodge)
			—		
			84	"	
			—		

which does not look like any long-continued existence ; moreover, the turn-over of members was very high—no fewer than 26 of these 84 are shown to have left the Lodges within the first year, the commonest reasons being return to Ireland or exclusion for non-payment. The first list of Lodges in the Register shows that before a year had elapsed the five Lodges had become ten, and five more were added in the succeeding six months—surely an indication that the original five were of but a few months' growth at most. For some almost contemporary, though inimical, evidence, Bro. Lepper quotes a letter of James Heseltine, dated 8th August, 1769: " With respect to the . . . Ancient Masons, they are a set of men who first made their appearance about the year 1746 . . ." This sounds to me much more likely than 1730 or 1739.

The Rules and Orders in Morgan's Register are followed by further Resolutions, dated 14th September, 1752, that Warrants should be issued to the original five Lodges who had united on 17th July, 1751, " to revive the Ancient Craft ". In other words, the resolution was to regularise the five Lodges by back-dating their Warrants to the time when they first became organised together. No. 7 was ordered to be back-dated to 29th July, implying that it was not one of the original five, but was the first to join the new organisation. In Morgan's first List of Lodges the next three Lodges are given (in the order 10, 9, 8) under dates, No. 8, 29th January, 1752 ; No. 9, the following day ; and No. 10, 1st February. These dates are obviously fictitious, and the Lodges were probably all sanctioned on the same day, but successive dates appended in order to differentiate their seniority.

I take it that the word " revived " has very much the same meaning as it had when Anderson says that the premier Grand Lodge " forthwith revived " the Quarterly Communications.

So that, while we all probably agree that Lodges did exist at various times between 1730 and 1751, which acknowledged no allegiance to the Grand Lodge of 1717, my contention is that there is nothing whatever to suggest continuity either between themselves or between them and the five Lodges of 1751. On the contrary, I think there is everything to suggest that the five Lodges were formed by Irish Masons who had *only recently arrived in England*, to find that their working differed from that of the London Lodges, and who decided to perpetuate their own familiar working rather than join up with Lodges which worked differently. I believe that their first objection to the premier Grand Lodge was not that it had been untrue to its own original landmarks, but merely that its working was not what they were accustomed to in Ireland ; it was probably only later (and I would see in this the hand of Dermott) that they realised that actual alterations had been made.

MORGAN'S REGISTER

This begins with an alphabetical index to the Register of Masons, which forms the largest part of the book. This is followed by the code of " Rules & Orders As agreed and settled by a Committee appointed by a general Assembly held at the Turks Head in Greek Street Soho on Wednesday the 17th of July 1751 ". These consist of an original 16 Rules, believed to be in Morgan's handwriting, plus two which were added later, as noted with dates in the margin, and are believed to be written by Dermott.

Following the Rules come the two resolutions to regularise the Lodges. Then a brief " Black List ", which is manifestly incomplete, and then the main item of the book, the Register of Members, consisting of some 1,014 names registered between 1751 and 1755. Almost the whole of the rest of the book is blank ; but at the end there are three Lists of Lodges—the first covering the period July, 1751, to the end of 1752, and showing a total of 16 Lodges. The second, starting as at 27th December, 1752, continues down to August, 1754, and gives a total of 37 Lodges ; it also shows that Nos. 7 and 10 have been erased and the numbers closed up. The third List is dated 24th June, 1755, and is very imperfect ; it purports to give particulars of some 64 Lodges down to 1757, but at least 20 of these numbers are blank and many more are lacking in essential particulars.

THE FIRST MINUTE BOOK

This, as everyone knows, starts with the meeting of the Grand Committee on 5th February, 1752, at which was recorded the impending departure of the Grand Secretary, John

Morgan, to take up a post on board ship, and the election of Laurence Dermott in his place—perhaps the most momentous event in the whole history of the “Antients”. It was their good fortune, and the tragedy of the “Moderns”, that the former placed their clerical work in such able, and the latter in such feeble, hands. Bernard Jones (*Compendium*, p. 194) says that it was the weak administration of the premier Grand Lodge (more particularly between 1742 and 1752, during which years 45 Lodges were erased from the Roll) that made it easy for the malcontents to form a rival Grand Lodge; but he gives the impression that he lays most of the blame on the Grand Masters. Calvert, on the other hand, seems to me to lay his finger on the vital spot when he writes (*Grand Lodge Secretaries*, p. 9) that “the older Grand Lodge . . . had been content to leave its secretarial work to a succession of mediocrities”.

Dermott was not one of the little band of 80 who united to perpetuate their own method of working in July, 1751. He comes on the Register only as No. 114, when he was one of those who received the Warrant for Lodge No. 10 on 1st February, 1752—that is, only four days before his election as Grand Secretary. It has been frequently stated that he first of all joined a “Moderns” Lodge in 1748; Bro. Heron Lepper pointed out¹ that the probable source of this statement was a passage from *Ahiman Rezon* (3rd ed., London, 1778, p. xxix):

“Several eminent craftsmen . . . importuned me to give them some account of what is called modern masonry in London. I cannot be displeased with such importunities, because I had the like curiosity myself in 1748, when I was first introduced into that society.”

But Lepper adds that this passage may well mean merely that Dermott *visited* a “Modern” Lodge in 1748. On the other hand, if he was unattached, it seems difficult to account for his not having joined the five Lodges in 1751.

John Morris, the rival candidate for the Grand Secretaryship on February 5th, was No. 58 on the Register, being an original member of Lodge No. 5, which, however, he left on 27th December, 1751, to become Master of No. 9. There were clearly no hard feelings between Dermott and Morris, for on February 24th Dermott left No. 10 to join No. 9 at Morris’ request. Neither of them stayed with No. 9 long, for Dermott resigned on 20th June and Morris on 15th August, and, curiously, neither seems to have joined any other Lodge—at least, for some considerable time; so being unattached seems to have been no bar to Grand Office.

From Morgan’s Register we learn the date of Dermott’s Initiation, 14th January, 1740, in Lodge No. 26, Dublin, of which Lodge we know he had become Master on 24th June, 1746. As he was born in 1720, he was Initiated under full age.

MORGAN’S RECORDS

Apart from his Register, Morgan seems to have kept nothing in the way of a Minute Book, or any record of any transactions between July, 1751, and February, 1752. Dermott states that he received nothing except the Register, and that it was his belief that Morgan did not keep minutes. He made enquiries of all the Brethren present on 6th December whether Morgan had had any other books, and everyone said they knew of none except a Roll of the Old Charges.

GRAND LODGE OR GRAND COMMITTEE

From February, 1752, to December, 1753, the Minutes speak of the meetings generally as being those of a Grand Committee. Lane (*A.Q.C.*, v, p. 166) was of the opinion that the organisation could be called properly a Grand Lodge from July, 1751. I think we should be ready to concede that it would be a distinction without a difference if we could be satisfied that the meetings were opened and closed as a Lodge, but there seems to be no certainty. In the Minutes of May 6th, 1752, the Master of Lodge No. 7 proposed: “That this Grand Committee be removed back to the Turks head Tavern in Greek Street Soho where it had been long held under the Title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Massons of the Old Institution.” But “the motion was not seconded & therefore dropt”. Whether there was any truth in the statement that it was formerly known as a “Grand Lodge” cannot be confirmed. Many things are recorded as done in the Grand Committee which, we feel, could only be properly done in open Lodge, while in a number of cases the meeting is said to have been “closed”; on the other hand, on September 2nd, 1752, it was specifically resolved that “this Grand Committee shall be formed immediately into a Working Lodge of Master Masons” in order to hear a Lecture from the Grand Secretary, and thereupon “The Lodge was Opened in Antient form of Grand Lodge”. On December 5th, 1753, the meeting is still called a Committee, but a Grand Master is not only chosen, but forthwith installed and

¹ *Misc. Lat.*, xvi, p. 122.

saluted, which one can hardly imagine could be done except in open Lodge ; the meeting is "Closed and Adjourned". The following meeting is stated to be a Grand Lodge in ample form, so possibly the only difference is the existence of a Grand Master and the Committee was always opened as a Lodge.

The year 1752 must have been, for the ordinary man, an interesting and rather puzzling one ; for many centuries the Calendar had been gaining on the Sun by about 11 minutes every year, and in the year 1582 Pope Gregory XIII corrected the Calendar by omitting 10 days ; England, however, did not adopt the new-style Calendar until this year of 1752, when it became necessary to omit 11 days to bring it right ; accordingly, the days from September 3rd to 13th, both inclusive, were omitted, and September had only 19 days instead of 30. The "Antients" Grand Committee, whose regular meeting fell on Wednesday, September 2nd, the last day of the old style, must, I think, have deliberately decided to celebrate the new style by meeting that day also ; they therefore met on two consecutive days—Wednesday, September 2nd, old style, and Thursday, September 14th, new style. However, they seem to have been a bit muddled by the new Calendar, for they held their next two meetings on the first *Fridays* of October and November, instead of the first Wednesday, although in each case the preceding meeting is said to have been "Adjourn'd to the first Wednesday" of the following month ; it was not until December 6th that they got back to the correct day of the week. It would have been interesting if we could have compared the reactions of the premier Grand Lodge to the change of Calendar, but their Minute Book affords no clue, for they held no meeting between June 18th and November 30th. Whether an intermediate Quarterly Communication should have fallen on one of the missing days of September and was for that reason omitted we cannot know, since their meetings were so irregularly held in any case.

This special meeting of the "Antients" on 14th September, new style, is of great importance to us, for it directly links up the Minute Book with Morgan's Register, and records, only in general terms in the former, the passing of the resolutions which are set out at length in the Register, including the back-dating of the Warrants of Lodges Nos. 2-6 to July 17th, 1751, "the day on which the said lodges met . . . to revive the Ancient Craft". Moreover, a footnote by Dermott after the meeting ended confirms Morgan's record of the meeting of July 17, and records his belief that Morgan had kept no Minutes, though in both cases evidence can be only hearsay.

ROYAL ARCH

The first mention in the Minute Book of the Royal Arch is a casual one on March 4th, 1752, in connection with two impostors who "pretended to have made Royal Archmen", but "had not the least Idea of that secret". Neither of the impostors, Thomas Phaelon and John Mackey, belonged to any "Antient" Lodge ; presumably they were clandestine Masons. The next reference to the Royal Arch is on September 2nd, when (the Lodge having been opened) Dermott gave an exposition of "every part of Real freemasonry . . . except the Royal Arch". In view of the fact that two-thirds of his audience were Wardens, it is interesting to note that the Minute did not read "except the Installation and the Royal Arch". As we are dealing only with the *early* records, other references to the Royal Arch do not come within our purview ; nor would they be easy to discuss either in a Craft Lodge or in print.

LODGE No. 1

Gould (*Atholl Lodges*, p. 1) states that the Grand Master's Lodge dates from August 13th, 1759 ; what, then, is the Lodge No. 1 mentioned in the Minutes of September 2nd, 1756, as being the Lodge to which Dermott then belonged ? Again, in the Minutes of March 13th, 1757, four members of Lodge No. 1 are listed, namely, Robert Turner (who is described as "G.M.", though actually he was Past G.M.), the Senior and Junior Grand Wardens, and the Grand Secretary ; this leads me to think that Lodge No. 1 was a synonym for the Grand Lodge itself ; the only alternative I can see is that it may refer to the Committee of Charity, which from November 6th, 1754, "is to be call'd the Stewards Lodge for the future" ; but whether this was actually a constituted Lodge at this period there is no evidence.

I have touched only the very fringe of my subject, and have produced nothing new, unless it be some new mistakes ; but I am counting on the Lodge's comments to make up for my deficiencies.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Secretary, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the acting S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. H. Carr, Norman Rogers, H. C. Booth, Lewis Edwards, E. M. P. Williams, C. Lawson-Reece, Ivor Grantham, G. S. Draffen, E. Newton, E. Winterburgh, W. Waples, E. Ward and Bernard E. Jones.

Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER said:—

There may be some doubt in your minds as to whom I propose a vote of thanks for this afternoon's paper; is it to our I.P.M. or to our Bro. Secretary?

But there can be no doubt our best thanks are due to Bro. John Dashwood for his very interesting analysis of the beginnings of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients".

Bro. Dashwood commences with an apology, but I would assure him that none is needed, and that our feeling is one of gratitude for his so manfully attacking the task and filling the breach so well that our meeting has indeed been a profitable one.

This his paper foreshadows another addition to the *Antigrapha* published by Quatuor Coronati will be welcome news to all Masonic students who have appreciated Vol. X, which gave us the early Minutes of the "Moderns" Grand Lodge. To have equal ease of access to those of the "Antients" will be a boon.

Bro. Dashwood says, "I am frankly out to pick your brains", and I am sure those of our members who have directed their researches to the "Ancients" will readily give of their knowledge. Unfortunately, I am not one of these, and when he uses the phrase, "as everyone knows"—referring to the start of the Minutes of the Grand Committee on 5th February, 1752—I find I do not rank with "everyone"!

The only minutes of an "Antients" Lodge to which I have had access are those of "The Eight Brothers", founded at Gosport in 1812 in the North Devon Militia. Returning to Barnstaple to be disbanded, they record: "27 Dec., 1814. Lodge No. 286 met in due form when the Officers were Installed for the ensuing six months. The Officers and Brothers then proceeded to give the 'New Instructions' to Lodge No. 469 [my mother Lodge, now No. 251] after which spent the day in Memory of St. John, and parted in good harmony at 9 oc."

That they were willing to give the 'New Instructions' to a Lodge senior to them by 25 years has always typified for me the "Antients'" attitude.

Personally, I have found Bro. Dashwood's paper full of interesting information, most clearly set forth, and I therefore move that our grateful thanks be extended to him.

Bro. S. POPE said:—

The subject of Bro. Dashwood's short paper is one about which very little is known, and it is a great pity he has had to make use of it before he has had time to develop it as we know he would have wished.

As Bro. Dashwood has said, we hope the discussion will bring out something more of the early days prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients".

Whatever the cause of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" being formed in 1751, it would seem to have exerted a far greater influence than the number of its Lodges or members warranted. However, when we take into consideration that both of these Grand Lodges were meeting in London, this difference is reduced considerably.

By 1770 the number of "Antient" Lodges in London was about 28 and there was an equal number of "Modern" Lodges; from that date, however, the number of "Modern" Lodges meeting in the Provinces increased rapidly, owing to the industrial development taking place there, while the number of Lodges meeting in London declined. The number of "Antient" Lodges in London rose steadily until by 1813 the difference of some 136 Lodges in 1777 had been reduced to a little over 30; had these respective rates of decrease and increase continued and had the Union of the two Grand Lodges not taken place, the number of London Lodges under the Grand Lodge of the Antients would have equalled that of the Moderns by 1827.

I beg to second the vote of thanks.

Bro. H. CARR said:—

Bro. Dashwood has paid us a great compliment by inviting our comments on the many interesting problems he has posed in his paper, for he implies that our views are not to be treated as an end in themselves, but in order to assist him in preparing the ground work for a much deeper study of the subject which will accompany the proposed publication of the "Antients" first minute book.

Taking his stand on the fact that there were only five "Antients" Lodges in 1751, Bro. Dashwood draws the conclusion that they must have been a newly-founded organisation; and the lack of evidence of any seeds of a rival organisation in the 1730's or in 1739 leads him to argue that the dissident and clandestine masons (of c. 1730 and 1739) were unlikely to have been the lineal ancestors of the "Antients". But is not this an over-simplification of the questions involved?

Sadler has shown that there was definitely no "Schism" in the sense of an *organised* break-away from the Premier G.L. But at any time between 1717 and 1751 there must have been numerous Lodges, both in London and the provinces, which owed no allegiance to the Grand Lodge. A great variety of reasons may have prompted their abstention, *e.g.*:—

- (a) Lodges which are independent through ignorance, knowing little or nothing of the G.L. or its objects.
- (b) Those which stayed clear because they wanted to remain independent.
- (c) The "Traditioners" (or dissidents?) who would not accept the "changes" instituted by the Gr. L. in 1730-1739?
- (d) The artizan Lodges who may have abstained for reasons of social status.
- (e) Some of the forty-five lodges "erased" by the "Moderns" from 1742-1752.

If we are seeking the lineal ancestors of the five "Antient" Lodges, is it not possible that they might be found in any of these categories?

I am *not* convinced that the fact of only five lodges at the foundation of the "Antients" can be taken as a sure guide to the age or youthfulness of the new organisation. These five, and several of the later "Antients'" Lodges, might have been in existence for years without anything more than a loose visiting relationship with each other, before they decided to combine into a Grand Lodge. The "Heseltine" letter with the date "about 1746" may have been near the truth, and even this comparatively late date would imply that the Lodges were in existence for some five years before they took steps to organise themselves. The "Heseltine" quotation, divorced from its context, does not quite convey the air of uncertainty with which he puts forward the date of 1746, but we *must* make allowances for the fact that he was describing a *major* event which had happened in the Craft practically during his *own* life-time.

Sadler, describing the Grand Lodge discourtesy in 1735 "the Master and Wardens of a Lodge from Ireland" who were refused admission to the Grand Lodge because they had "no particular Recommendation" (F. & F. pp. 126-7) suggests that this was a pattern of behaviour followed by other English Lodges of that time, and he concludes that this must have induced the Irishmen to form their own Lodges. If so, then the seeds of the "Antients'" organisation were certainly planted in England *long* before 1751.

It might well be argued that Sadler attached too much importance to an isolated incident (albeit a well attested one.) There was a very substantial immigration of the Irish artizan classes in the early years of the eighteenth century, and the famine years 1727 and 1740 must have brought many more poor Irish into this country. Was the ill-mannered attitude of the Grand L. towards the immigrant masons founded on snobbery? If so, then social status alone would have been enough to prompt them to set up their own Lodges, and thus we have the possibility of three distinct periods before 1751 in which the "Irish" Lodges may have developed.

Sadler's analysis of the Irish names in the "Antients'" Lodge No. 2 was a valuable piece of work, but if we are not entirely satisfied with the completeness of the evidence of Irish influence, I suggest that there are at least two earlier lists of names which might be examined to see if any of them subsequently appear in Morgan's Register:—

- (1) Those in the "Moderns'" records, of Masters and Wardens of Lodges, say, from 1740-1751.
- (2) In the names of the Masters and Wardens of the 45 "Moderns'" Lodges that were erased between 1742 and 1752.

The latter source may be particularly useful. "Erasure", from the "Moderns'" point of view, was simply a book-entry, but the Lodges thus disowned probably continued to function in many cases, and they may have provided some of the new recruits for the "Ancients".

Bro. Dashwood has laid some stress on differences of "working" as between the Irish immigrants and the English Lodges, implying that this was a prime reason for the rise of the Irish Lodges (and subsequently of the "Ancients"). I would refer here to Bro. Lepper's "Traditioners" (*A.Q.C.*, lvi, pp. 191 *folg.*), upon which Bro. Knoop made some valuable comments, showing that ritual generally (*i.e.*, not only of the "Moderns") was in a state of change and development, and that the Traditioners, and later the "Ancients", were all responsible for modification of ritual during the eighteenth century.

One thing is perfectly clear—that if ritual was the deep-rooted original cause of the rise of the "Ancients", a great number of Lodges which had, so far as we can judge, exactly the same reasons for breaking away from the Grand Lodge had been well content for years to do nothing about the matter at all!

Is it possible that the original cause of the rise of the "Ancients" was not a question of ritual differences? Knoop and Lepper were agreed that several "Traditioner" Lodges were practising an *unchanged* rite which must have been virtually identical with that of the

"Ancients" later on. In that case the Irish immigrants must have had ample opportunity to find Lodges with workings acceptable to them.

Is it possible that the "Ancients" owed their rise not to ritual, but to social differences; or did they come into existence simply because men, in every stage of civilisation, have a natural desire for organisation and leadership?

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It is refreshing to have a short paper on such a controversial subject, and particularly one which induces arguments which, at this late stage, can be inferential only.

Bro. Dashwood's statements that "in 1751 the 'Antients' numbered only five Lodges and about 80 Brethren is a complete negation of any long-continued existence", and the following one that "before a year had elapsed the five Lodges had become ten, and five more were added in the succeeding six months—surely an indication that the original five were of but a few months' growth at most", requires a little support, which can be obtained from Lane's *Masonic Records*. His theory of an ephemeral growth is supported by an examination of Lane's List and a comparison with Morgan's Register.

The latter shows that in August, 1754, there were 37 "Antients'" Lodges; Lane's List to the end of 1753 records 29 Lodges, of which only No. 25, Bristol, was outside London. Of these 29, no less than 22 were struck off by 1759 and five others by 1776, leaving only two which have survived to today, Nos. 1 and 9, the latter being now the oldest "Antients'" Lodge—Kent Lodge No. 15. But the most important evidence to support Bro. Dashwood's theory is that all the original five quickly ceased to function, Nos. 3 to 6 being struck off in 1752-55, and No. 2 in 1769.

The "Irish" theory may be supported by a majority of the names on the first Register and the "different working" statement, but the alternative one of a mixture with dissentients who had been struck off the "Moderns'" List is equally tenable. Twenty London Lodges were struck off in 1745 alone (*A.Q.C.*, lxviii, 130) and others in the intervening years. Can we not say that as the Original Grand Lodge was formed through a fusion of Operatives and Speculatives, so the "Antients'" Grand Lodge was the result of an amalgamation of Irish and English masons, who adopted Irish practices because of the overwhelming efficiency of Laurence Dermott?

With regard to the reasons which gave birth to the "Antients'" Grand Lodge, many writers have followed Bro. Arthur Heiron in *The Old Dundee Lodge*, where he asserted that the "Moderns" had changed the words, yet he gives no evidence of any transposition. He, and many others, are too apt to read something into the resolution of the "Moderns'" Grand Lodge on 12th April, 1809, which is not there. The resolution reads:—

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

Is this resolution not open to the submission that it simply meant the non-recognition of irregular Lodges—such as the "Antients" were considered to be—which was now to be abandoned, so that the "Moderns'" members could be allowed to fraternise with the "Antients" and so pave the way to the Union?

We must not forget that Noorthouck (who was much nearer the scene) fulminated in at least three passages of the 1784 *Book of Constitutions* against "clandestine meetings", and implied in one that it was the "Antients" who insisted that the regular Lodges had adopted new measures. Then, too, Preston, in his *Illustrations of Masonry*, supported the same assertions as Noorthouck.

Much of the evidence comes from *Ahiman Rezon*, where Dermott pours ridicule on the older Grand Lodge for their lack of recognition of what he considered to be traditional, *viz.*, the two St. John's Days, the Installation Ceremony and, above all, the rejection of the Royal Arch. It is quite possible that there may be a sub-stratum of truth in his somewhat heavy humour on these matters, but are we still certain that Laurence Dermott was correct in the fun which he poked at "Rum", even assuming that the words *had* been changed "in or about the year 1739"?

I am mindful of another fact, *viz.*, that Freemasonry was established in France in the early days of the Original Grand Lodge, and was transmitted from there to Sweden in 1731, the Grand Lodge of Sweden being formed in 1759. If, therefore, the "Moderns" had transposed the words, how is it that they are still transposed in that Rite? I have no answer to my own question, except the thought that pressure from the "Antients" and the Irish

Grand Lodge, and the wish of the Noble and Royal Grand Masters for peace, resulted in the "Moderns" agreeing to the change.

May Bro. Dashwood be successful in his new venture and bring more light on many obscure matters in eighteenth century Masonic history!

Bro. H. C. BOOTH said:—

I think that the seeds of the break-away, in what came to be called the "great Schism", were in evidence at an earlier date than 1730. At the time of the dispute in 1722 between the Dukes of Wharton and Montague, as related by Sadler (see *M.F. and F.*, pages 23, 24, 25), and which ended in the Duke of Wharton being proclaimed Grand Master on 17th January, 1723, Wharton being more interested in the Operative, and Montague, who was Grand Master in 1722, taking the side of the Speculative.

The history of those times, as related by Sadler, reveals the general characters of the "Moderns" as compared with the "Antients". The "Moderns" neglected and dropped the old customs of the Operatives, especially the keeping of the feasts of the two SS. John and the Installation Ceremony.

Sadler, on pages 157 and 158, says:—

"In the regular Grand Lodge of the 'Moderns', April 12th, 1809, the following Resolution was passed: 'That this Grand Lodge do agree in Opinion with the Committee of Charity, that it is not necessary any longer to continue in force those Measures which were resorted to, in or about the year 1739, respecting irregular Masons, and do therefore enjoin the several Lodges to revert to the Ancient Land-Marks of the Society.'"

What a confession to make! That they had departed from the Ancient Land-Marks of the Order and were ignorant of the precise period when this was done.

A Warrant was issued by the "Moderns'" G.L. for a Special Lodge of Promulgation to correct the laxity of their members.

19th October, 1810: "Resolved that it appears to this Lodge, that the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges is one of the two Landmarks of the Craft and ought to be observed."

"Resolved that it be referred to those members of this Lodge who are Installed Masters, to *Install the R.W.M. of this Lodge*, and under his direction take such measures as may appear necessary for Installing Masters of Lodges." (See Sadler, pages 157 to 161.)

On the 16th November, 1810, at a special Installation Lodge of Installed Masters, they installed Bro. James Earnshaw the R.W. Master, and also put a number of members of Lodges, who had occupied the Chair, through the ceremony. This went on for months to qualify their members before the coming Union of the Grand Lodges. They had to fall back on the Athol members to carry this out.

No wonder Sadler says the only old customs of the "Moderns" which survived the Union were the privileges of the Grand Stewards and the Grand Masters' prerogative of appointing the Grand Officers.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

Despite, or perhaps because of, the author's depreciatory tone, I venture to suggest that it is well that he has set out his facts and his tentative doubts and conclusions in the way he has done. It would not be amiss if, with regard to the other so to speak elements of English Masonic history, more Brethren set out facts, however well known, in so scholarly and undogmatic a fashion.

The only point of detail with which I want to deal is the use of the term "Grand Committee". Perhaps it would be an advantage to consider the sense in which the term was used in the middle of the eighteenth century by reference to contemporary dictionaries and to Parliamentary debates from, say, the Great Civil War to 1750. Even in modern usages the term "Committee of the Whole" has its own connotation, *i.e.*, the whole assembly met for special purposes.

Bro. E. M. P. WILLIAMS said:—

Gould's statement (Atholl Lodges, No. 1) that the Grand Master's Lodge dates from 13th August, 1759, would appear to be based entirely on the date of the Warrant. And the date of the Warrant has until recently been the accepted date of the Grand Master's Lodge.

Does the date mean anything more than that Lord Blesington signed it on that day? Although he was installed (by proxy) in March, 1757, Lord Blesington never attended a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge during his years as Grand Master. (He may not even have been in the country.) I suggest the Warrant is merely a confirmatory Warrant of a Lodge which was already in existence, and that 13th August, 1759, was the first chance Laurence Dermott had of getting Lord Blesington's signature! By the wording of the Warrant, it was to form and hold a Lodge of Grand Officers, but with authority to enter, admit and make Freemasons.

On the other hand, as early as 2nd September, 1756 (before Lord Blesington had become Grand Master), there is the reference to Laurence Dermott as a member of No. 1. What is more, in the first Atholl Register the original five Lodges are shown as Nos. 2 to 6. Obviously, the space (No. 1) was left for the Grand Master's Lodge as soon as there was a Grand Master to give his name to it. This could not happen until after Robert Turner was elected Grand Master in December, 1753, and there was a Grand Master and his Grand Officers available to form a Lodge. (It is interesting to note that on 13th March, 1757, Robert Turner is mentioned as a member of No. 1. He was the first person who could have officially authorised the formation of the Grand Master's Lodge.) These references to No. 1 are incidental and would suggest that the Lodge was already in existence.

The next point of interest is that in none of the Atholl Registers (Nos. 1 to 5) is the blank space filled with a reference to No. 1 or the Grand Master's Lodge. This is perhaps not so surprising when it is remembered that the Registers are largely concerned with returns of dues paid by private Lodges to Grand Lodge. Laurence Dermott ran the Grand Master's Lodge himself. In any case, the Lodge did not pay dues in the accepted sense of the word, but merely made contributions to Grand Lodge funds from time to time. Indeed, it was not until 1794 that the Lodge voted to bring its contributions to Grand Lodge in line with other Lodges. There was no need for the Register to record payment of dues from a Lodge which did not pay them as dues, but on a voluntary basis.

Bro. Bernard Davis and I have gone into these points at considerable length in the revised History of the Lodge (now being printed), and we are convinced that much of the apparent difficulties arose from the fact that Dermott kept any records of the Lodge himself, and to himself. Further, he used the Lodge as a Lodge of high policy—witness the occasion when he summoned the Grand Master's Lodge in February, 1775, to initiate, pass and raise, and install as Master of the Lodge the 4th Duke of Atholl, all in one evening, before calling on him to accept the Grand Mastership! What is more, in shaping his Grand Master's Lodge he followed in many ways the Irish model, namely, the Grand Master's Lodge of Ireland. The latter had many privileges compared with private Irish Lodges, and we find traces of these same privileges cropping up in the English counterpart's records, though they were eventually discarded or allowed to lapse.

The Grand Master's Lodge was very much the concern, almost the property, of Laurence Dermott, who was a giant amongst the "Antient" minnows and very much a law unto himself. He needed some source of authority for some of his actions before he carried them in Grand Lodge, which in those days suffered from a surfeit of mediocrity. I sometimes wonder whether, on the analogy of the Stewards' Lodge performing the duties of the Committee of Charity, the Grand Master's Lodge was not used in the early days as a form of Board of General Purposes, consisting of selected Grand Officers—at least while Laurence Dermott ran the Grand Lodge of the "Antients".

That last must be considered mere surmise. At least, the Lodge has been able to satisfy Grand Lodge that there is sufficient continuity to justify grant of a Bi-Centenary Warrant, to date from 2nd September, 1756.

Bro. C. LAWSON-REECE said:—

I have heard it suggested that in the period leading up to the 1751 Assembly the Grand Lodge of Ireland was in no way displeased at the development in London of a movement in opposition to the Premier Grand Lodge, and that Dermott's activities may have enjoyed a greater measure of support from Dublin than is generally admitted. I should be interested to know if Bro. Dashwood has come across any concrete evidence of active participation by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the establishment of a new and more congenial Grand Lodge in England.

BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM writes:—

From the opening paragraph of this brief but interesting paper it is gratifying to learn from its author that, after an interval of 44 years, there is now a distinct possibility that the Lodge may soon be in a position to publish a further volume in its series of valuable reprints (*Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*), to which an amplification of this paper would form an introduction.

At the end of the paper reference is made to the mystery which surrounds the formation of the Grand Master's Lodge of the "Ancients"—No. 1 on the roll of that Grand Lodge and, by the luck of the draw, No. 1 on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England ever since the Union of 1813. Bro. Dashwood, quoting Gould, states that this Lodge dates from 13th August, 1759, and asks a number of pertinent questions concerning earlier allusions in the Grand Lodge minutes to an unnamed Lodge numbered 1. The invitation to comment upon this paper affords a suitable opportunity to mention that the Grand Master's Lodge has recently been favoured by the Grand Master with a Bi-Centenary Warrant acknowledging its existence since 2nd September, 1756, nearly three years before the date of its Warrant of Constitution.

This Warrant of Constitution, dated 13th August, 1759 (the date mentioned by Gould), is unique in form in that it constituted "the Officers of the Grand Lodge to form and hold a Lodge of Grand Officers to be distinguished by the Name and Title of the GRAND MASTER'S LODGE". In this Warrant the Grand Master appointed the Deputy Grand Master to be the Master of the Lodge and the two Grand Wardens to be the Wardens, and authorised the members of the Lodge "to make Free-Masons . . . and . . . To Nominate, Chuse and Instal their Successors . . . during the Continuance of the Lodge for ever". But it is, I think, clear that the Grand Master's Lodge had been in existence for several years before the grant of this Warrant.

As Bro. Dashwood has pointed out, those present in Grand Lodge on 13th March, 1757, included Robert Turner, the first Grand Master of the "Ancients", the Senior and the Junior Wardens of the year, and the Grand Secretary (Laurence Dermott), all of whom were described in the minutes as being of "No. 1". An even earlier minute, relating to the proceedings of 2nd September, 1756, gave the names of Brethren appointed by Grand Lodge as a Committee to examine certain candlesticks. Two of these Brethren were described as belonging to No. 4, two others to No. 54, one to No. 46 and one other (Dermott himself) to No. 1. It is, therefore, evident that as early as 2nd September, 1756, a Lodge then known as No. 1 was officially recognised, and that this Lodge comprised amongst its members the first Grand Master, the two Grand Wardens and the Grand Secretary, who was the main-spring of this Grand Lodge.

Unless I have misread these early records of the "Ancients", provision for what was intended to be the premier Lodge on the roll was made in the official registers and lists from the beginning. In these early records the first Lodge to be mentioned is a Lodge numbered 2, indicating an intention to constitute a senior Lodge which should take precedence over all other Lodges on the roll.

On 14th September, 1752—some four years before the first mention of Lodge No. 1—it had been resolved by the Grand Committee:—

"That the Grand Secretary shall write Warrants (on Parchment) for the Unwarranted Lodges viz The Lodges known by the Title of No. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and that all the said Warrants shall bare date July the seventeenth One thousand Seven hundred fifty and One being the day on which the said Lodges met . . . to revive the Ancient Craft";

and it had been further resolved that these Warrants should remain unsigned until after the election of a Grand Master. Between this year 1752 and 1759, the year in which the Grand Master's Lodge received its Warrant, more than fifty other Lodges had been constituted by the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients"—some by formal warrant, others merely by dispensation.

In the case of a Lodge to be composed exclusively of Grand Officers, and to be known as the Grand Master's Lodge, a written authority for its formation may well have been considered superfluous at first. But whatever the nature of the authority, whether oral or written, the fact remains that a Lodge of Grand Officers was actually constituted some time between 1752 and 1756, and that in August, 1759, the special character of this Lodge was confirmed by the grant of a Warrant of Constitution.

I should much like to be associated with the vote of thanks which will be accorded to the Lecturer on this occasion, and I much regret my inability to be present in Lodge to listen to the reading of the paper and to the subsequent comments.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN writes:—

While this paper is possibly one of the shortest that has been read before the Lodge, it is by no means the least interesting, and will, I fancy, give rise to a good deal of controversy.

Bro. Dashwood's contention is succinctly summarised in the eighth paragraph of his paper, but it is not a contention with which I find myself in agreement, and for the very reasons which Bro. Dashwood advances in support of his contention—the lack of evidence. Such evidence as Bro. Dashwood advances in support of his contention is largely circumstantial. Circumstantial evidence can be strong—as, for instance, when one finds a trout in the milk—but I fear that Bro. Dashwood's trout has shrunk to a minnow, for I really cannot accept his thesis that “A Protestant band which was in being for 20, or even for 12, years must have built up to far more than five Lodges and 80 Brethren, or else have faded out”. Why must it? In my view there is no “must” about it. It could very well have happened exactly as Bro. Dashwood says it could not have happened. That it has happened in another connection is proved by the fact that only last year a very small religious sect in Scotland (the Original Secession Church) reunited with the Church of Scotland after a period of more than 100 years with only five churches having neither grown nor decreased to any notable extent.

If Bro. Dashwood's contention is correct, *i.e.*, “That the five Lodges of the ‘Antients’ were formed by Irish masons . . . who had (found) their working differed from that of the London Lodges, etc., etc.”, then it necessarily follows that there must have been some indigenous working in Ireland, but have we any proof of that? In any event, do we know what the Irish Ritual was at that time? I mention an indigenous working, for it seems to me unlikely that the Irish Masons could have so altered an English working exported to their country during the short time between 1717 and 1746 as to make it vastly different from its source.

Bro. Dashwood is perfectly entitled to his theory, but we must remember that it is only a theory (as, I feel sure, he would himself agree) and that there is yet insufficient evidence to support it. I have a theory which I think is equally valid, but only supported on as little evidence as Bro. Dashwood's contention brings forward for his theory.

It is not even certain how many Lodges took part in the formation of the Grand Lodge of England. There were certainly four, probably five, and possibly six (*The Genesis of Freemasonry*, Knoop, 1948) Lodges represented at the meeting held on 24th June, 1717, at the Apple Tree Tavern. If there were actually six Lodges represented, it is not unfair to assume that only the four recorded by Anderson agreed to the formation (or revival) of the Grand Lodge and that the other two abstained from taking any part in the affair. They may have been represented by what is now known as “observers”, with instructions to report to their Lodges favourably or otherwise as to this new project. It can hardly be supposed that the meeting at the Apple Tree was an unplanned and purely fortuitous meeting. In the nature of things the idea of the formation or revival of a Grand Lodge must have come from some person or body of persons. It would be natural if they were to inform all the other London Lodges of whose existence they were aware of their idea and to solicit their aid in carrying out the scheme. The records of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland are sufficiently clear to enable us to see how this was gone about in Scotland, and it is probable that something similar was done in London, of which no record now remains. In my view the meeting at the Apple Tree Tavern was an arranged meeting, and whether it was intended to create a Grand Lodge or to revive a Grand Lodge is immaterial to the present subject.

If this be agreed, then we may fairly assume that the progenitors of the idea of a Grand Lodge, whether individuals or a Lodge, and whether for a revival or a new creation, notified all the Lodges in London of their intentions with the idea of getting as much support as possible. Sadler¹ was of the opinion that there were undoubtedly more than four Lodges at the Foundation Meeting of the Grand Lodge, and the evidence of the minutes of the Grand Lodge, subsequent to 1723, on the subject of “irregularities”, “unattached brethren” and “unlawful makings”, clearly indicates the existence, in London, of Lodges other than those which recognised the authority of the new (or revived) Grand Lodge.

It is also clear, from the minutes of the Grand Lodge, that the membership of the Grand Lodge (and consequently the constituent Lodges) was divided as between artisans and those in a somewhat higher social position. One Lodge, No. 4 of the Four Old Lodges, was composed of men in high social position; the others probably had a mixture of both classes and there was probably a leavening of what are now termed “the middle classes”. The choice of one Anthony Sayer as the first Grand Master may well have been a compromise as between the two camps, neither party being strong enough to take the lead and outvote the other. In fact, the first three Grand Masters were not of the aristocracy, and it was not until the Duke of Wharton was elected Grand Master that the nobility were represented in the highest office.

¹ *Masonic Fact and Fiction*, Sadler.

The Duke of Wharton was supported by the artisans, and after he demitted office this party never again had any control in the affairs of the Grand Lodge.

It seems probable that those responsible for the formation of the Grand Lodge made changes in the Craft other than the substitution of Deism for Christianity. Among these were (1) The disqualification of Past Masters as members of Grand Lodge and (2) the removal of any ceremony (however tenuous) which might nowadays be described as the Royal Arch Degree. This I deduce from the fact that when the first *Book of Constitutions* was put to Grand Lodge for acceptance in 1723, it was not regarded by some as "consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry".¹ Unfortunately, the minutes of Grand Lodge do not say on what points the differences of opinion arose in respect of the new *Book of Constitutions*. It may have been over matters of ceremonial, *i.e.*, the making of Master Masons nowhere but in Grand Lodge; administration, *i.e.*, Past Masters were no longer members of Grand Lodge; religious principles, *i.e.*, Christianity as against Deism.

The position in the post-1717 period may be analysed thus:—

- (1) More than four Lodges were in existence in London in 1717, when the Grand Lodge of England was set up.
- (2) Many of these Lodges did not join the new Grand Lodge for some years afterwards.
- (3) Others never joined the new Grand Lodge, and became the nucleus of the Grand Lodge of England, according to the Old Institutions in 1751.
- (4) The adoption of the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 was not unanimous.

If it is accepted that the origins of the "Antients" are to be found among the less wealthy inhabitants of London, then it is not in the least surprising that any such inhabitants who were Masons found it difficult to compete with the new Grand Lodge. They would be forced by circumstance to remain in Lodges of small membership, for few of even the better-paid artisans could afford to lay out much money in becoming members of a society which offered them no practical advantages in the struggle for existence.

At the risk of this comment being almost as long as the original paper, I feel I must state that there is as much (or as little) evidence to support Bro. Dashwood's theory as there is little (or much) to support that which I have just put forward. We are not yet in sight of solving the puzzle of the origins of the "Antients", and closely linked with this problem is that of the origin of the Royal Order of Scotland, which is almost certainly not Scottish in origin, and may well, indeed, have had its beginnings in London from a group of Brethren who were not prepared to accept the Deistic basis which both the "Moderns" and "Antients" had in common. They viewed with equal suspicion both these Grand Lodges as being at variance with the Craft as they knew it, and pursued a quite different course which ultimately gave rise to the present Grand Lodge of the Royal Order of Scotland.

BRO. EDWARD NEWTON writes:—

Bro. Dashwood, in his excellent but too brief paper, states that, in his opinion, the five Lodges of the "Antients'" Grand Committee were formed by Irish Masons, who had recently arrived in England, to perpetuate their own working rather than join a Grand Lodge whose working was not what they had been accustomed to. I am rather inclined to think that these Masons discovered from the very beginning that several English Lodges had severed their connection with Grand Lodge because of the new measures which had been adopted. I believe that these first five Lodges formed themselves into a Committee with a view to constituting a Grand Lodge which the "irregular" Lodges could join.

At the Grand Committee meeting on 5th August, 1752, they considered the necessity "for Chusing a Grand Master". The following is recorded in the minutes of that meeting: "Ages will bless your memories for preserving and reviving the Ancient Craft in England." The words *preserving and reviving* appear to indicate they intended to bring back the English working to what it used to be, which was *nearer* to their own.

Even in the early days the "Antients" showed some hostility to Grand Lodge (first dubbed as "Modern" on the 13th July, 1753). Would they have shown hostility for no other reason than the working was different?

The early exposures made certain clandestine makings possible, *i.e.*, the leg of mutton Masons, but there appears to have been a number of Lodges that had severed their connection with Grand Lodge owing to the bad government of that body. They were in such numbers as to cause concern to Grand Lodge, for "a complaint concerning irregular masons" was considered at the meetings on 12th June and 12th December, 1739.

William Preston, in his second edition of *Illustrations of Masonry* (1775), p. 258, tells us:—

¹ Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England.

“Several persons disgusted at the proceedings of the Grand Lodge at this time (1739) renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master, and in opposition to the original laws of the Society, and their solemn ties, held meetings, made masons, and falsely assuming the appellation of a Grand Lodge, even presumed to constitute Lodges. The regular masons finding it necessary to check their progress, adopted some new measures. Piqued by this proceeding, they endeavoured to propagate an opinion, that the ancient practices of the Society were retained by them, and totally abolished by the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the appellation of Modern Masons. By this artifice they continued to impose on the public, and introduced several gentlemen into their assemblies; but of late years, the fallacy being detected, they have not been so successful.”

John Noorthouck, in his *Book of Constitutions*, 1784, has a note under date 1739:—

“The grand lodge justly considered such proceedings as an infringement on the original laws, an encroachment on the privileges, and an imposition of the charitable fund of the society. It was therefore resolved to discountenance their assemblies, and to enforce the laws against all brethren who were aiding and assisting in the clandestine reception of any person into masonry, at any of these illegal conventions. This irritated the brethren who had incurred the censure of the grand lodge; who, instead of returning to their duty, and renouncing their error, persisted in their contumacy, and openly refused to pay allegiance to the grand master, or obedience to the mandates of the grand lodge. In contempt of the antient and established laws of the order, they set up a power independent taking advantage of the inexperience of their associates, insisted that they had an equal authority with the grand lodge to make, pass, and raise masons”, etc.

This appears to indicate that there was a considerable number of dissatisfied Masons, and the “power independent” could be the Committee referred to by Bro. Bernard Jones in his *Guide and Compendium*.

It is also more than likely that these “irregular” Masons were joined by other Lodges after the new measures had been adopted in 1739.

At the meeting of the Grand Committee on December 5th, 1753, the first “Antients’” Grand Master was installed. There were then 28 Lodges on the roll. An increase of 23 Lodges in two-and-a-half years clearly indicates that the original five Lodges had decided on a form or working, which was not Irish, but one which those Lodges originally owing allegiance to the Grand Lodge found acceptable.

Laurence Dermott was not a member of any one of the first five Lodges at the beginning, but he was undoubtedly a strong influence in the background, otherwise it is difficult to understand how he could have been elected Grand Secretary, in the face of opposition, in so short a time. Moreover, he was a friend of Thomas Allen and C. Byrne, both Past Masters of Lodge No. 2 of the “Antients”. Dermott’s installation in Lodge 26 took place at the house of Thomas Allen, and C. Byrne “deposed that he had installed Dermott as W.M. of the good Lodge No. 26 on 24th June, 1746”.

Bro. E. WINTERBURGH writes:—

I would like to say that it seems to me very probable that the antagonism between the Speculatives and Operatives caused the forming of the Grand Lodge of “Antients” in 1730 or 1739, as Sadler has stated. It seems also probable that the members of the new rival Grand Lodge were principally former members of the Grand Lodge of Ireland who disliked the kind of working in the Premier Grand Lodge. The specific points of difference are mentioned in Jones’ *Compendium*, p. 201. There was no schism or rebellion. Maybe that the new Grand Lodge of the “Antients” existed in committee stage since 1739, when some Masons and even some Lodges separated from the Grand Lodge of 1717 and were transformed into the so-called Grand Committee of 1752—the Grand Lodge came in appearance on the 5th December, 1753, and the first Grand Master was Robert Turner. The gap between 1730 or 1739 and 1751 or 1753 was left unbridged up to now. If we could accept Bro. Lepper’s quotation of the year 1746, based on a letter of James Heseltine in 1769, as authentic, the gap would be considerably narrowed, and I agree with Bro. Dashwood, who thinks that 1746 is more probable than 1730 or 1739. But there is no certainty in it. The fact that the Grand Secretary, John Morgan, was replaced by Laurence Dermott was a fortunate event for the “Antients” and a very detrimental one for the “Moderns”.

The conflict between the two Grand Lodges was chiefly of a religious nature, and one can imagine that the Union of 1813, when the United Grand Lodge of England was formed,

was more or less based on far-reaching concessions which the old "Moderns" made to the new "Antients". But even these concessions were considered still unsatisfactory by the "Antients", even after the Union was formed. So regrettable the quarrel between the two Grand Lodges might have been, it was not of disadvantage to the further development of Freemasonry in this country. On the contrary, by the forming of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" and the Union which ultimately followed, English Freemasonry was considerably enriched in its ceremonies and appearance as we know it today.

The "Notes on the Early Records of the Grand Lodge of the Antients", a subject of which only the very fringe was touched, as the author says, seems to me to be an invitation to us to intensify our research and studies in a field which this paper has opened up to us.

Bro. W. WAPLES writes:—

Bro. Dashwood, in his "Notes on the Early Records of the Grand Lodge of the Antients" according to the Old Institution, has reopened an inquiry which, it is hoped, will make clear much of the present uncertainty of the origin of this Grand Lodge and dispose of theories regarding its early days, and more than anything else put an end to the belittling of an efficient organisation that preserved much that is old and valued in Freemasonry.

The general approach to the subject appears to be based on the assumption that a body of working-class Irishmen, resident in London, formed a Grand Lodge because they felt that the Grand Lodge of England had made innovations from the original plan of Masonry. This has proved to be erroneous.

Another, and a seldom expressed, view is that the basis of the move made by the Grand Committee of the "Ancients" was probably anticipated between the years 1730-50, not because the Operative Masons and the aristocratic Speculatives were at variance, but because independent bodies of Masons, sometimes referred to as St. John's Masons, resented the innovations introduced by the Grand Lodge of England c. 1720-30. If this can be proved by documentary evidence, an explanation of the frustrations of the period 1730-50 may be forthcoming, and the activities of the unattached Lodges be shown to culminate in the formation of the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" in 1751, whose specific task was not to establish something new, but rather to continue ancient and important traditions in Masonry.

This approach to the subject requires an appreciation of the state of Masonry c. 1723-50. On the one hand there is the 1717 Grand Lodge, which was originally intended to be restricted within the Bills of Mortality, slowly adapting an established system of Masonry to monotheistic principles. Its progress was at first cautious and slow until at length c. 1738-40 the adaptation to an acknowledgment of a universal God became predominant and fixed. In the meantime, many unattached Lodges in the Provinces applied to the then new Grand Lodge for affiliation under its banner.

On the other hand, bodies of independent Masons, traces of which may be found throughout the seventeenth century and for whom almost all the "Ancient" MS. Charges were written, had a counterpart in Ireland and, possibly, Scotland. Some of these private Lodges were in being at the opening of the eighteenth century; others were instituted as late as 1750.

It is not, therefore, surprising that one may trace Irishmen among the founders of the "Ancients" in 1751.

It is hoped that students of Masonry will apply themselves to this aspect of Masonic research, the scope of which is wide, and which may eventually afford a reasonable picture of the founding of Grand Lodge in 1717.

In the counties of Durham and Northumberland the tangible remains of early St. John's Masonry are so important that one feels disinclined to arrive at a hurried decision. In the meantime, some prevailing notions regarding the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" should in all fairness be discarded. The much-discussed "Schism", and the idea that the founders of the "Ancients" were a poor and penniless lot of renegades, should be forgotten.

These views may be provocative and unacceptable to some; nevertheless, it is important, in the light of present research, that a fresh approach to the subject be made.

Thank you, Bro. Dashwood. You have certainly done well in reopening this inquiry.

Bro. ERIC WARD writes:—

Since there was no secession, we are left either with the "Ancients'" organisation as an innovation c. 1751, as Bro. Dashwood powerfully propounds, or else the movement could have existed in embryo from the beginning, only awaiting favourable conditions to emerge. I suggest there is at least some evidence of the latter.

As a force to be reckoned with, which is not necessarily the same as the beginning of the movement, Heseltine indicated 1746. Preston, who would be the last to award unmerited antiquity to the "Ancients", thought 1739, and on this occasion had some evidence to go on, because the "Modern" *Constitutions* of 1784 (p. 239), in a manifesto specifically directed against the "Ancients", clearly links their genesis with a complaint about irregular makings adjudicated upon by G.L. on December 12th, 1739. Incidentally, this is further supported by the famous G.L. minute of April 12th, 1809, that it was no longer necessary to continue the measures resorted to in 1739, etc.

It is clear that the "Ancients'" Grand Lodge was mainly of Irish instigation, and it must always be the case that before any G.L. can be formed some private Lodges already exist. Therefore, if there were known Irish Lodges in England prior to 1750 we are entitled to look upon them as possible influences. There certainly was one such Lodge, for a minute of the "Moderns'" G.L. dated December 11th, 1735, records the refusal to admit to a meeting the Master and Wardens of a "Lodge from Ireland" which had a deputation (*i.e.*, Warrant) from the G.M., Ireland, unless they accepted a new constitution. Can it be otherwise than meaning this to be a Lodge of Irishmen domiciled in England and working under an Irish Warrant? And, if so, surely the remedy to this slight would occur to these Brethren.

But whatever the date of their origin may have been, I suggest that the rise of the "Ancients" was the inevitable outcome of a sociological problem, and that the façade they erected about preserving "Ancient" Masonry also covered infiltration into the Order in England of a stratum of society somewhat below the level normally acceptable to the "Moderns" of that era, as is evident from the contemptuous terms with which the latter derided their rivals. As after 1730 the older organisation became more selective and apparently temporarily jaded, it automatically gave impetus to the other movement, and the influx of Irish immigrants finally clinched the issue. Hence also the alacrity with which the Scottish Constitution recognised the "Ancients", no doubt because of the former's still strong ties with working masons, in contrast to the English Constitution, which never conspicuously catered for journeymen masons and, even in the days of the Acception, appears to have limited operative membership to the more affluent mason contractors. In short, the ground was made fertile long before the Irishmen appeared.

I am aware that much of what I say sounds like Sadler (to whom I have mostly referred), and that his general conclusion of the "Ancients'" origin has already been stated by Bro. Dashwood. But there is a difference, for I see no evidence of rank and file Operative Masons ever having had influence over English Speculative Masonry as this developed into the G.L. of 1717, *i.e.*, London and Westminster.

And to avoid misunderstanding it is necessary to add that I do not picture that kind of class distinction as the term now implies, but primarily the conflict between the cultured and the uncultured which was conspicuously part of the way of life in the eighteenth century.

BRO. BERNARD E. JONES writes:—

Circumstances prevent my offering more than a brief note on Bro. Dashwood's short but valuable résumé of the known facts relating to the formation of the "Antients'" Grand Committee and Grand Lodge. His statement seeks to be more exact, particularly as regards material dates, than any yet published, and when he casts doubt upon the existence of an "Antients'" Grand Committee in the year 1739, I quite understand his calling in question my printed statement "that the 'Antients' . . . were known in Committee stage from 1739". I am indeed sorry to say that today, ten years after writing those words, I have failed, in spite of close search, to find the original note on which my statement was based, and I cannot now produce anything more definite than the references I know Bro. Edward Newton to be providing, and the testimony of Bro. J. Heron Lepper in his "Traditioner" paper (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lvi, p. 149) to the effect that "the year 1739 may indeed . . . have been a fateful one for the Craft in England as witnessing the formation of the Grand Committee of the 'Antients' which preceded their Grand Lodge. This much only is certain, that a minute of that Committee, dated 6th May, 1752, contains the assertion that this gathering 'had been held under the title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Old Institution'."

This, I know, will not satisfy Bro. Dashwood, who, rightly, is seeking something far more definite, but, nevertheless, I feel that it is not unreasonable to accept 1739, shall we say "or thereabouts", as being the date when the "Antients" began to organise themselves. (The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, on p. 25 of his *Masonic Cyclopædia*, edition 1878, says that the "Antient Masons form the body which seceded in 1739 from the Grand Lodge . . .", but neither Bro. Dashwood nor I will be inclined to rely on that.)

From the facts presented in the paper and from the style of the earliest recorded minutes of the "Antients", I personally feel that the Committee could quite likely have been at work for many years. I am not much impressed by the argument that had the Committee been in continuous existence it would have made more progress. It simply does not follow. Given the organisation of a full Grand Lodge, its cause made astonishing progress. I am grateful to Bro. Dashwood for providing in such easily accessible form the important facts, particularly dates, relating to a period frequently discussed, but of which our knowledge is so indefinite.

Bro. DASHWOOD writes in reply:—

First, I must thank all the commentators for their kind and generous treatment of a very immature essay. I confess I am a little disappointed that my ignorance has not been more profusely enlightened. Most of the comments have been arguments levelled against the comparatively minor suggestion that the original five Lodges were but lately born when they met in July, 1751, to form an organisation; and little has been produced in the way of factual information.

Moreover, I think that even that small thesis has been partly misunderstood. I did not intend to argue that there had been no innovations made by the Premier Grand Lodge, or that there were not clandestine Masons, dissident Lodges, St. John's Lodges, *et hoc genus omne*. I entirely agree with Bro. Carr that "the seeds of the 'Ancients' were certainly planted in England long before 1751", and with Bro. Ward that "the ground was made fertile long before the Irishmen appeared". All I suggested was that the seed had not germinated before about 1750—that there is nothing to show that any of the five original Lodges had been in existence more than a matter of months before July, 1751.

Contrary to our modern ideas, the "Antients" laid down as a prerequisite to obtaining a Warrant that

"8th. No Admission or Warrant shall be granted to any Brothers to hold a Lodge until such time they have first form'd a Lodge of Ancient Masons and sitt Regularly in a Credible House and then to apply . . ."

and my submission is that the five Lodges had been sitting Regularly in Credible Houses for a comparatively few months only before July, and that they would not have back-dated their own Warrants only to that date had they been entitled to claim any materially greater longevity.

Bro. Draffen remarks that my "evidence . . . is largely circumstantial", with which I entirely agree; but, on the other hand, I think that evidence that any of the five Lodges was more than a matter of months old is "largely *non-existent*", and while my theory is only a theory, I do not find a supposition founded on *Multa paucis* a convincing alternative.

I cannot agree with his analysis of the post-1717 position: with clauses 1 and 4 I have no quarrel; clause 2, "Many"? How many? And on what authority? Even *Multa paucis* only mentions two more; clause 3 is pure supposition.

I entirely agree with Bro. Newton that the "Antients" "intended to bring back the English working to what it used to be"; my theory is that originally Ireland had obtained its working from England, and that now the Irish immigrants were re-importing that old working into London. Later Bro. Newton says: "The original five Lodges had decided on a form or working, *which was not Irish* [my italics], but one which those Lodges originally owing allegiance to the Grand Lodge found acceptable." What makes Bro. Newton so certain that it was not Irish, as well as original English? As Bro. Newton himself says, the "Antients" had preserved and revived the old (English) working.

Bro. Newton quotes Preston and Noorthouck in support of the "schism" theory; but both were uttering the official propaganda of their Grand Lodge, which to my mind considerably discounts their evidence. It is not contemporary evidence.

Bro. Norman Rogers is my one ally on this point, and I hope that the other commentators will find his arguments as telling as I do. The more one examines the Minutes and Registers of the "Antients", the more one is struck by the ephemeral nature of the Lodges and of the individual memberships. Nowadays we are accustomed to think of a Brother remaining a member of his Lodge for a matter of twenty years, or for a life-time, but in the early days of the "Antients" they changed their Lodges almost as easily as they changed their clothes, and a Brother with a couple of years' continuity would be one of the hoary seniors.

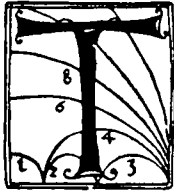
Surely Bro. Waples means "Deistic" rather than "monotheistic"; I have never heard it suggested that Freemasonry was ever polytheistic.

I am grateful to Bro. Williams for his contribution, and no doubt he is right in thinking that Dermott's snobbism dictated his awaiting a Noble Grand Master before he presented for signature his Warrant, which might otherwise have been issued by Robert Turner.

Bro. Lawson-Reece's suggestion receives much support from our dear Bro. Lepper's paper on the "Traditioners".

St. John's Day in Harvest

MONDAY, 24th JUNE, 1957



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W.; H. Carr, L.G.R., J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M., *as* S.D.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; and F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B. Stwd., *as* I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. T. W. Marsh, E. S. Larkin, P. J. Watts, J. van Herpen, J. S. Abrahams, G. Holloway, F. H. Anderson, John W. Duke, C. S. Stephen, H. Chilton, G. Norman Knight, W. T. Hogg, A. F. Bos, R. C. W. Hunter, J. M. Blewett, W. F. Barrell, F. M. Shaw, R. Gold, C. W. Davis, T. C. P. Tunnard-Moore, R. Walters, F. V. W. Sedgely, H. W. Peck, J. D. de S. McElwain, H. Ponsford, C. Willett, A. Taylor, J. W. Cole, G. E. Thompson, T. F. Choat, A. F. Ford, and G. Maxwell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. W. Saunders, Lodge 4106; H. G. Brooke, Lodge 5416; A. R. Hewitt, Lodge 820; A. M. Gartshore, Lodge 3557; R. A. Davis, Lodge 3040; J. H. N. Ponsford, Lodge 260; C. A. Hart, Lodge 1524; and A. T. Tristram, Lodge 4700.

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.); Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Waples, P.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.G.D., S.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., I.G.; and Lt.-Col. E. Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. 5386.

One Study Circle, two Lodges and twenty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle

Bro. Ivor Grantham called attention to the following

EXHIBITS

From the Grand Lodge Library and Museum:—

The Mason's Manual. Comprising Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in Lower Canada. Published by order of the Provincial Grand Lodge. Quebec, 1818.

Constitution of the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. Republished by order of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. Halifax, 1819.

Constitutions of the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. Part the Second. Published by the authority of the United Grand Lodge. First Canadian Edition. Republished by order of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada. Kingston, MDCCCXXIII.

Minute Book of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry (1824-1838).

By-Laws and List of Members of Nelson Lodge No. 14, Athol Provincial (Quebec, 1796).

Warrants of Constitutions—

Antient No. 241, Royal Regiment of Artillery (Quebec, 1787);
Antient Provincial No. 3 (St. John's, Lower Canada, 1792).

Patents of Appointment—

The Hon. Claude Denechau as Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada (1820).
The Hon. Peter McGill as Provincial Grand Master of the City and District of Quebec and
Three Rivers and the Dependencies (1846).

Memorial to the United Grand Lodge of England from the Antient Grand Lodge of Canada
(1857).

Memorial to the United Grand Lodge of England from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Canada
West (1857).

An interesting paper by Bro. A. J. B. MILBORNE, entitled *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry*, was read by Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM, as follows:—

THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF MONTREAL AND WILLIAM HENRY

BY BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE



HIS paper is concerned with the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry, which supervised the Craft in that part of Lower Canada extending from the settlement of William Henry, now Sorel, in the east, to the western boundary of the Province, and from the international boundary in the south to the then undefined northern boundary.

It may be mentioned that the history of this Masonic jurisdiction is not included in *The History of Freemasonry in Canada*, by John Ross Robertson, whose work, published in 1899, is mainly concerned with the history of Freemasonry in Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, and also that the Quebec Masonic historian, J. Hamilton Graham, whose work, *The Outlines of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*, was published in 1892, had no opportunity of examining the records of the Provincial Grand Lodge which are now available, and relied on a few official circulars which have survived.

At the time of the Union of the two Grand Lodges of England, Freemasonry was regulated in what is now Canada by three provincial grand bodies—The Provincial Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, The Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada, all of “Ancient” lineage.

The first Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada was H.R.H. Prince Edward, created the Duke of Kent in 1799, and the first Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada was William Jarvis, both appointed by Warrants, issued by the Grand Lodge of England (“Ancients”) bearing the same date—March 7th, 1792. The Duke of Kent was empowered to grant Warrants and Dispensations, but Jarvis was limited to the issue of Dispensations to continue in force for twelve months only. Both Provincial Grand Masters were authorised to appoint Deputy Grand Masters, but only the Duke was authorised to convene a Grand Lodge. Despite the limitation of the powers entrusted to Jarvis, he issued Warrants, but neither they nor those regularly issued by the Duke of Kent were reported to England, or registered in the books of the Grand Lodge.

The Duke of Kent left Lower Canada in 1794, and in his absence the affairs of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada were administered by his Deputy, Thomas Ainslie, who, in virtue of “the authority in us vested by His Royal Highness Prince Edward”, issued a Warrant to establish Zion Lodge at Detroit in 1794. This transaction appears to be regular, and within the powers of the Deputy Grand Master. In 1807 the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada issued a Circular announcing the election and installation of its Grand Officers, including William Holmes as Deputy Grand Master, which seems to imply that the office of Deputy had been filled by election. Holmes issued a Warrant establishing St. George’s Lodge at Three Rivers in 1809, and the Warrant recites: “We, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada of the Most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons (according to the Old Constitutions, granted by the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of England, Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and ninety-two)”, which is a curious blending of the usual recital in “Ancient” Warrants “according to the Old Constitutions granted by His Royal Highness Prince Edwin at York, Anno Domini nine hundred twenty and six”, with the date of the Patent issued to the Duke of Kent.

There is no evidence that the Duke of Kent resigned his appointment as Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada. A Special Grand Lodge, presided over by the Duke of Atholl, was held in London on May 18th, 1813, in his honour, in the record of which he is described as “Provincial Grand Master of Canada”.¹ The Duke was installed as Grand Master of the “Ancients” on December 1st, 1813, and if he did not tender his resignation between May 18th and December 1st, 1813, it can only be assumed that on his installation as Grand Master he relinquished the subordinate appointment.

¹ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii, p. 453.

However, the official circular issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada for the year 1812 announced the election of the Hon. Claude Denechau as Provincial Grand Master. This procedure was unconstitutional, as it was well understood that the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master was the prerogative of the Grand Master, but once again the Quebec Brethren had been compelled to provide themselves with a Provincial Grand Master while waiting for the Grand Master to make an appointment. *The Masons' Manual*, issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada in 1818, makes the position quite clear, for it is there stated that

"The appointment of the Provincial Grand Master is a prerogative of the Grand Master of England, by whom (or in his absence, by his Deputy), a patent may be granted during pleasure, to such Brother of eminence and ability of the Craft as may be thought worthy of the appointment. The Grand Master shall be installed, agreeably to ancient usage, on the twenty-seventh of December annually, *provided his PATENT has been obtained*, and then nominate his Grand Officers who are to be installed and invested in due form."

The words in italics in the above quotation are in italics in the original, and although Graham had a copy of the *Manual* before him and quotes, usually in a garbled form, from it, he makes no reference to this very important regulation.

That the election of Denechau was not unanimously concurred in is evident from the fact that St. Paul's Mark Lodge, Montreal, working under the "Ancient" Craft Warrant No. 12, refused to admit J. D. Turnbull in his capacity of Grand Lecturer and Inspector of Lodges of the Grand Lodge of Lower Canada in 1816. The Master of the Lodge, Charles Gore Lester, is reported to have stated that "This Lodge does not know of any Lodge superior to No. 12, nor (do) they know of . . . Gr. Lower Canada, or any Brother in such capacity, this Lodge being under the Patronage of His R.H. the Duke of Kent, and they have not received any letter, either circular or other, apprising it of such appointment".¹

The Hon. Claude Denechau was the youngest son of Dr. Jacques Denechau, who settled in the City of Quebec about fifteen years before the Conquest. He was a grain merchant, and a member of the Legislative Council for thirty years. He was made a Mason under the "Modern" regime, although the Lodge in which he was initiated is not known. He was "haled" from "Modern" to "Ancient" Masonry in St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, on January 14th, 1800, and the same year he joined Merchants' Lodge No. 40, E.R.(A.), at Quebec. Denechau was a Roman Catholic, but apparently was not subject to the prohibitions contained in the Papal Bulls of 1738 and 1751, as these were not promulgated in the Diocese of Quebec. The first Papal Bull promulgated in the Diocese was that of Pius VII issued in 1814,² but Denechau remained in office as Provincial Grand Master until his death on October 30th, 1836.

We owe a great deal to Bro. J. Hamilton Graham for preserving a mass of material concerning the early days of the Craft in Quebec in his work *The Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, but it cannot be denied that he was a vigorous propagandist of the dogma of exclusive territorial jurisdiction, with which he must have become familiar during his residence in the State of Vermont, U.S.A., and that he lacked the impartiality which distinguishes the true historian. Although he was a Scot, born in Renfrewshire in 1824, he exhibits little affection for the Masonic institutions of the old land, and never appears to miss an opportunity of voicing criticism of the Grand Lodge of England in particular. It will be conceded by all who are familiar with the subject that the Canadian Brethren had a good deal of reason to complain of "the carelessness of the Mother Grand Lodge in England in regard to her daughter Lodges overseas", as Bro. J. Heron Lepper expressed it.³ But there were also irregularities on the part of the Canadian Brethren which stood in the way of a prompt resolving of the problems which arose at the Union. It is useless and equally unprofitable to attempt to attach blame to either of the parties involved, and all that now can be done is to set forth the facts as they are at present known, so that the period of Canadian Masonic history under consideration may be more fully illuminated.

Graham appears to see in the creation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry a deep-laid plot on the part of the members of St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, to dismember the existing Provincial Grand Lodge and to preserve the English connection. This was the same Lodge which, associated with others, prevented Graham from maintaining his doctrine of territorial sovereignty in 1869, when he succeeded in persuading the Quebec Brethren to break away from the Grand Lodge of Canada and establish their own Grand Lodge. St. Paul's Lodge has steadfastly retained its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England, as has St. George's Lodge No. 440, E.R., at Montreal, constituted in 1829, despite the importunities and blandishments of successive Grand Masters of Canadian Grand Lodges.

¹ Graham, *Outlines of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*, p. 123.

² *A.Q.C.*, lxii, 260.

³ *A.Q.C.*, lxii, 284.

It may be noted that in its long career—it dates from 1770—the membership of St. Paul's Lodge has been composed of a solid core of successive generations of long-established Montreal families with a sprinkling of Englishmen and Scotsmen who had received Masonic light in their home land. It was a popular Lodge with the Officers of the Montreal Garrison in earlier days, and still attracts members from the Permanent Force and the units of the active militia.

When the Union of the two Grand Lodges of England was effected in 1813, a great deal of extra work must have fallen upon the shoulders of the Secretaries of those days, yet we learn from Preston,¹ that William Henry White and Edwards Harper, the Grand Secretaries for the years 1820 and 1821, only attended "at Freemasons' Hall, on the Business of the Society, on Tuesday and Saturday evenings". They must have been fully occupied with English affairs, and it is not surprising that considerable time elapsed before the affairs of the many Provincial Grand Lodges received attention. It may also be observed that the Duke of Sussex was no figurehead, but a ruler of the Craft in every sense of the word,² and that the Grand Secretaries, very properly, were obliged to consult him before dealing with the many problems which confronted them.

A recommendation was made by the Brethren of Upper Canada to the Grand Master of England in 1821 that he would be pleased to appoint James Fitzgibbon as Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada in succession to William Jarvis, who had died in 1817,³ and it is also apparent, though not supported by any available document, that the Brethren of Lower Canada had recommended the appointment of the Hon. Claude Denechau as Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada. As the situation in Upper Canada was precisely the same as that existing in Lower Canada, it is useful to consider the reasons which compelled the Duke of Sussex to postpone consideration of these recommendations and, in the case of Upper Canada, to appoint temporarily⁴ Simon McGillivray to the office of Provincial Grand Master. In transmitting the Patent of Appointment to Bro. Simon McGillivray under the date of May 10th, 1822, the Grand Secretary, W. H. White, wrote:—

"You will observe by the Copy of the document dated 7th March, 1792, that a Patent was granted to the late Bro. Wm. Jarvis as Prov. G.M., empowering him to grant dispensations for holding Lodges until Warrants should be forwarded from the Grand Lodge of England, which Dispensations were to continue in force for 12 Months & no longer. However, from the period of granting that Patent until the death of Bror. Jarvis in 1817, no communication was ever recd. from him as to his having established any Lodge in the Province of Upper Canada, & consequently the Gran: Lo. has been ignorant of their existence. You will observe also by the copies of Letters, that various applications have been made by the Lodges in the Province for the appointment of a Successor to Bror. Jarvis.

The M.W. Grand Master feels that he cannot under existing circumstances, & without further information, accede to the request of the applicants, not because he is unwilling to meet their views from any disposition to doubt the respectability or fitness of the Individuals recommended, but because he is altogether unacquainted with the state of Masonry in that part of the World, and he cannot appoint a Brother to the office of Prov. G.M., whose Name does not appear upon the Books of the Grand Lodge, nor could a Brother appointed by the Grand Master have any jurisdiction over Lodges not constituted by the Grand Lodge of England or acknowledging her Laws.

Under these circumstances His Royal Highness has thought it expedient to nominate you to office, with a view to your enquiring into and making a report to him of the state of the Craft in that Province, and that you may thereby be empowered to do such acts as may appear to you best calculated to promote the welfare of the Fraternity."⁵

How fortunate it was that Simon McGillivray was available for the appointment. He was familiar with Canada, and was not only an aggressive and successful business man, but a highly skilled craftsman; in addition, his relationship with the Duke of Sussex was of a most friendly character. Simon McGillivray was born in Scotland, probably in Stratherrick, Inverness, and was the son of Donald McGillivray and Anne McTavish, sister of Simon McTavish, the founder of the North West Fur Company. Initiated in Shakespeare Lodge No. 99 on April 23rd, 1807, he served three times as Master in 1814, 1815 and in

¹ *Illustrations of Masonry*, 13th Edn., 1821, p. 404.

² *A.Q.C.*, lii, 194.

³ Robertson, *Freemasonry in Canada*, vol. i, p. 1,081.

⁴ John Dean writes that McGillivray had advised him of his appointment "rather a temporary P.G.M." *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 1,110.

⁵ Robertson, *Freemasonry in Canada*, vol. i, p. 1,092.

1822.¹ He was the first Junior Grand Warden of the United Grand Lodge. In 1813 he established Royal Inverness Lodge, the first Lodge warranted by the United Grand Lodge of England, composed of officers of the Loyal North Briton Volunteer Corps, of which he was a Captain, and in 1816 he was installed as Master by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex.² He attended a meeting of the Lodge of Reconciliation on January 11th, 1815. This was the only meeting of the Lodge at which he was present, and presumably he attended as a visitor, but his presence indicates his interest in the important work in which this Lodge was engaged. In 1820-1 he was Deputy Master of the Lodge of Antiquity. After his return from Canada he was appointed President of the Board of General Purposes of the United Grand Lodge, and in 1828 he served as Master of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4 E.R.

Simon McGillivray came to Canada in the early part of July, 1822, and immediately proceeded to discharge the delicate duties with which he had been entrusted. His activities are most comprehensively related by Robertson in his *History of Freemasonry in Canada*.

During his stay in Canada, Bro. Simon McGillivray resided for a time in Montreal and, as Graham wryly remarks, he "doubtless was more or less identified with the Masonic events taking place in the City at that time".³ It was undoubtedly upon his recommendation that a Petition to the Grand Master was drawn up praying for the appointment of a Provincial Grand Master for the government of the Craft in the District of Montreal and William Henry and circulated to the Lodges in the area by John Rawlins, the Secretary of St. Paul's Lodge, under the date of January 27th, 1823. This Petition set forth the difficulties which had occurred in the management of the Craft from the want of a Provincial Grand Master in the City of Montreal; that there were thirteen Lodges in the District of Montreal and William Henry and only eight in the District of Quebec and Three Rivers, and that Montreal was more convenient for the administration of the Craft than Quebec. The petitioners also prayed that the Grand Master would be pleased to permit the Brethren of Lower Canada, as he had already permitted the Brethren of Upper Canada, to apply to their own charitable purposes the quarterly contributions formerly payable to the Grand Lodge of England. It was also undoubtedly upon Simon McGillivray's recommendation that his elder brother—William—was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Montreal and William Henry.

William McGillivray was born in 1764. He was educated at the expense of his uncle, Simon McTavish, and came to Canada in 1784 to enter the service of the North West Fur Company. In 1785 he was placed in charge of the Red River Department, and became a partner in the Company in 1790. The City of Fort William, Ont., is named after the fort he constructed on the present site of the City. The fort was surrounded by fifteen foot palisades and contained a Great Hall in which were portraits of King George the Third and Lord Nelson, and a painting of the Battle of the Nile. It also contained a bust of Simon McTavish, and the great map drawn by David Thompson. William McGillivray married Magdeleine Macdonald in 1800. The Company organised the Corps des Voyageurs Canadiens during the War of 1812-14, and placed him in command. With his brother Simon, William McGillivray represented the Company in the negotiations for the settlement of the dispute between it and its powerful rival—the Hudson's Bay Company. In a farewell letter to his old friend, Dr. Strachan, he wrote: "I was the first English clerk in the service of the North West Company on its first establishment in 1784, and I have put my hand and seal to the instrument which closes its career and its name in 1821." William McGillivray was initiated in the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, E.R., in 1822. He is shown as Junior Deacon of the Lodge in 1823, and appears on the roll of the Lodge in 1825. He does not appear to have affiliated with any of the Canadian Lodges. There seems little probability of his ever having occupied the Chair of a Lodge, prior to his appointment as Provincial Grand Master, but this was not then a pre-requisite, for the Grand Master could grant a Patent of Appointment "to any brother of eminence and ability in the Craft whom he may think worthy of the appointment." The Constitutions, however, required that a Deputy Provincial Grand Master must have previously served the office of Master in a regular Lodge.

As soon as William McGillivray's Patent of Appointment, which was dated April 2nd, 1823, had been received, a circular letter was issued to the Lodges concerned by Turton Penn, who describes himself as Provincial Grand Secretary, requiring each Lodge to present a Petition to the Provincial Grand Master praying for a Warrant, etc., and the terms of this petition are the same (with one or two minor changes) as that required from the Lodges in Upper Canada. Thus the procedure followed by William McGillivray in Montreal and William Henry was precisely the same as that which Simon McGillivray had pursued in reforming the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada, and there can be little doubt that the latter was responsible for its planning.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xviii, 114.

² Oxford, *History of Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge*, p. 230.

³ Graham, *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in Quebec*, p. 165.

At the Quarterly Communication of the United Grand Lodge of England, held on June 4th, 1823, both R.W.Bros. Simon and William McGillivray were present in their capacities of Provincial Grand Masters.¹

The circular letter above referred to also advised the Lodges that a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge would be held in Montreal on Monday, October 6th, 1823. The Lodges were instructed to send representatives to attend, who were to bring with them the Warrants under which the Lodges had been constituted.

The Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry from its inception to March 10th, 1834, is preserved in the Library of the United Grand Lodge, a micro-film of which has been supplied to the Grand Lodge of Quebec through the kindness of the Librarian and Curator, Bro. Ivor Grantham, and from this the quotations given in this paper, which have not been previously reproduced, have been taken.

The first Minute reads as follows:—

“PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE OF MONTREAL, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND FOR THE DISTRICT OF MONTREAL AND BOROUGH OF WILLIAM HENRY.

At the first meeting holden at the Mansion House, Montreal,
On Monday, the 6th day of October, 1823.

Present:—

R.W. Claude Denechau, P.G.M. for the District of Quebec, in the Chair.
V.W. Joseph Stilson, Acting P.S.G.W.
V.W. J. Cruttenden, Acting P.J.G.W.
V.W. Bro. T. C. Oliva, Acting P.G.T.
V.W. Wm. Ross, Acting P.G.S.
R.W. Bro. Henry Lewis, P.G.M. for Sumatra.
R.W. Bro. Honble William McGillivray, P.G.M. for Montreal.
W. Fras. Coulson, P.P.D.G.M. for Quebec.
V.W. J. Perreault, P.P.D.G.M. for Quebec.
The Master, Past Masters and Wardens of many Lodges in the District.

The Grand Lodge was opened in ample form and with Solemn Prayer.

The Right W. Claude Denechau communicated to the Grand Lodge the appointment of R.W. Honourable William McGillivray, Esq., Provincial Grand Master for the District of Montreal and Borough of William Henry and the Warrant signed by His Royal Highness, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, &c., &c., &c. Our Most Worshipful Grand Master bearing the date the second day of April, 1823, was then read. The R.W. Claude Denechau, assisted by the R.W. Henry Lewis and the Brethren proceeded to Install the R.W. Honble William McGillivray as Provincial Grand Master who was proclaimed and Saluted according to ancient form and took the Chair.

The R.W. Provincial Grand Master was pleased to make the following appointments for the ensuing year, after delivering appropriate charges to each Officer:—

V.W. Michael Scott, Master of St. Paul's Lodge No. 12, P.S.G.W.
V.W. George Garden, P.J.G.W.
V.W. Henry Mackenzie, P.G.R.
V.W. Revd. B. B. Stevens, P.G.C.
V.W. Turton Penn, P.G.S.
W. Jacob Bigelow, P.G.D. Ceremonies.
W. Horatio Gates, P.G.T. *pro tem.*
W. Samuel Wentworth Monk, P.S.G.D.
W. James Foster, of Wellington Persevering Lodge No. 20, P.J.G.D.

The Grand Lodge, accompanied by the subordinate Lodges, attended Divine Service at the Protestant Episcopal Church, where a Masonic Discourse was delivered by V.W. Revd. B. B. Stevens, P.G.C., and a collection of £30. 0. 6. made in Aid of the Funds of the Montreal General Hospital.

The Grand Lodge resumed the duties at the Lodge room where a Petition of relief was read from the Secretary of the Female Orphan Society, and the sum of £7 18. was subscribed by the Brethren present.

The R.W.P.G.M., after expressing his satisfaction with the sermon delivered by the P.G.C., was pleased to request that the same might be published with which request Bro. Stevens promised to comply.

All business being ended, the Grand Lodge was closed in ample form, and with Solemn Prayer adjourned.”

¹ Robertson, *History of Freemasonry in Canada*, vol. ii, p. 68.

Graham, in his *History*, suggests the not unreasonable probability that R.W.Bro. William McGillivray was installed by his brother Simon, and he would have been very much surprised to find that the Installation was conducted by R.W.Bro. Claude Denechau, who came up from Quebec for the purpose (quite a journey in those days), and also that he was accompanied by Bro. Francis Coulson, of Merchants' Lodge, Bros. Joseph Stilson and William Ross, of Sussex Lodge, and Bros. T. C. Oliva and J. F. X. Perrault, of Frères du Canada Lodge. Denechau's attendance indicates that the relationship between the Quebec and Montreal Brethren was of a friendly and fraternal character, and effectively disposes of the view that the jurisdictional changes had disturbed that relationship.

R.W.Bro. Henry Lewis, who is described as P.G.M. of Sumatra, was probably a visitor to Canada. Although he is not listed in *The Masonic Year Book*, Gould writes that he succeeded John Macdonald as P.G.M. of Sumatra on December 10th, 1821, and that he continued to hold office until his death in 1877, "there having been one Lodge in existence at the time of his appointment, and none at all for fifteen years preceding his decease".¹

The Rev. Brooke Bridges Stevens was born in England in 1787, and attended Jesus College, Cambridge. He was the Chaplain to the Montreal Garrison, and was very active in founding and aiding Anglican congregations at Queenston, U.C., Hochelaga, Chambly and Lachine. He was also a "lecturer" (or preacher) at the old Christ Church Cathedral on Notre Dame Street, and also at the present Christ Church Cathedral on St. Catherine Street, Montreal. He was a man of considerable spirit and some of the more sedate members of the Anglican community thought he was inclined to drive his horses at too rapid a speed. He died in 1834, and is buried in the sanctuary of St. Stephen's Church, Lachine, of which he was the founder. Where he was made a Mason is not known, but he joined St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, on November 11th, 1823, and was elected Senior Warden in 1832.

Bro. Horatio Gates, who was passed to the second degree in St. Paul's Lodge on December 6th, 1813, and raised on February 8th, 1814, was one of the leading merchants of Montreal, a Director of the Montreal Bank in 1819, and later President of the Bank of Montreal. In 1826 he was President of the Montreal Board of Trade. He held the office of Provincial Grand Treasurer from 1824 to 1834.

The Provincial Grand Secretary has most fortunately inscribed in the Minute Book copies of the Petitions of the Lodges, and of the Dispensations issued by the Provincial Grand Master, as well as a list of the Lodges under his jurisdiction. Later he has copied the Returns of Membership made by the Lodges, giving the names, addresses, age, date of initiation, passing and raising of the members, and, if joining members, dates of affiliation and names of former Lodges.

At a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on February 4th, 1824, it was moved by Bro. Stanley, seconded by Bro. Murphy, "that Brethren attending the P.G.L. should appear in the following clothing: Black clothes, Shoes and Black Stockings, White gloves, Uniform Aprons and proper Jewels suspended". Bro. Bethune, seconded by Bro. Penn, moved an amendment "that the appearing in shoes and stockings should be dispensed with in cases where the health might probably suffer by a compliance with the Rules". The motion, as amended, was carried. Those who are not familiar with the climate of Montreal will be puzzled by the terms of the amendment, but as it is inconceivable that our hardy old-timers went barefoot it must mean that the wearing of boots or moccasins would be permitted.

The Provincial Grand Master was indisposed during most of the year 1824, and was unable to attend the meetings of the Provincial Grand Lodge. At the meeting held on December 13th, 1824, a Committee was appointed to wait on him and suggest the expediency of appointing a Deputy. A Lodge of Emergency was called on December 23rd, at which R.W.Bro. McGillivray was present, and he nominated Bro. the Rev. John Bethune, Rector of Montreal, as his Deputy. The new Deputy was initiated in St. Paul's Lodge on October 4th, 1823, and was installed as Master of that Lodge in December of 1824.

By the end of the year 1824, all the active Lodges had completed their Petitions and made the required Returns of their members. Subscriptions amounting to £34 10s. had been received for the General Funds of the new organisation. The Board of General Purposes had been instructed "to enquire into and report the most speedy and effectual mode of rendering uniform the work of the several Lodges", and a Committee had been appointed "to ascertain the mode of work used by the U.G.L. of E.". At the closing meeting of the year, held on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, the Provincial Grand Master was present and installed his Officers.

The Provincial Grand Secretary reported the receipt of the new Warrants for the eight active Lodges at the Quarterly Communication held on March 14th, 1825. These all bore the same date—March 29th, 1824—and were numbered 780 to 786 and 788.

The disability suffered by Provincial Grand Lodges under the Constitutions of the United Grand Lodge, as then written, which provided that "every Provincial Grand Lodge ceases to

¹ Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, vol. iii, p. 337.

exist on the death, resignation, suspension or removal of the Provincial Grand Master until he be reinstated, or a successor appointed, by whose authority they may again be regularly convoked" (the quotation is taken from the Minutes), was discussed at the same meeting, and in view of the fact that "should the Provincial Grand Lodges in the Canadas be deprived by any accident of their present Grand Masters, great inconvenience would result to the Craft, by leaving their respective operations suspended, till a communication from England could be received", it was resolved that the Provincial Grand Lodges of Quebec and Upper Canada "be requested to join in a humble petition to the Most Worshipful the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, that he may be pleased to extend the privileges of the Grand Lodges of the Canadas to the effect that in the case of the death, resignation, suspension or removal of a Provincial Grand Master, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of such Grand Lodge be authorised to fill his office *pro tempore*, with power to do all legal business until a new appointment shall have been made by the M.W. Grand Master". It was further resolved "that the foregoing Resolution be submitted to the Provincial Grand Master, and should it meet with his approbation, that the Grand Secy. be authorised to write immediately to the Provincial Grand Lodges of Quebec and Upper Canada pursuant to the spirit of that resolve".

The Masonic Hall Hotel, on part of the site now occupied by the Bonsecours Market, St. Paul's Street, Montreal, was erected by John Molson in 1824-5, and he set aside a whole storey for the purposes of the Craft. The following description of the Lodge room is taken from the *History of St. Paul's Lodge*, published in 1876, with a second edition in 1895:—

"The Lodge room was most chastely and classically fitted up, with double rows of columns of the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian Orders, in pairs, and terminating, on the Eastern side by a magnificent throne of the Composite Order. Between the columns, standing on their bases, twelve feet from the sides of the walls and twelve feet from each other, from West to East, were placed the couches for the accommodation of the members, and these, with the rest of the furniture, were covered with blue damask, the remainder of the furniture being in perfect keeping."

The Hall was solemnly dedicated, with the usual rites and ceremonies by the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. William McGillivray) at a Grand Lodge of Emergency held on May 13th, 1825 at which was also present R.W.Bro. Simon McGillivray, P.G.M. of Upper Canada. "The Grand Lodge was opened in ample form in the three degrees, and with solemn prayer", and "then adjourned in the 1°." The private Lodges were admitted, and a procession formed which "on arriving at the Hall, moved three times round it, during which appropriate music was performed. The Grand Officers were separately proclaimed on arriving at the East. The R.W.P.G.M. having taken his seat on the Throne, and the Lodge having been placed in the centre of the Hall, with the three Grand Lights, the corn, wine and oil deposited thereon, the Brn. comprising the procession, retired to their respective stations". "A grand musical performance commenced under the direction of the Grand Organist". "The Grand Chaplain pronounced the benediction, and a collection was then made in aid of the funds of the Orphan Asylum (amount £51 4s.). The ladies, and such as were not Masons, then retired, and the R.W.P.G.M. proceeded to the important ceremony of the dedication, with the accustomed rites and solemnities. The dedication of the Hall was then proclaimed with the usual processions, when the whole returned to their stations from whence they started and the Grand Lodge was then closed in ample form and with solemn prayer".

From a contemporary newspaper account which has been pasted into the back of the Minute Book, we learn that

"the procession was formed in the regular order when the junior lodges and visiting brethren taking the lead (as is usual in Masonic processions) the whole proceeded from the large dining room up the winding staircase to the hall, which was partly occupied by ladies and gentlemen who had received tickets of admission, leaving sufficient room in the centre for the Masons. The Grand Master being seated, the Architect presented to him a model of the building with which he declared himself perfectly satisfied".

The Grand Chaplain, W.Bro. B. B. Stevens, spoke apparently at considerable length.

"He combatted in an able and logical manner the various arguments used by the enemies of Masonry and proved to a demonstration the necessity of preserving the mysteries of the Craft secret from all who were unworthy of participating in its blessing."

He then

"explained the cause why ladies were not permitted enrollment to the Masonic calendar; he said that their feminine dispositions were more properly employed in softening the cares of the opposite sex than they were to be occupied in the abstract

sciences, of metaphysics or in solving geometrical and mathematical problems which was rendered by custom the duty of man. After paying a just tribute to the female character, the orator adverted to the object of his address, which was to solicit charity in aid of the orphan asylum of Montreal. It is impossible for us to convey to our readers any idea of the pathetic and forcible manner in which he urged the claims of those helpless children who, deprived of their natural protectors, were under the necessity of seeking from strangers food, raiment and mental satisfaction. The reverend gentleman said that from the attention which he always received and the success of his former appeals he had reason to believe that his addresses were gratifying, 'and if,' said he, 'you think my exertions worthy of recompense, pay me today by giving to these children' (pointing to the orphans ranged in the hall) 'that support which their helpless situation requires from the humane protection of their more fortunate fellow creatures'.

When Mr. Stevens had concluded, the R.W. Grand Master gave directions that all but those in the Craft should retire as business appertaining to Masonic rites was about to be commenced. He said that it was with reluctance he gave this order for, as an admirer of female beauty, he was never more pleased than when in its presence, but as they were not initiated into the secrets of the Order, they could not be present.

The ladies retired and, if we are permitted to judge from appearances, their reluctance in withdrawing was equal to that which the duty of the Grand Master imposed upon him. After the ceremony of Dedication was gone through, the procession moved downstairs in the same order as before stated, when the Grand Lodge was closed, and the members retired to their several Lodge rooms. In the evening about 65 Masons sat down to a dinner prepared by Mr. Rasco, and spent the night in that kind of harmonious festivity which Masons are wont to do on such occasions. We almost forgot to mention that during the ceremony several beautiful anthems were sung by a choir under the direction of, and accompanied by, Mr. Kyle, the Grand Organist of this District, the execution of which gave unmixed pleasure and satisfaction. The attention of the Commanding Officer of the 70th Regiment deserves honourable mention; he not only permitted his excellent band to attend, but gave a Guard of Honour on the occasion, the stairs and entrance hall were lined by Grenadiers in full dress, which gave an imposing effect to the whole."

Sometime in 1824 a Dispensation was issued to brethren in Charleston, Hatley, to establish Prince Edward Lodge No. 10. The Lodge appears in a list of the Lodges sent to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers, dated January 25th, 1825, by the Provincial Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry, but no Warrant appears to have been issued. Two of the petitioners had formerly been members of Rural Lodge No. 15 P.G.L.L.C., meeting at Ascot, near Lennoxville, but nothing more is known about the Lodge.

An Especial Grand Lodge of Emergency was held on June 13th, 1825, at which, in the absence of the Provincial Grand Master, the Chair was taken by R.W.Bro. Simon McGillivray, Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada. The meeting was called for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of the new Presbyterian Church on St. James Street, Montreal.

The regular Quarterly Communication of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held on the following day, "when the P.G.M. of Upper Canada reported his proceedings as Acting P.G.M. in the Lodge of Emergency yesterday which the R.W.P.G.M. was pleased to approve of". At this meeting it is recorded that "The P.G.M. of Upper Canada called the attention of the R.W.P.G.M. and mentioned that it was the invariable practice of the G.L. of E. that the G.S. should read the regulations for the government of the G.L. during the time of public business contained in p. 24 of the *Book of Constitutions*, immediately after the opening of the G.L. and previous to all other business. The R.W.P.G.M. was pleased to agree with the R.W.P.G.M. of U.C., and that part of the *Book of Constitutions* was read accordingly". Bro. Tutton, the First Grand Tyler, reported that in pursuance of the order of the 14th March last, he proceeded to collect the back dues up to the 27th December last, "but had not been very successful."

At the regular Quarterly Communication held on September 12th, 1823, the Provincial Grand Secretary reported that he had procured a Provincial Grand Lodge Seal. A Committee was appointed to meet a Committee of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec and Three Rivers to settle certain claims and counter-claims existing between the two Provincial Grand Lodges. It was also resolved "that in conformity to the 21st Section of the Chapter 'Of Private Lodges' the G.L. feel it their duty to enforce uniformity of work in all the Lodges within its jurisdiction, and to that effect do constitute a General Lodge of Instruction for the District at which all the Officers of the different Lodges in town shall be bound and all other brethren are recommended to attend. And for the purpose of instructing the Lodges in the country, one or more brethren shall be deputed to visit them once in every year". It was also resolved "that the Lecturers of the General Lodge of Instruction shall consist of three brethren to be named

by the P.G.M." and the Provincial Grand Master was pleased to appoint Bros. McCord, Bigelow and Badgley, Lecturers, and Bros. McCord and Badgley to be inspectors of the country Lodges. The General Lodge of Instruction was to meet twice in each month, and oftener if the brethren thought proper, the expenses to be paid proportionately by each of the town Lodges.

The Provincial Grand Master, William McGillivray, died at St. John's Wood, London, England, on October 16th, 1825, at the age of 61.

The Provincial Grand Lodge did not meet again until the 5th September, 1826, when R.W.Bro. Claude Denechau, Provincial Grand Master for the District of Quebec and Three Rivers, came up from Quebec with a number of Quebec brethren to preside and install Bro. John Molson, whom it had pleased H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex to appoint by Patent, dated May 15th, 1826, to the office of Provincial Grand Master of Montreal and William Henry. Among those present was V.W.Bro. T. G. Western, Senior Grand Warden for Somerset. After the Patent had been read

"The R.W. the P.G.M. for Quebec and Three Rivers then retired to the Installation Chamber, where R.W.Bro. John Molson was afterwards introduced by the Past D.P.G.M., the Rev. John Bethune. He was then, by the R.W. the P.G.M. for Quebec and Three Rivers, installed Provincial Grand Master for the District of Montreal and William Henry.

The ceremony being ended, the R.W. The Prov. G. Masters and Brn. returned into the body of the P.G. Lodge, and the newly-installed P.G.M. being seated on the Throne, was proclaimed by the P.G. Secretary and saluted accordingly.

The R.W.P.G.M. for Quebec delivered an appropriate address to the newly-installed P.G.M., who was afterwards pleased to return his sincere thanks to the R.W.P.G.M. and Brethren for Quebec for their kind and fraternal attendance at this installation."

The installation of the Provincial Grand Master who was an installed Master in a private ceremony and not in the body of the Provincial Grand Lodge is to be noted.

After the Provincial Grand Lodge had been closed, a procession was formed and, to music supplied by the Band of the 76th Regiment, the Brethren marched to Christ Church, where a sermon was preached by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, R.W.Bro. the Rev. John Bethune, and a collection taken for the funds of the Montreal General Hospital. "The Brethren then returned in the same order to the Masonic Hall, and on their arrival the P.G.L. was adjourned from Labour to Refreshment. . . . At 10 o'clock p.m., there being no further business before the P.G.M., the P.G.L., was closed in ample form, with solemn prayer".

John Molson was born in Lincolnshire in 1764, came to Canada in 1782 and established his brewery in Montreal. In 1809 he inaugurated a steamship service on the St. Lawrence River, his vessel "The Accommodation" plying between Quebec and Montreal. He was a Director of the Montreal Savings Bank in 1819, and President of the Bank of Montreal from 1826 to 1834. He was a member of St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, and served as Master in 1791 and 1795. He died on January 11th, 1836.

An especial meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held on September 21st, 1826, when, after the transaction of routine business,

"Wellington Persevering Lodge by W.Br. Stanley, handed to the R.W.P.G.M. a packet which he stated contained the Warrant of said Lodge which they resigned, and which packet also contained the reasons for such resignation. . . . The R.W. P.G.M. having taken communication of the reasons for the resignation of the Warrant of Constitution of No. 7, directed the P.G.S. to read them. They were accordingly read. The Brethren in attendance from No. 7 then requested leave to withdraw, which was granted. The R.W.P.G.M. said that the reasons aforesaid should, as requested, be forwarded to U.G.L. and informed the Representatives of the Lodge that in consequence of the resignation of their Warrant they could not continue their Masonic functions in this District. The Brethren of No. 7 then withdrew."

Wellington Persevering Lodge was warranted by the Provincial Lodge of Lower Canada, December 28th, 1815, and appears to have been an active one, fifty members having been identified. There is nothing in the record to explain the action of the Brethren of the Lodge, and the Lodge Minutes have not been found.

At the Quarterly Communication held on December 11th, 1826,

"The D.P.G. Master delivered to V.W.Bro. Henry Mackenzie, P.G.Reg., a packet forwarded with the Letters Patent appointing the R.W.P.G.M. addressed and inscribed as follows: 'To the Deputy Provincial Grand Master for the time being of the District of Montreal and William Henry in Lower Canada. This paper to be held

in the custody of the Prov. Grand Registrar for the time being, and to be *opened only* in the event of the death or resignation of the Provincial Grand Master."

New By-laws for the regulation of the Provincial Grand Lodge were considered and adopted unanimously at this meeting.

The Inspectors of Country Lodges reported that they had visited St. Andrew's Lodge No. 5 (formerly Murray Lodge) and Columbia Lodge No. 8, which then held Warrant No. 737 dated March 29th, 1824, and had instructed them in the forms of Opening and Closing.

At the next Communication of the Provincial Grand Lodge, held on the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, following the nomination and installation of the Provincial Grand Officers,

"the D.P.G.M. informed the P.G.M. that in obedience to his command he had this day attended at the Union Lodge No. 1 for the purpose of installing the W.M. of that Lodge. That a Br. of that Lodge, *viz.*, Br. Rufus B. Page, was guilty of gross unmasonic conduct in having in open Lodge forcibly taken and carried away the Warrant of Constitution of that Lodge. Upon this communication the R.W.P.G.M. was pleased to order that Br. Rufus B. Page be immediately suspended from all Masonic functions and privileges during the R.W.P.G.M.'s will and pleasure, and that the P.G.S. write a letter to Br. Page requiring him forthwith to deliver up the said Warrant of Constitution."

From the printed report of this meeting it is learned that the Brother to be installed as Master was William Badgley. He was initiated in St. Paul's Lodge on February 10th, 1824, and is registered as S.W. of that Lodge at the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on May 29th, 1825. The Minutes give no information as to why the Provincial Grand Master had instructed his Deputy to install Bro. Badgley. There were about twenty active members of the Lodge at the time, and it would appear that it ceased to function very shortly afterwards. Bro. Badgley's status was questioned at the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge held on April 3rd, 1827, and the Provincial Grand Master ruled that he had a vote in the Provincial Grand Lodge as an honorary member of St. Paul's Lodge.

The harmony of the Provincial Grand Lodge was disturbed during the early part of 1827 because of charges against Bro. Rufus B. Page, who had summoned a meeting of the members of Union Lodge under the Warrant he had carried away, and other Brethren who had participated in these irregular proceedings. A number of special meetings were held to deal with these charges, and eventually Bro. Page and Bro. George Stanley (formerly a member of Wellington Persevering Lodge) were expelled from the Craft, and Bro. Jacob Bigelow (a member of St. Paul's Lodge) was sentenced to be reprimanded.

At the Quarterly Communication held on September 10th, 1827, the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. John Molson) informed the Provincial Grand Lodge that "in compliance with the wishes of the members he had procured a portrait of himself in his official costume which he now begged leave to present to the Provincial Grand Lodge to remain in its Lodge room".

A meeting was held on June 17th, 1828, for the purpose of presenting an address to His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-in-Chief of Canada, on his leaving Canada. A cordial acknowledgment from this former Grand Master Mason of Scotland is recorded in the Minutes of a later Communication.

Between June and September, 1828, the corner stone of a Protestant Episcopal Chapel in the village of Hochelaga was laid by the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. John Molson). The Provincial Grand Lodge met at the River Hotel, Current St. Mary, from which it marched to the site of the new Chapel. Taking part in the ceremonies were members of St. Paul's Lodge and the Waterloo Lodge No. 233, E.R., held in the 79th Regiment. Waterloo Lodge was originally an "Ancient" Lodge No. 191, whose Warrant was dated February 13th, 1808, re-numbered 233 at the Union. It was erased in 1838.

A Dispensation was issued December 18th, 1828, for the formation of Canning Lodge, Montreal, of which Bro. Lucius L. Solomon, formerly a member of Union Lodge, was appointed Master. Bro. Solomon was presented to the Provincial Grand Master at a Communication held on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27th, 1828, as "well-skilled in Masonry" for his approbation.

"The G. Sec. then read a summary of the Ancient Charges which being admitted by the Master-elect, the R.W.P.G.M. was pleased to approve of Bro. L. L. Solomon as Master. The Master-elect then retired to the Installation room, accompanied by R.W. the D.P.G.M., the R.W.G.C., V.W.Bro. McCord and W.Br. L. Barclay when a Past Masters' Lodge being duly opened, Bro. Solomon was obligated as Past Master according to ancient custom. This P.M.'s Lodge being duly closed, the Master-elect and Brethren returned to the Grand Lodge where he was duly placed in

THE
MASON'S MANUAL

COMPRISING

Rules and Regulations

FOR THE GOVERNMENT

OF THIS

Most Ancient and Honorable Society

OF

FREE AND ACCEPTED

MASONS,

IN

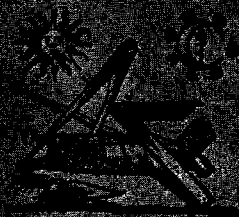
LOWER CANADA.

To which is added

AN APPENDIX,

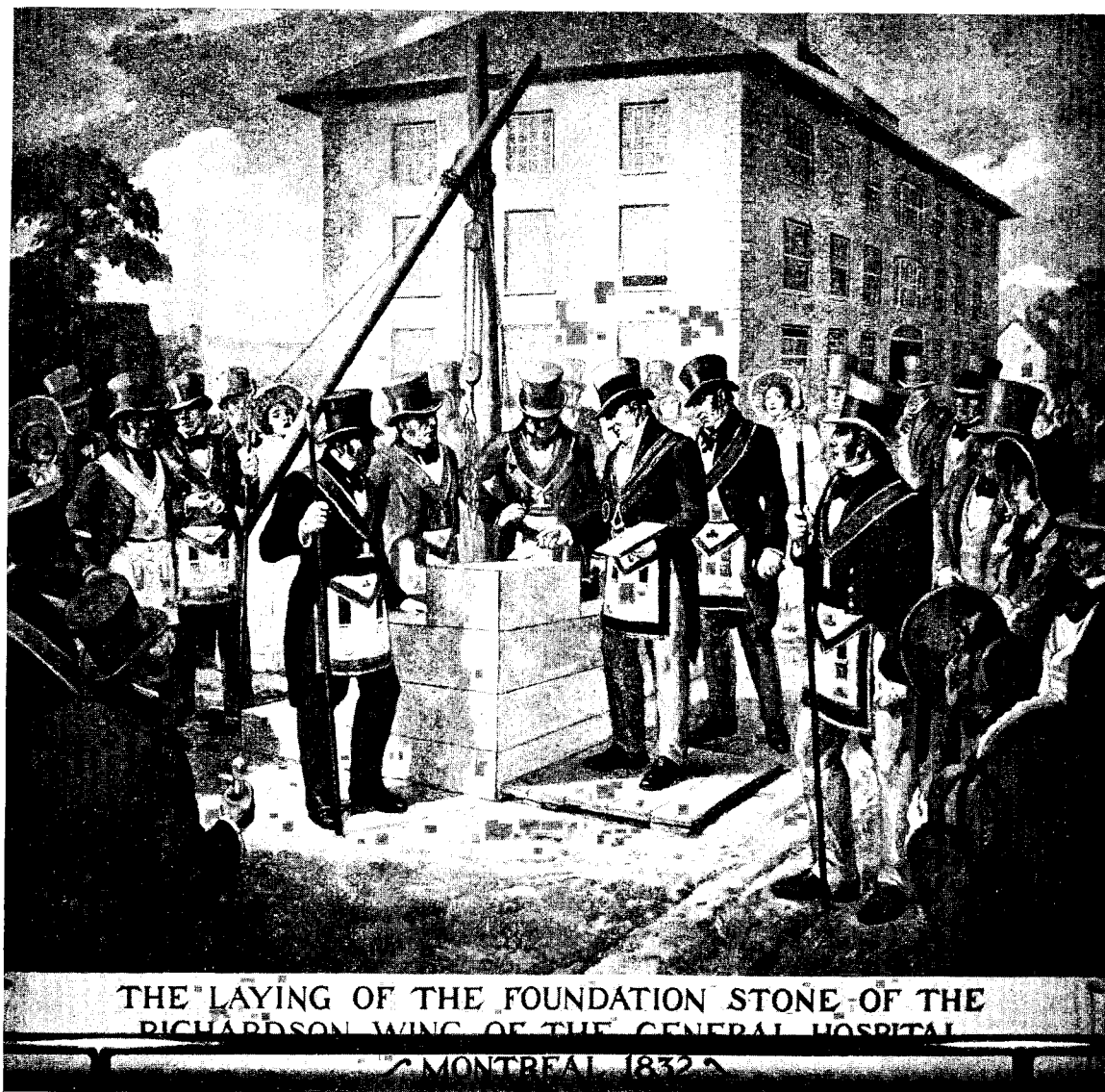
Containing various Festival Charges, &c.

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1875.



THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE
RICHARDSON WING OF THE GENERAL HOSPITAL
MONTREAL 1832

the Chair prepared for him in the body of the L. and received the congratulations of the Brethren present."

After the Wardens had been

"severally placed in their proper chairs and invested with the proper emblems of their offices, the R.W.G.C. then delivered a Lecture to the Brethren of the G.L. appropriate to the occasion. The R.W.P.G.M. delivered the proper Lecture to the Lodge accompanied by the Working Tools".

The new Lodge did not prosper, and no Warrant was issued.

On the 17th July, 1829, a similar ceremony was conducted for the purpose of installing the officers of another new Lodge—St. George's, of which Bro. James Guthrie Scott was the first Master. Bro. Scott was initiated in the Operative Lodge of Airdrie No. 198, S.C., and joined St. Paul's Lodge in 1819. After serving as Master of St. George's Lodge he appears to have rejoined St. Paul's Lodge, of which Lodge he was elected Master in 1833 and 1834.

The Provincial Grand Lodge met regularly during the balance of the year 1829 and also in 1830. In January of 1830 the members attended the funeral of Sir John Johnson, the Provincial Grand Master for Canada under the "Modern" regime, which has already been mentioned in these *Transactions*.¹ At the Communication of September 13th, the Provincial Grand Lodge went into mourning for His Majesty King George the Fourth, who died on June 26th.

In August, 1831, the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. John Molson) informed the Brethren that it was "his intention to go to England on private business and that in consequence the duties of his office would devolve upon the D.P.G.M. (R.W.Bro. Turtton Penn)". A Committee was appointed "to draw up an address to the M.W. the G.M. of England on such subjects touching the welfare of the Craft in this District as to them may appear expedient and necessary at the moment, And that amongst other things the Committee be instructed to refer to the necessity of establishing a Royal Arch Chapter in this District".

A Special Grand Lodge was called for September 15th, 1831, for the purpose of laying the corner stone of the Richardson Wing of the Montreal General Hospital. The members of the Provincial Grand Lodge, accompanied by the Brethren of St. George's Lodge, marched in procession to Christ Church, where an address was delivered by the Provincial Grand Chaplain, the Rev. B. B. Stevens.

"The Grand Lodge then proceeded accompanied by the other Lodge² to the Montreal General Hospital, and the corner stone of the Richardson Wing thereof was then laid by the R.W.P.G. Master in ample form according to the usages of the Craft.

The Grand Lodge then returned to the Masonic Hall, and the Lodge of Master Masons having been resumed, it was resolved that the thanks of this Grand Lodge be given to Col. McIntosh for the kind manner in which he ordered the Guard of Honour and to Lieut. Blais for the handsome manner in which he commanded it."

The ground upon which the original Hospital was erected was purchased in 1820 by the Hon. John Richardson, the Hon. William McGillivray and Samuel Gerrard, and the corner stone was laid on June 5th, 1821, with Masonic honours, by Sir John Johnson, Bart., Past Provincial Grand Master of Canada, deputed and acting as substitute for the Hon. Claude Denechau, Provincial Grand Master of Lower Canada, assisted by the Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and the Masters, Wardens and Brethren of Union, St. Paul's and Wellington Persevering Lodges.

The laying of the foundation stone of the Richardson Wing is the subject of one of the murals painted by Bro. Adam Sheriff Scott in the Memorial Hall of the Montreal Masonic Memorial Temple, reproduced in these pages by permission of the Grand Master of Masons of Quebec (M.W.Bro. W. Russell Bradford).

The Provincial Grand Lodge met regularly and despatched its routine business during the year 1832.

The Masonic Hall Hotel, which had been re-named the British American Hotel, was destroyed by fire on April 24th, 1833, and the Warrant of the Provincial Grand Master, the furniture and records of the Provincial Grand Lodge, as well as the records of St. Paul's Lodge, were lost. An emergency meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held on May 10th in the rooms of St. George's Lodge, and it was resolved to continue the Quarterly Communications.

The Provincial Grand Lodge met on September 9th, December 9th, 18th and 27th, and although the Minutes of these communications are not very informative, a progressive

¹ *A.Q.C.*, lxviii, 50.

² St. Paul's Lodge.

deterioration in its affairs is evident. The dues of a large number of its Officers had been allowed to accumulate, and, in addition, fines payable for non-attendance, or for being late, had remained unpaid. The subject of these unpaid dues and fines is frequently mentioned in the Minutes. At the meeting held on September 9th, 1833, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the state of affairs. This Committee reported on December 9th, but consideration of the report was postponed until December 18th, when it was adopted and confirmed, the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. John Molson) dissenting.

At the meeting held on December 27th, 1833, the Provincial Grand Master

"was pleased to declare that as the proceedings of the P.G.L., 10th December, 1832, to reduce the back dues owing to the P.G.L. . . . were, in his opinion, improper as having a retrospective tendency, and being repugnant to the principles of justice and of Masonry, he would not proceed to the appointment and installation of Officers, and expressed his intention to resign, unless the Brethren would pledge themselves to obtain a recession of the report and proceedings.

A letter from the V.W. Secretary of the M.W.U.G.L. of England to be opened in case of death, resignation of the R.W.P.G.M. was produced before the P.G.L. in possession of the P.G. Registrar.

The Deputy P.G.M. Turton Penn having been specially summoned to attend entered the P.G.L.

The Brethren having declared their inability to pledge themselves as abovesaid, and thereupon the R.W.P.G.M. having solemnly made a resignation of his office of R.W.P.G.M. he vacated the Chair and retired.

The R.W.D.P.G.M. having opened the said letter its contents laid before the P.G.L. proved to be a Warrant from the M.W. the G.M. appointing the R.W.D.P.G.M. to act in case of death or resignation of the R.W.P.G.M.

The R.W.D.P.G.M. was pleased to continue all the Officer of the past year in their respective offices, and they were accordingly installed.

And all business being concluded the P.G.L. was closed in due form and with solemn prayer."

An "Emergent" Meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge was held on January 2nd, 1834, when it was resolved that the name of the Hon. Louis Guty be submitted to the Grand Master for appointment to the vacant office of Provincial Grand Master. A Committee was appointed to wait upon Bro. Guty to request that he permit himself to be recommended. At the Regular Communication held on March 10th, 1834, the Committee reported that Bro. Guty had consented to his name being put forward. It was also resolved to apply to St. Paul's Lodge for a loan of £15 in order to pay the dues owing to the United Grand Lodge.

The Hon. Louis Guty was the son of Conrad Guty, a Swiss Officer in the service of Holland who served with the British Army at the Conquest, and was born in Paris in 1770. He was the Sheriff of Three Rivers in 1812, and commanded the Third Battalion of the Militia. He was a member of the Legislative Council. Where he was made a Mason is not known, but he was a Charter member of Waterloo Lodge, Three Rivers, in 1818, and joined St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal, about the year 1830. He died July 17th, 1840.

On May 16th, 1844, V.W.Bro. William Badgley, assisted by members of St. Paul's Lodge, constituted Social Friendship Lodge No. 729, E.R., whose Warrant was dated March 21st, 1844, to be held in the 89th Regiment of Foot (Royal Irish Fusiliers). This Lodge was still in Montreal in 1851, and now meets in Freemasons' Hall, London.

The meeting of March 10th, 1834, is the last to be recorded in the Minute Book, and there is very little information available concerning the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge between that date and 1846. What happened to the recommendation of the Hon. Louis Guty is not known, but the appointment was not made. With the exception of St. Paul's Lodge and St. George's Lodge in Montreal, the other Lodges were more or less dormant, those in the Eastern Townships having ceased their activities because of the rising tide of anti-Masonry which followed the Morgan episode of 1826. A new Lodge—Zetland—was formed in Montreal and received Warrant No. 731, dated April 20th, 1844. Its Officers were installed on August 12th, 1845, by V.W.Bro. J. S. McCord, assisted by Officers of St. Paul's Lodge. It is now No. 12 on the Register of the Grand Lodge of Quebec.

A Dispensation was issued to Brethren in St. Johns on April 4th, 1843, to re-establish Dorchester Lodge, originally constituted by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, Grand Master of Lower Canada, by Warrant dated July 20th, 1792. The Lodge later received Warrant No. 775, dated August 1st, 1846. It is now No. 4 on the Register of the Grand Lodge of Quebec.

In 1846 a circular letter, dated January 26th, was issued by the Masters of St. Paul's, St. George's and Zetland Lodges calling a meeting for the adoption of measures for the reorganisation of the Provincial Grand Lodge to be held at Tetu's Hotel on February 4th. On February 10th, St. Paul's Lodge appointed a Committee to confer with the other Lodges, and on the 19th voted £50 towards the establishment of a Provincial Grand Lodge Fund.

The first Quarterly Communication of the reorganised Provincial Grand Lodge was held in the rooms of St. Paul's Lodge on March 9th, 1846, and on May 20th the Hon. Peter McGill was installed as Provincial Grand Master in virtue of a Patent of Appointment dated February 22nd, 1846, signed by the Earl of Zetland, G.M., at a meeting held in the rooms of St. George's Lodge at Mack's Hotel, Montreal.

From a printed circular issued to the Lodges we learn that after the Patent had been read,

“ R.W.Bro. Peter McGill was then presented by V.W.Bros. Dorwin and McCord, and the Brethren, not installed Masters, having retired, he was duly installed by the R.W. the D.P.G.M., Provincial Grand Master for Montreal and William Henry.

The Brethren then returned, and the newly installed Provincial Grand Master was Proclaimed and saluted according to ancient custom.”

From this record it would appear that R.W.Bro. McGill, who was not an installed Master, was then entrusted with the secrets of the Master's Chair, and it is assumed that R.W.Bro. William McGillivray was similarly entrusted on his installation, though the Minutes give no indication of it. The question arises—Why was it necessary for R.W.Bro. John Molson, who was a Past Master, to be installed in the Installation Chamber and not in the body of the Provincial Grand Lodge ?

The Hon. Peter McGill was a leading Montreal merchant, and was born in Scotland in 1789. He came to Canada in 1809. He was a member of the Legislative Council, Mayor of Montreal (1840-43) and President of the Bank of Montreal from 1834 to 1860. He was initiated in St. Paul's Lodge on October 14th, 1823, but held no office in the Lodge.

On October 1st, 1846, the Provincial Grand Lodge met for the purpose of laying the foundation stone of the new Freemasons' Hall at the corner of Notre Dame Street and Dalhousie Square, Montreal.

In 1848 the Hon. Peter McGill appointed T. D. Harington, the Master of St. George's Lodge, as his Deputy. Bro. Harington was a very active Mason, and a biographical sketch of his life and work, written by R.W.Bro. Lewis F. Riggs, appears in the *Transactions of the Canadian Masonic Research Association* for the year 1950. In 1852 Bro. Harington was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Quebec and Three Rivers, and in 1860 he was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Canada.

In the following year, 1849, the Hon. Peter McGill resigned his appointment because of ill-health, and the Hon. William Badgley was appointed by the Earl of Zetland, G.M., in his stead.¹

William Badgley was born in Montreal in 1801, educated at private schools and admitted to the Bar in 1823. He was appointed Commissioner in Bankruptcy in 1840 and Circuit Judge in 1844. In 1847 he was the Attorney-General of the Province, and later served as a Judge of the Superior Court and of the Court of Queen's Bench.

On July 8th, 1852, a large part of the City of Montreal was destroyed by fire, over 1,200 buildings, including the Freemasons' Hall, being burned to the ground.

A Dispensation was issued on April 29th, 1854, to establish St. Lawrence Lodge, Montreal, and it later received Warrant No. 923, dated September 5th, 1854. This Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Quebec in 1906, and is now No. 14 on the Register of that Grand body.

A number of Brethren residing in Waterloo received a Dispensation to open a Lodge on January 10th, 1855. The Lodge was named Shefford Lodge and received Warrant No. 934, dated April 23rd, 1855. Shefford Lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1855, and transferred its allegiance to the Grand Lodge of Quebec in 1874, receiving the No. 18 on its Register. In the same year Hoyle Lodge, at Lacolle, was opened under Dispensation, and it later received Warrant No. 938, dated June 28th, 1855. It joined the Grand Lodge of Canada in 1855, and was represented at the Annual Communication of that Grand body in 1866, after which year there is no record of its existence.

The foundation stone of the Mechanics' Institute, on the south-west corner of St. James Street and St. Peter Street, Montreal, was laid with Masonic honours on May 11th, 1854, by the Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. William Badgley), assisted by the Past Provincial Grand Master (R.W.Bro. Peter McGill).

In 1855 the organisation of the Grand Lodge of Canada was completed, and all the Lodges in the District, with the exception of St. Paul's, Dorchester, and St. Lawrence, joined the new body, Dorchester Lodge transferring its allegiance in 1859. The decision to throw in their lot with the Grand Lodge of Canada was not concurred in unanimously by the Brethren of Nelson Lodge, St. George's Lodge and Zetland Lodge, and minority groups of these Lodges continued to meet under their old Warrants as constituent units of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

On November 10th, 1857, the Brethren of St. Paul's Lodge passed the following

¹ *The Masonic Year Book* gives the date of Badgley's appointment as 1846.

resolution: "In view of the small number of Lodges working under English Warrants in the district of Montreal and William Henry, it is inexpedient to continue the Provincial Grand Lodge, and that, on its dissolution, this Lodge will communicate direct with the United Grand Lodge of England." From this date the Provincial Grand Lodge ceased to function, though the Provincial Grand Master retained his office. In 1871 he installed the Officers of St. George's Lodge No. 440, E.R., and on April 28th, 1880, a banquet was tendered to him at the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal.

After R.W.Bro. Badgley's death on December 24th, 1888, the Deputy, R.W.Bro. W. H. Hutton, continued to supervise the Lodges under English jurisdiction, and as late as 1892 he seized the Warrant of St. George's Lodge No. 440, E.R., and suspended its activities for a short period, duly reporting his actions to the United Grand Lodge of England as "D.D.G.M. in charge".

Since Bro. Hutton's death in 1893 the English Lodges have been without local supervision until 1955, when the Montreal and Halifax Lodges were grouped together and placed under the supervision of a Grand Inspector, the first and present incumbent of that office being V.W.Bro. J. Charles Hope, of St. Paul's Lodge, Montreal.

I acknowledge with grateful thanks Bro. Ivor Grantham's assistance in finding the Minute Book of the Provincial Grand Lodge, and the suggestions of Bros. R. J. Meekren and J. Charles Hope, who were kind enough to read the paper in its manuscript form.

LODGES IN THE DISTRICT OF MONTREAL AND WILLIAM HENRY

No. on Register P.G.L.L.C.	District No. 1824	District No. 1848	Date of Warrant	Orig. E.R. No.	1832 E.R. No.	Name	Location	Remarks
8	1	—	March, 29, 1824	780	512	Union	Montreal	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. March 2, 1793. Lapsed 1826.
9	2	6	March 29, 1824	781	513	Prevost	St. Armand	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C., as Select Surveyors' Lodge, Quebec, May 11, 1793. Now No. 7 G.R.Quebec.
12	3	1	March 29, 1824	782	514	St. Paul's	Montreal	Originally warranted by P.G.L. Quebec. Nov. 8, 1770. Now No. 374 E.R.
14	4	7	March 29, 1824	783	515	Nelson	Caldwell's Manor	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. in 1802. Now No. 9 G.R.Quebec.
17	5	2	March 29, 1824	784	516	Murray	St. Andrew's	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. in 1800. No record after 1855.
19	6	8	March 29, 1824	785	517	Golden Rule	Stanstead	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. Dec. 27, 1813. Now No. 5 G.R.Quebec
20	7	—	March 29, 1824	786	518	Wellington Persevering	Montreal	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. Oct. 30, 1815. Lapsed 1826.
25	8	—	March 29, 1824	787	519	Columbia	Hull	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. June 4, 1818. Lapsed 1826.
26	9	—	March 29, 1824	788	520	Odell	Odelltown	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. May 15, 1820. Lapsed 1827.
	10	—				Prince Edward	Charleston	Dispensation 1824. No warrant issued.
3	1	4	Augt. 1, 1846	775	775	Dorchester	St. John's	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. July 20, 1792. Now No. 4 G.R.Quebec.
6						Richelieu	William Henry	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. Nov., 1792. Lapsed 1820.
21						Pythagorean	Chambly	Originally warranted by P.G.L.L.C. in 1816. Lapsed before 1823.
	11					Canning	Montreal	Dispensation Dec. 18, 1828. No Warrant issued.
	10	3	Oct. 20, 1836	643	643	St. George's	Montreal	Part now No. 440 E.R., and part No. 10. G.R.Quebec. No. 440 E.R. was granted a Centenary Warrant July 17, 1929, and takes seniority from 1829.
			March 21, 1844	729	729	Social Friendship	89th Regiment	Now No. 497 E.R.
	11	5	April 20, 1844	731	731	Zetland	Montreal	Now No. 12 G.R.Quebec.
		9	Sept. 5, 1854	923	923	St. Lawrence	Montreal	Now No. 14 G.R.Quebec.
		10	April 23, 1855	934	934	Shefford	Waterloo	Now No. 18 G.R.Quebec.
		11	June 28, 1855	938	938	Hoyle	Lacolle	Lapsed 1866.

On the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Milborne for his paper, and to Bro. Ivor Grantham for his excellent delivery of it, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Carr, Rogers and Grantham.

The W. MASTER said:—

With pleasure I propose the vote of thanks to Bro. Milborne for the excellent paper he has prepared for us with careful study and critical analysis. I must also express our thanks to Bro. Grantham for the beautiful and understanding way in which he has read the paper, pointing the important items as few can do, even with their own papers; he has greatly added to our afternoon enjoyment.

It is not a paper on which I am qualified to comment, other than that I have found much of interest in it, and gratification that Q.C. has such members as Bros. Milborne and Meekren giving us such an insight into Canadian Masonic history and truly presenting the world-wide contacts made possible by this Lodge.

I must confess that my knowledge of Canadian geography is not what it ought to be, and possibly others would be as pleased as I to see a small key map printed with the paper.

Of the many points of interest, I have noted the strict observance of St. John's Day, now so sadly abandoned in England, even by old Lodges. Then, again, the free membership of Catholics is pleasant to see mentioned.

We must remember that this paper was only made possible by the Minute Book preserved in our Grand Lodge Library and from which Bro. Grantham was able to supply the information Bro. Milborne so urgently required, and be thankful for the careful preservation of such documents there.

The Installation of the Prov. G.M. in "the Installation Chamber", and the brief mention of the R.A. and the application to Grand Lodge, illustrates the many interesting items. Was anything further heard of the latter?

I formally move the vote of thanks.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN, S.W., said:—

In seconding the vote of thanks proposed by our Master to Bro. Milborne for this most interesting paper, I do so without making any comment on its contents.

This paper is a model of its kind. It sets out in logical sequence the development of a now extinct Provincial Grand Lodge and takes us back to the days when it can have been no easy matter to attend Masonic meetings. There may be some present who may wonder whether such a paper as this has any real value, for at first glance there would appear to be little "research" in it. Some might even suggest that all that has been done is to transcribe, with comments from existing documents.

Up to a point that may be true, but surely it is the doctrine of this Lodge to make available to students all over the world that which may be contained in otherwise inaccessible archives. In my view, this is exactly what this paper does to a laudable degree.

I have said that this paper is a model of its kind. It is to be hoped that our American Brethren, in reading it, may be inspired to prepare for us similar papers on the Provincial and District Grand Lodges which existed in the Thirteen Colonies, and concerning which so little has as yet been published.

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to second the vote of thanks.

Bro. H. CARR *writes*:—

On the surface Bro. Milborne's paper is one of purely local interest, yet it helps to fill in details which belong to the broad picture of Craft history as a whole.

The haphazard nature of Craft organisation in the 1790's appears very clearly in the opening paragraphs, when we find that the Provincial Grand Masters of two adjoining Provinces were vested with different powers.

Once again we have here an example of the activity of the "Ancients" in the erection of Lodges far and wide, and in the encouragement which they gave to their "offspring", as compared with the pitiful neglect evinced by the "Moderns". By the erection of three Provincial Grand Lodges in Canada between 1792 and 1799, the "Ancients" had definitely established themselves there, while the few Lodges holding under the "Moderns" and having no similar "on-the-spot" form of government gradually disappeared. Indeed, Gould (Poole's

Edn., vol. iv, p. 83) says that: "None of the Lodges erected by the Older or Modern Grand Lodge was carried forward at the Union."

Another point of general historical interest arises out of Bro. Milborne's quotation from the Constitutions (pp. 86-7) governing the procedure on the death of a Provincial Grand Master. In those days, when communications were slow and difficult, the virtual dissolution of a Provincial Grand Lodge, which resulted in the event of the Provincial Grand Master's death, would leave the Lodges without a ruler and without proper organisation for several months on end. The present rule governing such contingencies is designed exactly to meet the kind of difficulty which was envisaged in the Canadian petition (*ibid.*), and it shows how the machinery of government by the Grand Lodge developed through sheer necessity to meet new problems as they arose.

I am rather puzzled by Bro. Milborne's note on "Uniformity of Working" (at foot of page 88). Was this a purely local movement, or was it a relic of the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation in England? The appointment of three Lecturers for the purpose of instructing the Lodges seems to have been based upon English procedure at the time of the Union, but here is a point upon which we would gladly have more information. Another question arises here. Is there any evidence as to what ritual was practised by the generality of "Ancients" Lodges in Canada, both before and after the Union? If the "Ancients" were practically masters of three Grand Lodges in Canada, it would be very interesting to know whether they made any changes in their ritual as a result of the Union, and whether there is any textual evidence as to the nature of such changes.

I would like to add my thanks to Bro. Milborne for his paper, which has done much towards completing our picture of the rise and development of the Craft in Canada.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

Bro. Milborne is again to be congratulated on an interesting paper dealing with Canadian Freemasonry, additional to those he has already contributed.

Regarding the St. Paul's Lodge in Montreal, it might be an advantage if he will clarify the position of those Lodges in Canada which still own allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England, having refused to join any of the Canadian Grand Lodges. Among the Lodges abroad, under Grand Inspectors, are the following on pages 308-9 of the *Masonic Year Book*:—

St. Paul's, Montreal, No. 374, dated 1770.

Royal Standard, Halifax, Nova Scotia, No. 398, dated 1815.

St. George's, Montreal, No. 440, dated 1829.

St. Paul's, No. 12, is identifiable with the present St. Paul's, No. 374, but the differing dates of origin are mystifying, for Lane's *List of Lodges* gives the date of the latter's Warrant as 29th March, 1824. Will Bro. Milborne kindly clarify this question in his final comments?

Two years ago I had some correspondence with Bro. Milborne which caused me to believe that a short summary of the economic and political conditions in Canada would be an advantage to overseas students. The part title "William Henry" was explained as a Fort, named in honour of Prince William Henry (later William IV), the eastern limit of the District "Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry", the latter part of the title being dropped some time in the nineteenth century; it is now understood to be the town of Sorel, and should not be confused with the Fort William Henry at the foot of Lake George, now in the State of New York, which Fort is in ruins.

It would be interesting to have more details of the ceremonies in St. Paul's when it was practising its "Antients'" rites, for it appears that a R.A. Chapter was attached to it in 1827, and, presumably, there would be earlier ceremonies. This Chapter has a Centenary Warrant. The Royal Standard Lodge at Halifax also has a R.A. Chapter, dated 1952.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM writes:—

In the course of this paper, an abbreviated version of which it was a pleasure to me to read on behalf of the author, mention was made of numerous Canadian Lodges whose formation was not reported to the Masonic authorities in England. To illustrate this point, I ventured to exhibit, amongst other items from the Grand Lodge Library, a local version of the *Book of Constitutions* (Halifax, 1819), containing on page 70 a list of 27 local Lodges, only two of which were borne on the register of the Grand Lodge of England. This list has here been copied for reproduction in our *Transactions*, if seen fit:—

LIST OF LODGES

under the Government and Jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, in the Province of Nova-Scotia, and Masonic Jurisdiction thereunto belonging:

The Right Worshipful J. G. PYKE, Grand Master,
J. ALBRO, Deputy Grand Master.

ON THE REGISTRY OF ENGLAND

No. 188, called St. Andrew, held at Halifax, first Tuesday in the month.
No. 265, called St. John, held at Halifax, 1st Monday in do.

ON THE REGISTRY OF NOVA-SCOTIA

No. 1, called Union, held at Halifax, 2d Monday in the month.
No. 2, called Virgin, held at Halifax, 4th Monday ditto.
No. 3, called Parr, held at Shelburne, 2d Thursday ditto.
No. 6, called Digby, held at Digby, 1st Tuesday ditto.
No. 7, called Temple, held at Guysborough, 1st Thursday do.
No. 9, called Chester, held at Chester, 1st Tuesday do.
No. 10, called Hiram, held at Shelburne, 2d Monday do.
No. 11, called St. George, held at Cornwallis, 1st Monday do.
No. 19, called St. George, held at Mauderville, N.B., 2d Tuesday do.
No. 22, called Solomon, held at Fredericton, N.B., 1st Tuesday after Full Moon.
No. 25, called Annapolis Royal Lodge, held at Annapolis Royal, the 2d Tuesday in the month.
No. 26, called St. John, held at Charlottetown, P.E. Island, 2d Tuesday do.
No. 27, called Hibernia, held at Liverpool, 2d Tuesday do.
No. 28, called Harmony, held at Sydney, C.B., 1st Wednesday do.
No. 29, called St. John, held at St. John, N.B.
No. 31, called Midian, held at Kingston, N.B., 2d Tuesday do.
No. 32, called Wentworth, held at Yarmouth, 2d Tuesday do.
No. 34, called Orphan's Friend, held at St. Stephen's, N.B., 2d Wednesday after every Full Moon.
No. 35, called New Caledonian, held at Pictou, 2d Tuesday.
No. 36, called Newport, held at Newport, 1st Tuesdy. aft. every full moon.
No. 37, called Eastern Star, held at St. Andrews.
No. 38, called Union, held at St. John, Brunswick.
No. 39, called Royal Standard, in the Rl. Artillery, 2d Tuesd. in the month.
No. 40, called Musquodoboit, at Musquodoboit, Tuesday before full moon.
No. 41, called Regent, held at Dorchester, 1st Monday in the month.

Bro. MILBORNE writes in reply:—

I am very grateful to the Worshipful Master and Bro. Draffen for the generous terms they used in proposing the vote of thanks, and also to Bro. Grantham for his kindness in reading the paper in Lodge.

I most heartily share Bro. Draffen's hope that some of our members will be prompted to undertake the preparation of papers on the Provincial and District Grand Lodges, not only in the Thirteen Colonies, but in many other parts of the world, a field of enquiry which has been too long neglected

The Worshipful Master enquires if anything further was heard of the application made in 1831 for a Royal Arch Warrant. I think the answer is "No", but five or six years ago St. Paul's Lodge obtained some papers from McGill University which had formerly formed part of the collection of the late David Ross McCord, and among them was a Charter dated 1827 signed by Augustus Frederick, Z., Dundas, H., John Ramsbottom, J., William H. White, E. The signature of N. is blank. This Charter was delivered to Simon McGillivray, who wrote to the Montreal Brethren to the effect that as none of them had been sufficiently interested to learn how to conduct a Chapter, he was withholding the Charter until they did. Simon McGillivray was installed as Provincial Grand Superintendent of Upper Canada at a meeting of Grand Chapter held on May 8th, 1822, and I have found no record of the extension of his authority to Lower Canada. A duplicate Charter was subsequently obtained, bearing the same date, and this is the Charter under which St. Paul's Chapter No. 374 now meets. The Chapter did not begin to function until 1846, and even then the early attendance records are

marked "No quorum". The first regular meeting was held in 1851, from which time St. Paul's Centenary Charter dates.

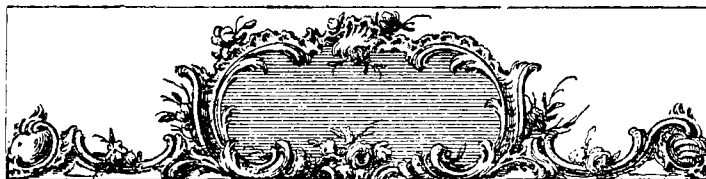
I am sure that Bro. Carr and Bro. Rogers appreciate the difficulty of commenting on the "work". It has been established, I submit, that the "Modern" Masons in Quebec were "Traditioners" from the inception of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec in 1759 until the arrival in Quebec of "Ancient" Lodges in the 1780's. (*A.Q.C.*, lvii, 264). I believe that the "Modern" Lodges must then have conformed to the practices of their Grand Lodge, for following the celebration of St. John's Day, in 1792, the "Ancients" asked for some assurance that the "Moderns" who had attended had been healed to "Ancient Masonry". (*A.Q.C.*, lxxiii, 49). With the eclipse of the "Moderns", I believe also that the "Ancient" work was generally used until the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry. I know of no textual evidence as to the nature of the changes in the work. The American working, usually referred to as the York Rite, was introduced into Canada by John Barney, a member of Friendship Lodge, Charlotte, Vermont. In 1817 Barney went to Boston and learned the Webb Lectures from Benjamin Gleason, Grand Lecturer of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. In the following year, Barney was engaged by Murray Lodge No. 17 P.G.L.L.C., at St. Andrew's, as Lecture Master for three weeks at 12/6 a day. In 1820 he was engaged by Prevost Lodge No. 9 P.G.L.L.C., at Missisquoi Bay for ten days at the same rate, and in 1821 by Golden Rule Lodge at Stanstead at \$3. per day. Barney appears to have instructed these Lodges in the Mark, Royal Arch, and Royal and Select Master in addition to the first three degrees of Craft Masonry. Golden Rule Lodge, No. 5 on the Quebec Register, still works the York Rite.

Emulation, basically, is the work now used by St. Paul's Lodge, except that the method of introducing the candidate into the Lodge and the perambulations in the Entered Apprentice Degree are peculiar to the Lodge. This part of the degree is reminiscent of what is believed to have been practiced in early eighteen century Lodges, and finds a parallel, so I am informed, in the practice of present-day Lodges in Sweden.

I am able to amplify the reference in my paper to the decision of the Provincial Grand Lodge to render the work uniform from the contents of an Official Circular issued to the Lodges on January 26th, 1825. The Committee appointed to ascertain the mode of work used by the United Grand Lodge of England "awaited on the Provincial Grand Master and received from him the work as directed by the United Grand Lodge of England". R.W.Bro. William McGillivray was then in office. The Circular, signed by J. S. McCord as Provincial Grand Secretary, continues: "The mode of work now established being in many points peculiarly different to the work hitherto followed in this country, the Provincial Grand Master is very desirous that it should become universal throughout his jurisdiction. I would, therefore, beg leave to recommend that some of the most intelligent Masons of each of the country Lodges be occasionally sent to Town to be present at the meetings of the Town Lodge for the purpose of learning the work".

With reference to Bro. Rogers' difficulty with the differing dates of origin of the Lodges in Canada adhering to the United Grand Lodge of England, I would say that St. Paul's Lodge was originally warranted November 8th, 1770, by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec ("Moderns"). (See Lane, p. 216.) On May 1st, 1797, it took a Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada ("Ancients"), and on the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Montreal and William Henry, the Lodge surrendered its "Ancient" Warrant, and took a new Warrant from the United Grand Lodge of England, dated March 29th, 1824. (See Lane, p. 258.) There is no difficulty with regard to Royal Standard Lodge. St. George's Lodge No. 440 is correctly shown in the *Masonic Year Book* as dating from 1829, but Lane (p. 273) is at fault in stating that it was constituted in the previous year.

I would like to express a further word of thanks to Bro. Grantham for exhibiting and reproducing the most useful List of Lodges in Nova Scotia.



FRIDAY, 4th OCTOBER, 1957



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* S.W.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.D., *as* J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., P.M., Secretary; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., *as* D.C.; F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B., Stwd., *as* S.D.; *Lt.-Col.* E. Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. 5386, *as* J.D.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., I.G.; and *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. V. H. Weeks, E. L. Thompson, John E. Taylor, H. Chilton, P. J. Watts, A. Waite, F. Royston, H. Smith, A. G. Stuteley, A. J. Beecher-Stow, H. Mauerhofer, T. W. Marsh, R. C. W. Hunter, W. T. Hogg, F. L. Bush, B. Foskett, R. Walters, J. D. de S. McElwain, R. Gold, F. E. Barber, W. J. Wyse, T. A. Sanson, E. Winterburgh, G. Holloway, F. M. Shaw, T. Graham, S. Gooch and C. W. Davis.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. H. S. Hoeg, III^o, Absalon, Denmark; G. A. Bell, Lodge 5985; L. W. Saunders, Lodge 4106; M. D. Price, Lodge 4262; and J. C. Holliman, Lodge 7103.

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.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; 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.); H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., 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, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.G.D., S.D.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, S.W.; and H. Carr, L.G.R., J.W.

On ballot taken, after the Proposal papers had been read, Bro. Frederick Robert Worts, *M.A.*, P.A.G.D.C., was duly elected a member of the Lodge.

One Association, seven Lodges and sixty-five Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. E. WINTERBURGH read an interesting paper, entitled *Masonic Ceramics*, illustrated by his own Lantern-slides and some additional ones lent by Bro. L. E. L. Jones, as follows:—



Meissen Ware Group, by J. J. Kaendler
(*circa* 1757)



Sunderland Jug and Staffordshire Teapot
(circa 1790 and 1800)

MASONIC CERAMICS

BY BRO. E. WINTERBURGH, P.M.



HERE is no art in which the history of the human race can be followed to such a degree as that of the potter. Of the memorials left to us from the past, the most varied belong to the class of ceramics. The word *ceramics* is derived from the Greek word *Keramos* (earthenware) and is a general term in the study of the art of pottery. The fragile vessel of clay is, practically speaking, the most imperishable thing of all ages. All the gaps in the history of the human race were at least partly filled with the help of ceramics. This should be particularly true in the history of the society of Freemasons, which was more or less secluded from the outside world.

I cannot tell you the full story of Masonic ceramics, not only because time and space at my disposal are limited, but also because literature concerning it is very scarce. With the help of the photographs in natural colours of some interesting pieces in possession of the United Grand Lodge of England and the Quatuor Coronati Lodge exhibited in the museum in Freemasons' Hall, I hope to bring out the important part played by Masonic ceramics in the history of our craft.

All the vessels and statuettes show clearly and vividly the habits and tastes of our Brothers in bygone times. Moreover, to the Masonic historian and to the student of art they reveal the different character of English and German Freemasonry. In England, pottery of utilitarian character—earthenware jugs, mugs, bowls, cups—was embellished with Masonic emblems and inscriptions according to the taste of the average citizen, proving that English Freemasonry had penetrated to a wider class of people. In Germany, on the other hand, only a very small fraction of the population, in particular the court society, nobility and other people of high standing who formed the nucleus of German Freemasonry, was interested in, and perhaps felt flattered by, the groups and statuettes of finest porcelain.

I am assuming that the procedure in the art of potting, which is as old as the art of cooking is well known to everybody in the audience. I will, therefore, only stress a few features to help towards the better understanding of the subject. The various kinds of pottery we know—earthenware, stoneware, faience, tin enamelled ware, majolica and others—are merely landmarks on the long and strenuous way to produce porcelain similar to that invented by the Chinese, the greatest race of potters the world has ever seen, almost a thousand years ago. The word "porcelain" has an interesting derivation; originally it was used to denote objects manufactured from a white, translucent shell, whose shape reminded the Italians of a pig's back: hence, the Italian word *porcella*, meaning a "piglet".

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, constant experiments were made throughout Europe in the attempt to manufacture porcelain. Not until 1757 did Thomas Cookworthy discover Kaolin, or China clay, and thus opened the way for the production of fine porcelain in this country.

Among the many books on English pottery published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by non-Masonic authors, I found only one which mentioned Masonic pottery. Reginald G. Haggard writes in his book, *English Country Pottery*: "Jugs made from cream-coloured earthenware or white glaze for trade guilds or societies were often attractively decorated with the arms or emblems of the particular trade, accompanied by a suitable inscription. Masonic decorations form a distinctive group and are variously decorated with symbols and inscriptions." The only book by a Masonic author, very useful to me, was *A Catalogue of Masonic Pottery*, by the Brothers Johnson and Bramwell, both of York Lodge No. 236. This contains a description of Masonic pottery in the possession of the Province of Yorkshire, North and East Ridings, and the York Lodge No. 236, and is a safe guide for anyone who is interested in Masonic ceramics.

1. We turn now to the single pieces of pottery and porcelain in the museum. The oldest specimen is the fine *Lambeth bowl*, marked 1726, and thus dating from the above-mentioned period of experiments. As the name implies, this bowl was manufactured in the Lambeth potteries, which were very efficient at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is slightly

dented on the rim. The decoration, which has a Chinese touch, is in blue on a dead white with the bluish tint, undoubtedly a sign of imperfect potting, and consists of a triangle with the letters ACE inside, a punch-bowl with spoon below, a sun in splendour on the left, and flowers and birds. At first glance the bowl could be identified as Masonic, according to the emblems, but it is commonly known that the initials of owners or makers within such a triangle occur on English non-Masonic pottery, and this fact makes the identification as Masonic a little doubtful.

2. We recall to our mind that the china trade really began to flourish in Europe only after the Dutch had founded their East India Company in 1602. Now the China porcelain went through India to England, Holland and other countries. The entry of the highly decorative china ware in the market was victorious, and huge quantities of the beautiful, white, translucent, clear-sounding and to a certain extent fire-proof material were imported. The so-called *Famille Rose Punch-bowl*, manufactured in 1753 during the Chien Lung period (1736-1795), is such an imported piece. The Emperor Chien Lung gave China a long period of good rule and ideal conditions for the development of the arts, which, indeed, enjoyed at this time an unusual amount of imperial patronage. This period must be regarded as the most fertile in the annals of Chinese ceramics. In the third decade of the eighteenth century a revolution took place in enamelled porcelain. A new palette of colours was introduced, opaque enamels, among which rose pinks (derived from gold) are most conspicuous. The Chinese call them soft colours, and we have adopted for them the French name "*Famille Rose*".

This bowl, a fine example of Chinese porcelain, shows an ornamental border in gold on the inside rim and the outside base. In the middle the coat of arms of the "Moderns", flanked by two only partly visible allegoric designs. The bowl stands on a typical Chinese lacquered tripod.

3. *Another punch-bowl from the Chien Lung period*, dated 1775, and donated to the museum by the late King Edward VII. The ornamental border consists of triangles in gold and green inside rim, combined with floral decorations. On the base is an oval medallion inside sun in splendour between two pillars, surmounted by globes standing on a tessellated pavement. Some genuine Chinese porcelain was imported without decoration to Europe, where it was then decorated to the desired taste and refired.

3a. The punch-bowl and its contents played a big part at every feast and banquet in the eighteenth century, as we can learn from Masonic literature and illustrations. *On an old cartoon*, for example, you see Cagliostro visiting a London Lodge. A steaming punch-bowl stands on the table and another is just being brought in by the Tyler. One of the earliest separate Royal Arch Lodges grew out of the "Punch Bowl Lodge" at York (1761).

4. *The cup and saucer of 1780 and the tankard of 1790* are another proof of the fine finish and perfect command of material and technique of porcelain from the Chien Lung period. The cup and saucer with green and gold bands on the rim show, among the usual Masonic emblems, the moon and seven stars, the latter in red. The height of the cup is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the diameter of the saucer $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The tankard is cylindrical, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with a double entwined handle. On the rim is a deep blue and gold band, with gold stars. Square and compass with Bible on the left, and sun in splendour on the right.

The far larger part of the collection consists of earthenware pottery. Earthenware is clay, hardened by the action of fire. It is opaque, granular in texture and, when unglazed, permeable or absorbent of moisture. Stoneware is also earthenware, but non-porous. Nevertheless, it is usually glazed and was extensively used for the manufacture of tableware during the eighteenth century.

The cream-coloured and white glazed earthenware vessels are common in both collections. They are manufactured in various kilns established in the districts which gave them their names—for instance, Bristolware, Liverpoolware, Leedsware, Newcastle-on-Tyne ware, Plymouthware, Rockinghamware, Staffordshireware, Sunderlandware, Worcesterware and others. The most important was the Staffordshireware.

In no country is there a district so completely associated with one trade as the North Staffordshire potteries. One even speaks of the "Potteries" as of a pure place name. The first reference to the "Potteries" is found in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Dr. Robert Plott published his book, *The Natural History of Staffordshire*, in 1686. Although a non-Mason, he is of some interest to us because he wrote about the Freemasons in the same book, and this work remains the earliest account of the North Staffordshire pottery industry, too.

Through trading contacts with Holland and Germany, the English began to adapt pottery to eating and drinking purposes by copying the tin enamelled dishes from Delft and the earthenware or stoneware drinking mugs from the Rhine. In a very short time they surpassed their teachers. Among the many names that were connected with the Staffordshire potteries, two are outstanding—those of Ehlers and Wedgwood. Both of them gave the English art of

potting a tremendous impetus, and the so-called "Red China" which Ehlers invented in 1700 was at least as admirable as the so-called Boettcher Porcelain invented in Dresden in 1707. It is said that neither was true porcelain, but stoneware or earthenware of higher quality.

The invention of the cheap method of printing designs on to the pottery, which previously had been decorated by hand, was made by Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, in 1757. An excellent substitute for enamelling was provided. The transfers were taken from either engraved wood blocks or copper plates and imposed upon the surface of the vessel. As well as the pure Masonic pottery with transfers and inscriptions of Masonic character on both front and back, there is the so-called pseudo-Masonic pottery with partly Masonic and partly non-Masonic decorations—for instance, an allegoric design and Masonic emblems on one side, and a local allusion, such as a landscape, a building, a bridge or a favourite ship, on the other. We have also in connection with this fact to take into account that much of this cream-coloured and white-glazed earthenware, especially the Newcastle and Sunderlandware, was made not only for particular Lodges, but was also sold at the markets and fairs and for use in taverns where Freemasons met.

From the different transfer-printed specimens, we can gather that the English device of replacing painted decoration by machine printing and transfers was a great gain to the mechanical aspects of the work, but rather a loss to its artistic spirit.

5. There are two specimens of the transfer-printed ware, probably from Staffordshire. To identify pottery is much more difficult than to identify porcelain. Many pieces do not bear the maker's name or a potter's mark. Furthermore, the transfers are not a safe guide because they were used on different ware, which was sent to Liverpool from other potteries to be decorated. The lack of finality is shown in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where quite a number of labels on its pottery bear question-marks. *Both these specimens are ovoid jugs with projecting lips.* The larger one, 7 inches, shows the coat of arms of the "Moderns", flanked by the two Wardens and surmounted by the sitting Worshipful Master, who holds a pair of open compasses in his hand. On a scroll are the words, "Amor, Honor et Justitia"—"Love, Honour and Justice". The whole picture is contained within a floral rococo-wreath. On the back there is also a Masonic transfer. The smaller jug, 3½ inches, has a wreath of medallions in front, open on the top, showing Masonic symbols. Above the wreath opening an eye, beneath a blazing star with a G in the middle. Within the wreath a Masonic inscription. On the back a non-Masonic picture.

Both jugs were manufactured about 1830. The larger belongs to Masonic, the smaller to pseudo-Masonic pottery. Such jugs are used to this day in various London inns and others in the country.

6. *Two Masonic tankards* of cylindrical shape. The one on the right, 6½ inches high, is Liverpool cream ware, decorated with a transfer of the Jungham plate, and dated 1780. The one on the left is probably from Wedgwood, 6½ inches high, with the arms of the "Moderns", and dated 1790.

7. *This ovoid barrel-shaped punch jug*, 8½ inches high, is Sunderland and Newcastle-on-Tyne ware, dating from about 1800. The projecting lip is slightly chipped. The lustre and the sprigs are copper-coloured. The transfer on the front is a view of the iron bridge over the River Tyne. On the back is a Masonic ornamental design with the inscription, "The world is in pain".

7a. *A similar jug* with metallic lustre and mottled body. The transfer picture on the front shows the bridge over the Wear in 1793. On the back is a picture of the ship "Northumberland 74".

7b. *This little jug*, 3½ inches high, is remarkable because of the canary-yellow colour. Masonic emblems on the front, a shepherdian scene on the back.

8. *A Sunderland jug* and a *Staffordshire teapot* of cream-coloured earthenware. The jug, with the arms of the "Moderns", is 1790. The lid of the teapot, made by John Aynsley about 1800, is slightly damaged. John Aynsley was the manufacturer of the pseudo-Masonic ware mentioned before. This ware was mostly white or yellow glazed. The transfer picture on the teapot shows a woman holding a book in her hand, and at her feet an open jewel case and a dog. She stands between the legs of compasses. The inscriptions read: "Fear God" and "Keep within compass and you shall be sure to avoid many troubles which others endure". The picture in the middle is surrounded by a number of medallions depicting the vicious life of a woman—for example, playing cards, drinking, neglecting her child and ending in prison, the whole reminding one of Hogarth's series of etchings, "Harlot's Progress". The back of the jug shows, of course, a non-Masonic picture. Aynsley drew and etched his pictures himself. He died in 1826.

9. *This Staffordshire jug* of cream-coloured earthenware has an ovoid body with straight neck and projecting lip. Various Masonic emblems on the front. It is signed by Thomas Bentley, London, 1823. Bentley was a partner of the famous Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), whose name is connected with English ceramic art at its peak. He was in charge of Wedgwood's studio in London, where the designs for the decoration of the ware were made.

In a letter from Wedgwood to Bentley of 1767, we read that the sale of cream-coloured earthenware of Queensware is rising rapidly and covers the whole world.

10. *The Frog mug* was made from colourless, translucent glazed, cream-coloured earthenware. Any mark of origin or factory is missing, but it is most probably Sunderlandware. The height of the laying mug is 8 inches, the upper diameter 5 inches, the bottom diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The measurements of the standing mug are the same. It was the property of the tyler Garlandson and made in 1780. These mugs were in use in the eighteenth century all over England and also, of course, in non-Masonic circles. Their purpose was to create a little surprise and fun at the festive board, where the initiate was especially the target. Since none of the many Frog mugs in either collection is even slightly chipped, it seems that the candidate who suddenly saw the frog emerge out of his beer as he raised the mug to drink could not have been so shocked as to drop and damage it.

There are inscriptions on the left and right.

On the left it reads: "The world is in pain
Our secrets to gain
But let them wonder and gaze on".

And on the right: "They never can divine
The word mark or sign
Of a free and accepted mason".

10a. *The single laying mug* was made about 1800.

11. This barrel-shaped jug, Leeds Queensware so-called *Finch jug*, has a projecting lip and chocolate-coloured rim. Transfer pictures in black on front and back are both of Masonic character. They are geometrical drawings of a five-pointed star enclosed in four equilateral triangles, surrounded by seven concentric circles and various Masonic symbols, some of them obsolete. The inscription, in a rectangle, reads: "The light shineth in the darkness". The jug is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high and dates from about 1780. In *A.Q.C.*, vol. vii, 1894, a photograph of this jug is reproduced, with the following note: "The jug is most interesting as the diagrams on each side prove it to be a Finch jug, i.e., designed in accordance with the spurious free-masonry of the notorious Finch".

12. *A barrel-shaped punch jug, Sunderlandware*, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with projecting lip and copper-coloured lustre and rim. In front there is a Masonic rhyme within a floral wreath.

13. *This ornament*, of coloured cottage pottery, is an example of Rockinghamware. A clock is flanked by two pillars, surmounted by globes. The pillars are connected by an arch, beneath which, in the background, is a pale sun. Two statuettes of Freemasons (a M.M. and an E.A.) stand close to the pillars. In the middle, a beehive, compasses and square. It is made from soft paste porcelain of a creamy tone with a clear brilliant glaze and freely gilt. About 1820, height $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

13a. *This cylindrical mug* with handle, 5 inches high, is Sunderlandware of about 1820. The rim and base are decorated with a copper-coloured band and lines, while there are additional ornaments in green and crimson. Masonic emblems, Bible, compasses and square among them, flanked by two female figures, Hope on the left and Justice on the right, surmounted by the seated Charity.

14. Two fine specimens of the famous *Worcester Porcelain*. The first is a tankard, $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, with double loop handle, and gold band on inside and outside rim and base. The transfer, after the engraving by James Ross, 1722-1785, shows the coat of arms of the "Moderns," with the Worshipful Master and Wardens standing in a group surrounded by Masonic emblems. On a scroll the motto, "Amor et Justitia", inscribed on a ribbon, "Sit lux et lux fuit".

The second is a mug, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of about 1790. The handle is at the back. It has the same gold band as the tankard on outside and inside rim and base. On the front compasses, square and Bible, embellished with vertical lines in gold. There are further Masonic emblems on the back.

After this glimpse of English Masonic ceramics, we will now look at its German counterpart. Both collections contain some treasures. The Germans put much more weight on decorative porcelain than on any other kind of pottery. The manufacture of household and cookery ware, though fairly widespread, was a mere sideline compared with the production of groups and statuettes of finest porcelain. It is interesting to note that the early porcelain figures and groups were copies of marzipan and icing-sugar table decorations, indispensable to a feast in Germany. In those days a German princeling thought it essential to own a porcelain factory. Certainly August the Strong, who founded in 1710 the oldest European porcelain factory at Meissen, thought it better than spending enormous sums on imported Chinese porcelain, which brought a number of German Duchies to bankruptcy. The most efficient model master at the Meissen factory was the world-famous Johann Joachim Kaendler, 1706-1775.

15. According to Kaendler's handwritten price list, the so-called "Taxa", he has created five groups of outspoken Masonic characters. The most popular is the *Wor. M.* (Der Meister vom Stuhl). The *prototype* of this sculpture was created about 1743 and is exhibited in the Museum für Kunsthandwerk und Porzellansammlung in Dresden, which was kind enough to put a *photograph* at my disposal.

15a. The two fine specimens in the museum were probably sculptured in the eighties. One of them shows the Meissen-mark, the two crossed electoral swords; the other has no mark, but is undoubtedly of Meissen origin. Contrary to the prototype, both statuettes show a pug dog, a mops, a very popular symbol of attachment and fidelity in eighteenth century Germany. The differences in the colouring do not play any part because, especially after the Kaendler period, these statuettes were not manufactured in quantities but to order, every porcelain painter using the colours according to his own or his customer's taste. This can be seen, for example, on the badges—one of them is brown; the other white with the correct blue trimming. There are also deviations in the sculptures themselves.

This statuette and others by Kaendler as Masonic-marked creations give Masonic historians and scholars some reason for headache, not only in Germany, but also in this country. Because of the presence of the mops the conclusion was drawn that Kaendler's figures represent members of the Order of the Mopses. This assumption is to be contested. The short-lived Order of the Mopses, a mixed, androgyne order founded in 1740 by Clemens Auguste of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, flourished in the small German courts at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

15b. How were the members of this order clad? This picture, an etching in the book *L'ordre de Franc-Maçons Trahi et le Secret des Mopses Révélé*, Amsterdam, 1745, reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiv, 1911, p. 16, gives an answer, showing clearly that the male members did not wear either aprons or collars. But, besides this, there is still another proof, I think, in this group of Vienna Porcelain.

15c. This represents a lady seated at her dressing table with a male figure standing nearby holding a mask in one hand. The lady is wearing a blue sash and on her lap there is a mops. I emphasize that an Order of the Mopses never existed in Vienna. According to the information I received from the museum for applied arts (Museum für angewandte Kunst) in Vienna, there are two other specimens of this group in the Viennese collection showing slight deviations from the specimen in our museum. The group in question was sculptured in 1770 by the model master, Johann Josef Niedermeyer, labelled "Demasking" and is of non-Masonic character. In this case also the mops symbolises attachment and fidelity. Even the tempting blue sash of the lady has no connection with Freemasonry, but is merely one of the accessories to the dress of a lady of higher standing in those times.

16. Another intriguing example of Kaendler's statuettes of the Worshipful Master can be found in *A.Q.C.*, vol. vi 1839, p. 64. There, a picture is published of an early specimen, the right arm of which is broken off. In addition, there is the following letter by M. C. Peck: "I send you a photograph of a little Masonic treasure, a Dresden China (*i.e.*, Meissen porcelain) statuette contemporary with Picart. (Bernard Picart was the author of *Ceremonies et costumes religieuses de tous les peuples du Monde*, Amsterdam 1736.) You will be struck at once with a resemblance to the figure in Picart's plate, the same dress, the trowel stuck in the apron which is evidently intended to represent leather and not linen. I believe it to be a contemporary model of Frederick the Great as Grand Master of Prussian Freemasonry. The right hand is broken off, but in the left you will see he holds a protractor. Now in the museum (of the Supreme Council 33°) in Golden Square is a snuff-box of China said to have belonged to that Monarch, whose portrait painted inside resembles the figure and also holds a protractor. The whole dress is also exactly the same, so far as I can judge, as that in the portrait in the frontispiece to our Vol xi."

17. Almost as interesting as the Worshipful Master statuette is a group consisting of two Freemasons with a globe between them. Kaendler's description in the "Taxa" reads: "Two Freemasons, one of them standing and measuring a globe, but holding at the same time one hand before his mouth, the other seated and speculating. Both are wearing badges and jewels." The group was moulded between 1754 and 1760. The prototype is in the castle of Ansbach and valued about £1,800, but we are again fortunate to be able to compare the sculptures in our museum with the very early specimen in the Dresden collection, of which I received a photograph.

17a. The museum in Freemasons' Hall possesses four later specimens of the "Globe group", three of which belong to the U.G.L. and one to the Q.C.L. I illustrate the latter. At the feet of the sitting Freemason you find again the mops, and among the flowers Masonic tools on the socle of the globe. But only two of our four groups show the mops and the tools, a fact which proves again that the dog was removed or added at the customer's wish. Kaendler does not mention the mops in his description. It is said that the two figures represent King Adolph Frederick of Sweden, and the Elector August II of Saxony. The

former, it is claimed, was the first Grand Master of Sweden, and the latter the Grand Master of the Order of the Mopses, but, according to reliable sources, King Adolph was not G.M., but Protector of Swedish Freemasonry, and August the Second was not G.M. of the mentioned order.

17b. There is a photostat of a Masonic group by Kaendler, the description of which reads: "Freemason group showing a lady seated at a table with a needle-box upon it, trimming an apron. Near the lady is a seated mops and a Freemason is trying to kiss her."

17c. The last creation by Kaendler which I show you is the *Lady from the Order of the Mopses*, as Kaendler himself calls her. In a little brochure, *Porcelain Figures*, published by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1952, the statuette is named "Lady in a crinoline". There are two specimens of this lovely little sculpture in the museum, both made in the eighties, and one reproduced here. The second mops under the petticoat of the figure was probably added when the "Lady in a crinoline" was changed into the "Lady from the Order of the Mopses".

V. Wor. Bro. Bernhard Beyer, P.G.M. of the former G.L. "The Sun", at Bayreuth, an expert in Masonic ceramics, and particularly in Kaendler's Meissen groups and statuettes, writes: "There is not the slightest doubt that the Masonic groups and statuettes by Kaendler, regardless of whether they show the mops or not, have no connection with the Order of the Mopses."

We are leaving Kaendler and his admirable creations. He was not a member of the craft. His Masonic groups and statuettes represented a sort of reverence before the court society, which was very sympathetic towards Freemasonry, and the Masonic life at Dresden in the eighteenth century was very lively. The first Saxonian Freemasons' Lodge "Aux Trois Aigles" was founded in 1738 and was, in fact, a court Lodge. Therefore, all the figures by Kaendler are in court dress.

18. Apart from Meissen, there were a number of other efficient porcelain factories in Germany, such as Hochst, Bayreuth, Frankental, Fulda, Ludwigsburg, Nymphenburg and last, but not least, the Royal Prussian Porcelain Factory at Berlin. The Masonic groups and statuettes from Berlin are similar in position and colouring, but they are less elaborate in details and smaller in size, usually about 6 inches high. There are two *statuettes of Freemasons* from this factory, moulded about 1830. The different way in which the aprons (badges) are worn marks the specific degree of their wearer. On the left is an apprentice; on the right a M.M.

18a. *The last piece of my series is a very interesting one*, an English statuette of a M.M. It probably comes from the Chelsea potteries and was made from the so-called "soft paste" porcelain which, in its chemical composition, differs widely from the genuine "hard paste" porcelain. The former is so soft that you can cut it with a knife. It was invented during the period of experiments made in an effort to discover the true "China", and was in use for a long time in Italy, France and this country because it was less expensive (1800).

Our excursion in the Museum in Freemasons' Hall is terminated. You have seen on the screen only a very small part of the ceramic treasures from the two collections, and you have heard only a brief summary, and not a detailed commentary, especially about English ceramics. Other factories, for example, at Bow, Derby, Minton and Swansea, produced statuettes and ornamental groups of high quality. Worcester was the only English factory to have remained in continuous production, and at the present time the Worcester Porcelain Co. is flourishing.

If I have been fortunate enough to awaken your interest in these important collections and in the history of our craft, which is so closely connected with every single piece in the showcase, and if I have brought to life at least some of them, then the purpose of my paper is fulfilled.

LITERATURE

- A Catalogue of Masonic Pottery*, by Bro. G. Y. Johnson and F. H. Bramwell, York; 1951.
Freemasons' Guide and Compendium, by B. E. Jones.
Staffordshire Pottery and its History, by Josiah Wedgwood, London; 1922.
English Country Pottery, by Reginald T. Haggard, London; 1950.
Dresden China, by W. B. Honey; 1934.
Geschichte der K.K. Wiener Porzellanmanufaktur, von Folnesicz-Braun, Wien; 1907.
Bilder zur Geschichte der Freimaurerei, von O. Posner, Reichenberg; 1927.

On the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded, on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the acting S.W., to Bro. Winterburgh for his paper, and to the Brother who worked the Lantern, and Bro. L. E. L. Jones for the loan of extra slides. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. G. Y. Johnson, A. Sharp, Ivor Grantham, Norman Rogers, L. E. L. Jones, W. Waples and Alexander Horne

BRO. BRUCE W. OLIVER, W.M., said:—

The purpose Bro. Winterburgh has had in framing his paper—"to awaken our interest in these important collections"—has certainly been well fulfilled.

I read the rough proof with the greatest interest and the slides we have viewed have been a sheer delight, and the importance of the statements with which Bro. Winterburgh commences his paper impressed me:—

"There is no art in which the history of the human race can be followed to such a degree as that of the Potter." Again: "This should be particularly true in the history of the Society of Freemasons, which were more or less secluded from the outside world."

In the time at his disposal, Bro. Winterburgh has given us excellent service in dealing with a subject on which little information is available to most of us, and if only a few of his illustrations could be reproduced it would make a memorable issue of our *Transactions*.

In my part of the country we have little of this delightful art, although there was an early Porcelain Pottery at Plymouth, but common earthenware pottery is widely prevalent and several master potters have been Masters of our Lodge, and we have today a P.M. of my mother Lodge who has turned out Masonic objects from his Barum Ware Pottery.

We have a fine War Memorial Tablet, Masonic ash-trays on our supper table and a Barum Ware Paten for our Preceptory; also a Devon Puzzle Jug. I have two vases decorated with Masonic emblems to mark my year as Master.

I mention this to show that "Masonic pottery" is still a live art, and one on which I trust we shall receive more information from Bro. Winterburgh in his next paper.

His mention of the importance of the "Punch Bowl" reminded me of the amusement I felt when reading a minute of my Lodge of 1803. Anticipating a visit of Prov. G. Officers, they met to consider what was required for this great occasion, and decided to purchase a new punch bowl and a silver ladle.

With great pleasure I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Winterburgh for his truly excellent paper, and I feel we should also extend our thanks to his Lanternist.

BRO. JOHN RYLANDS said:—

May I, in virtue of my temporary position, be allowed to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Winterburgh? This is a subject on which few of us can claim real knowledge; indeed, since our late friend, Bro. Wallace Heaton passed from amongst us, Bro. Gilbert Johnson is our only sound authority, and we all hope he will speak later.

Bro. Winterburgh has given us a delightful account of many treasures held by the Craft, and when we next pass through the Grand Lodge Museum we shall look with a better-informed eye at the many exhibits so carefully displayed and preserved there. Whilst listening to this admirable paper and enjoying the superb colour slides, I was struck by the difference between Masonic customs of today and of two centuries ago in respect of these outward and visible signs. There was then much more parade of Masonic symbols and *bric-à-brac*. There was not the reticence we practise today. Processions in regalia were not uncommon; pottery, china, glass, metalware, charms, and a host of other articles bearing Masonic emblems and Masonic sentiments were commonplace and hardly hidden from the public gaze. It would be of interest some time to examine this change of outlook and to trace the emergence of the modern attitude, and to learn what reasons persuaded the authorities, more particularly in this country, to frown on such displays. Anyone who has travelled widely, especially in North America, will know that customs vary in this connection.

It is cheering to be assured by you, W. Master, that Masonic pottery is still made in Devon. When the Masonic historian of half a millenium hence comes to write of this present time, the gaps in his data may well be filled by shards from Devon.

I think many of us will have been impressed by the delicacy and beauty of those traditional aids to gracious Masonic living, the punch bowls. Some country Lodges still preserve the ancient customs associated therewith, and take delight in perpetuating the ancient

recipes ; it is perhaps a pity that circumstances have compelled many Lodges in London and other large centres of population to abandon some of these more colourful convivial practices. Our Masonic forefathers seemed to be able to maintain a happy balance between the moral and social virtues. I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Winterburgh for his excellent paper and for the admirable illustrations with which he accompanied it.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

This is the first paper on Masonic Ceramics that has been given before our Lodge, and on that account we particularly welcome Bro. Winterburgh's lecture. From time to time a few notes and illustrations on the subject have appeared in *A.Q.C.*, but these have not been very helpful. The captions under the illustrations, "A Masonic Jug", etc., give us no information, and in one case a jug is claimed to be Leeds ware, when it was obviously manufactured at Sunderland.

The Study of Ceramics is not an exact science and the experts on the subject differ in their opinions. English Masonic pottery, in the main, is of the cheaper or common class of ceramics, and so does not appeal to the collector who is not a Freemason and who generally specialises in porcelain. On the other hand, the Freemason who collects Masonic pottery usually has little knowledge of ceramics.

About half the specimens shown this evening are porcelain. True Chinese porcelain is particularly beautiful. Much of this ware was imported into Europe in the eighteenth century. Some pieces were sent over in a plain state and then decorated to the desired taste in "on glaze" colours and refired. The Chinese mugs are particularly heavy and generally have double entwined handles.

The only German Masonic porcelain that I have seen is that in the Grand Lodge Museum, and it is a subject about which I have no knowledge. I have listened to Bro. Winterburgh's remarks, particularly his comments about the Mopses, a Society unknown in England. Freemasons in this country have jumped to the conclusion that a Meissen figure which included a pug dog represented the Society of Mopses. Bro. Winterburgh had pointed out that this is not so, and I think that he proves his point. The well-known Meissen figures are particularly pleasing and are a delight to the eye. Little Masonic porcelain was produced in England. By far the largest part, about 90 per cent., was pottery.

Generally speaking, Sunderland ware is below mediocrity, yet possesses a certain quaintness and eccentricity of character which is not without charm. It is thick and coarse, the colouring being crude. It was manufactured in large quantities for the masses, and sold in the cheaper shops and at the country fairs. It will be found that about 40 per cent. of the pieces in most Masonic collections of English pottery are Sunderland ware. Nearly all the Masonic pieces are decorated with transfers, and a number contain "A west view of the Iron Bridge at Sunderland". The inhabitants of Sunderland were very proud of their bridge. The view is interesting, as it depicts the kilns where the pottery was fired.

Turning to the Sunderland specimens shown this evening—(7b) "A shepherdian scene". Is this a wood engraving by Bewick? If so, then the jug was manufactured by Sewell & Donkins, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This is the only firm known to have used Bewick's blocks. Specimens are exceedingly rare. (10a) Is this a Sunderland piece? I do not know the description, "A single laying mug". (12) "A barrel-shaped punch jug, Sunderland ware". Very few Sunderland jugs are barrel-shaped, and on this account I wonder whether this piece in Staffordshire ware. As I have not seen the jug, I cannot give an opinion. (13a) Cylindrical mug. The design is flanked by two female figures of Hope and Justice. This at first sight appears to be a mistake, as Truth is usually paired with Justice, but I find that some of the mugs in the York collections contain the figures Hope and Justice. The potter appears to have made a mistake in his choice of female figures.

The manufacture of Frog Mugs seems to have been confined to the Potteries of Leeds and Sunderland; the former, however, are rare, and the majority were made at Sunderland. It will be readily appreciated that many of these mugs were broken as the victim of the joke threw the mug down in disgust. The mugs that we have with us today were never used for drinking purposes, but were kept in cupboards or used as ornaments, and so are generally in mint condition. One Frog mug that I have seen bears the inscription:—

"Tho' malt and venum seem united,
Don't break my pot, Nor be affrighted."

It is interesting to note that Masonic mugs are rarer than jugs, as the former were often put on the hob to warm the contents and cracked in the process.

Liverpool Masonic jugs and mugs are generally cream ware. The transfers are printed in monochrome, generally black, and the jugs are nearly all barrel-shaped. I have not come

across any Liverpool Masonic ware in colour. A little over 20 per cent. of the average collection will be found to be Liverpool ware. Many of the transfers used at Liverpool were copied from well-known Masonic engravings, such as those of P. Lambert de Lintot, William Finch, A. Slade, J. Lockington, Batty Langley, etc. I therefore suggest the No. 11 shown this evening may be Liverpool and not Leeds ware.

Bro. Winterburgh has pointed out that there were many potteries in the Staffordshire district turning out various qualities of ware, so it is dangerous to be dogmatic. Perhaps it would be true to say that the typical Staffordshire Masonic jug has hand-painted floral designs over glaze. A little under 20 per cent. of Masonic pottery will be found to be Staffordshire.

The Mantel ornament (No. 13) is an interesting example of Rockingham ware, and is the only Masonic piece that I have come across made by this well-known pottery. Cottage pottery was usually manufactured in Staffordshire.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Bro. Winterburgh for his interesting paper, and also for his reference to the *Catalogue of Masonic Pottery* at York.

Bro. ARTHUR SHARP said:—

Bro. Winterburgh is to be congratulated on his "excursion", as he calls it, through the Museum of Grand Lodge at Freemasons' Hall, London, and for his most interesting glimpse of English Masonic ceramics. We can all echo his hope that it will awaken the interest of Brethren throughout the country in a most important collection. Curiously, Bro. Winterburgh does not make any reference to the sumptuous catalogue of the Grand Lodge Museum published in 1938, although he acknowledges his debt to *A Catalogue of Masonic Pottery* of the Yorkshire Provinces and York Lodge No. 236 by our Bro. G. Y. Johnson, P.G.D., and Bro. Bramwell, of the York Lodge. There are other collections, in the Museum of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, at the Manchester Masonic Temple Museum, in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, and elsewhere, reposing in Provincial museums throughout the country.

Many of the jugs and mugs bear Masonic emblems only, and perhaps the principal evidence of their production for the fraternity lies in the addition of a Masonic verse or Masonic toast. The second verse of the Entered Apprentice's song, known to many Brethren from its first verse commencing "Come let us prepare, we brethren who are", appears on jugs of Staffordshire, Liverpool and Sunderland ware, and the Frog mug of the latter ware referred to by Bro. Winterburgh has also this verse reading:—

"The World is in pain,
Our secrets to gain
And still let them wonder and gaze on:
They ne'er can divine
The Word or the Sign
Of a Free and an Accepted Mason"

which song first appeared under the title of "The Free Mason's Health" in *Read's Weekly Journal* of December 1st, 1722, and was copied in Anderson's *Constitutions of the Freemasons*, 1723. Why the second verse only invariably appears on the jugs is not clear, as one might have thought that the first verse—

"Come let us prepare,
We Brothers that are
Assembled on merry Occasion;
Let's drink, laugh and sing;
Our Wine has a Spring:
Here's a Health to an Accepted Mason"

would have been more appropriate for a convivial meeting with the jugs in use!

Probably quite as familiar is the verse inscribed on Liverpool ware:—

"Hail! Masonry Divine,
Glory of ages shine,
Long may'st thou reign;
Where'er thy Lodges stand
May they have great command,
And always grace the land,
Thou art divine."

This appears in the *Constitutions* of the "Antients" (*Ahiman Rezon*) of 1756 for the first time, to be sung to the tune, "God Save the King". At the present time it can be heard

during the Installation ceremony in many Lodges in the North to the tune of the National Anthem, or occasionally to the hymn tune, "Moscow".

Another verse frequently seen on Sunderland Masonic ware is:—

"Let Masonry from Pole to Pole
Her sacred laws expand,
Far as the mighty waters roll
To wash the remotest land."

This is the first of four verses which appeared in Masonic song books after 1777 with the heading "by Mr. Cunningham", and it is marked to be sung to the tune, "In Infancy", which is in Arne's opera, "Artaxerxes", a popular work composed in 1762.

There is a Liverpool jug with four Masonic verses (of which there is a specimen in the York Museum), and the first verse reads:—

"No sect in the world can with Masons compare
So ancient, so noble the badge which they wear,
That all other orders, however esteem'd,
Inferior to Masonry justly are deem'd.
We always are free, and for ever agree;
Supporting each other, Brother helps Brother,
No mortals on earth are so friendly as we."

The song dates from 1778 and is marked in the song books to be sung to the tune, "Hearts of Oak".

Not all of the verses associated with Masonic emblems on the jugs are of a Masonic nature, and, judging by the number of those of Sunderland and also of Staffordshire ware still extant, the following verse must have had a popular appeal:—

"The World's a city with many a crooked street,
And Death's a market place where all men meet.
If life was merchandise which men could buy,
The rich would live, the poor alone would die."

A variant of this appears on the gravestone of John Gadsden (died 1739) at Stoke Goldington, England (see Suffling, *Epitaphia*, page 401), and the lines also appear on a gravestone in Nutfield Churchyard, Surrey, in memory of Henry Devall, who died 18th December, 1860. But its origin may be earlier than 1739, for the following lines appear near the beginning of Scene 5, Act 1, of "The Two Noble Kinsmen", by "Mr. John Fletcher and Mr. William Shakespeare" (1634):—

"This world's a City, full of straying streetes,
And Death's the market place, where each one meetes."

On the opposite side of the same jug, the verse beginning "The World is in pain" is also engraved.

Bro. Wallace E. Heaton, in "Masonic Antiquities" (*A.Q.C.*, lix), points out that the Masonic symbolism on Sunderland ware is often combined with pictures of ships, sailors and other maritime associations, and that we may assume that this ware and also a proportion of the output of other factories was intended to be used by Lodges, and he conjures up for us a pleasing mental picture of our early Masonic Brethren, after the Lodge had been called off, "smoking their long churchwarden pipes, and enjoying their beer from gaily decorated jugs and mugs, sometimes with a frog at the bottom to make matter for a jest that was none the worse for being an old one . . . and be sure that plenty of tobacco and snuff passed round the table while the company indulged in patriotic and Masonic songs sung at the top of their voices".

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM writes:—

As Curator of the Grand Lodge Museum, I was particularly pleased to support the vote of thanks accorded in open Lodge to the writer of this interesting paper. I welcomed the publicity which Bro. Winterburgh gave to some of our ceramic treasures, and I also welcomed the friendly fashion in which he challenged several of our attributions. It is comparatively seldom that the papers communicated to this Lodge are illustrated by means of lantern slides; and I am sure that all who were present will agree that the striking reproductions in colour which were thrown upon the screen added greatly to the interest, and to the value, of this paper.

If I may, I would mention one incident which serves to show that from time to time unsuspected associations may be traced between ceramic objects in the Grand Lodge Museum and books or pamphlets in the Grand Lodge Library. Some ten or twelve years ago, thanks to the generosity of the late W.Bro. Wallace E. Heaton, P.G.D., the Grand Lodge of England became possessed of the only known perfect copy of Dr. Fifield Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*—complete with frontispiece—published in Dublin in 1744. That this book had originally been published with a frontispiece was known to Masonic students; but the nature of that frontispiece remained unknown until Grand Lodge acquired this precious volume. With considerable satisfaction this book was shown in the Grand Lodge Library with the frontispiece displayed—a rare design which no member of the Library or Museum staff could recollect ever having seen before. A few months later it was a casual visitor to the Library and Museum who pointed out that the design of this frontispiece was identical with that on a jug which for many years had been on view in the Museum. I welcome this opportunity of paying a belated tribute to the powers of observation displayed by this visitor, whose name unfortunately has not been recorded.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

The mention by Bro. Winterburgh of punch bowls reminds me that my own Lodge, Anchor and Hope No. 37 (1732), has a traditional eighteenth century recipe for punch, which is mixed, spiced and heated for the Initiate's Toast, then passed round the table in a three-handled loving-cup, to the chorus of a 1723 song: "Here's to him to the brim", etc. The Initiate is supposed to drain the loving-cup, often an impossible task on account of the amount left.

It is well that it is not the punch bowl in the possession of the Unanimity Lodge No. 89, Dukinfield (Cheshire), which is said to have a capacity of 16 gallons. A Lodge minute states that, in 1809, "only two members attended and, after drinking one bowl of punch, returned home". Surely there must have been another punch bowl!

A word of warning should be issued regarding Liverpool ware. Sadler & Green's transfer-printed designs appeared on creamware both of Liverpool and Wedgwood manufacture, the latter sending his articles to Liverpool to be printed. The Masonic patterns generally included the Arms of the "Moderns", and there were different designs.

Recently, some of this Liverpool ware has turned up in several Lancashire towns, and inquiries have resulted in the information that Gray's Pottery, Stoke-on-Trent, is still manufacturing—in modern style—quantities of steins, cigarette boxes, ashtrays, jugs and bowls in two finishes: (1) Black print with copper lustre bands, and (2) Black print with purple Sunderland splatter—both versions as produced originally. It appears that this pottery has been producing articles with a Masonic design for nearly 50 years, using a copper purchased from a London antique dealer, which, though there are several designs, the firm believes to be the original one, incorporating, as it does, the first verse of the Masonic Ode, "Hail, Masonry Divine", and on the obverse a figure with the motto, "Sit Lux et Lux Fuit".

Bro. L. E. L. JONES writes:—

I would like to support the vote of thanks moved to Bro. Winterburgh for his welcome paper on a hitherto neglected subject. I will confine my comments to Sunderland and Newcastle ware, for at the moment I am making a detailed study of this branch.

An excellent pamphlet has been issued by the Public Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery of the County Borough of Sunderland, entitled *Potteries of Sunderland and District*, 1951, edited by James Crawley. The Sunderland Museum contains about 450 pieces of this ware, a proportion bearing Masonic devices and verse. The bulk of these specimens came from the Rowland Burdon collection. Rowland Burdon was a prominent and ardent Mason, and the promoter of the scheme to build the Wear Bridge. When built in 1793-6, this bridge was the longest single-span, cast-iron bridge in the world, and views of this bridge outnumber all the other designs used on Sunderland ware. Twenty-two different transfers of this bridge are known. I have not yet been able to establish how many of these designs are to be found associated with Masonic designs, but the number is likely to be less than half. They fall into the following categories: West view 7, East view 6, South-East view 4; and of the bridge after alteration in 1859, East views 4, West views 1. The number of lamp-posts on the bridge, the number of ships before the bridge and the number of men on the banks assist in separating the various designs. One of the West views, with flanking female symbolical figures, has the square and compasses in the bottom left-hand corner of the design, yet the design is labelled "Sunderland Coal Trade".

The History of the Phoenix Lodge No. 94, by T. O. Todd, 1904, contains the following biography of a Master of that Lodge in 1853:—

“W. Charlton, China and Glass Dealer. This Brother was W.M. for two years. His place of business in old Sunderland was the rendezvous for most of the Ship Captains who came to the port; they met there to transact their business, and replenish their crockery, as well as to become Candidates for Masonry, for in eight years, in addition to other candidates, no fewer than 125 Ship Captains were initiated; in 1857 the number was 31.”

The same Lodge history contains full accounts of the foundation stone ceremony and the opening ceremony of the Wear Bridge. At both functions the local Lodges formed important parts of the processions and played other parts in the proceedings.

Apart from the collection at Sunderland, the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has a representative collection, including six Masonic pieces, and there are some thirty pieces, all Masonic in character, in the Northumberland Provincial Museum. There are many other pieces to be found in the northern counties.

Whilst I have succeeded in tracing members of the Craft amongst the potters and pottery owners producing Sunderland ware, I am inclined to the view that practically the whole of the output of Masonic pieces was speculative, and not the result of commissions from the Craft.

Even in cases where the names of Brethren or of Lodges have been applied to the ware, a careful examination suggests that in most cases the names have been added subsequent to the original glazing. These examples are but part of a considerable trade in presentation china, as it was called, in which birthdays, weddings, anniversaries, mayoralties, etc., were commemorated.

In the Northumberland collection there are three plain small jugs, each bearing the name of one of the old Sunderland Lodges, as follows: “St. John’s Lodge No. 80”, “Phoenix Lodge No. 111”, “Palatine Lodge No. 94”. In view of the number of identical jugs I have seen, I would suggest that those of the first-named Lodge were commissioned, and are a parallel case to those of the Union Lodge No. 310, Carlisle, when, in 1832,

“the thanks of the Lodge were given to Brother Scott, W.M., and Brother Johnson for their handsome gift of 43 jugs, and it was agreed that each Brother present should take one home for his own use”.¹

This Lodge now possesses 28 of these identical blue and white ware jugs, but they are not Sunderland ware. In the case of the Palatine Lodge (now No. 97), it is worth noting that this Lodge has never borne the number 94; since 1863 this has been the number of the Phoenix Lodge.

The transfer used on the ovoid barrel-shaped punch jug (7) is, I believe, of the Newcastle High Level Bridge, which was completed in 1849. This transfer is known on marked pieces from the Newcastle pottery of Messrs. C. T. Maling & Sons, Ltd. This pottery is still in existence, and they still possess many of the old Masonic copper plates of the transfers. There are many modern copies of this ware in the possession of the local Lodges. Most of these were made between 1925-30.

The little jug (7b) of the canary yellow colour probably came from the Low Ford, or Dawson’s Pottery, Sunderland, which operated between 1799 and 1864. Sunderland ware jugs were frequently made in sets of twelve, ranging in size from this example to enormous jugs holding two-and-a-half gallons. The largest sizes were usually provided with an extra handle below the spout.

Frog mugs in Sunderland ware were made between 1750 and 1880 in large quantities, but, as far as I have been able to discover, few of them were associated with Masonic emblems or verse. I have been trying to find one for the Northumbrian collection for several years without success.

Bros. G. Y. Johnson and F. H. Bramwell trace the origin of the design used on Mug 13a. It is worth noting that a copy of the apron with this design printed thereon can be seen at the Wearside Temple at Sunderland, and I believe that W.Bro. Wm. Waples will confirm that this apron was used locally. All the examples I have seen of this design include a four-stave ladder.

There are two main variations of the transfer of the Masonic verse on jug 12. The one illustrated commences with the first line of verse; the other commences with “Friendship, Love and Truth” as a title. This verse is the first of a song given in Preston’s *Illustrations* and elsewhere. So far as my researches go, the most popular Masonic verse is “Let Masonry

¹ *History of the Union Lodge No. 310, Carlisle*, by R. A. Clark, 1932.

from pole to pole". The fourth verse of the "I.G." song, "Ensigns of state that feed our pride", is also featured on this ware.

H.M. Ship of the third rate, Northumberland, was built in 1798, and several examples are known where the view of this ship, inscribed "Northumberland 74", is used on pieces also having Masonic transfers.

Finally, I would express the opinion that the dates ascribed to Sunderland ware are often earlier than the facts support, and I believe that the great majority of the Masonic pieces were made toward the middle of the last century.

Bro. WILLIAM WAPLES writes:—

The punch jug mentioned in No. 7 may well be Sunderland ware. The iron bridge in question is probably the bridge (1793) over the Wear, and not the high level bridge over the Tyne.

No. 7a suggests that this jug was made by Dixon's, as that firm used the "Northumberland" transfer on a lot of their productions. The best-known Sunderland lustre ware is the white or cream ground ware with mauve and silver decoration. The many eighteenth and early nineteenth century potteries of the town and district turned out prodigious quantities, most of which was sold as export. Many of the sailors of the port also bought crates of the ware and traded it at the several ports as a sideline.

A rich market for the lustre ware, without and with Masonic emblems and verses, etc., was to be found along the French coast and also in the Channel Islands. Prior to 1939 the largest known collection of this ware was displayed in the Masonic Hall at St. Helier's. During the war the entire collection was removed by the Germany Army and never returned.

The present largest collection is housed in the Sunderland Museum, and includes over 300 superb pieces from the late Rowland Burdon Collection.

Bro. ALEXANDER HORNE writes:—

Bro. Winterburgh's informative exposition of Masonic Ceramics is of particular interest to me because of two items of this class that happen to be on display at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco. The first of these is a Masonic jug, which stands amongst a collection of other ceramics, without label or other identifying or descriptive indication, having been purchased from a dealer and its previous ownership or history being unknown. It is merely referred to as a Sunderland Lustre Jug.

An "Exposure", published in 1764 under the title *Hiram*, gives the following description of the custom of those days:—

"The Lecture belonging to the Entered Apprentice being now ended, it is necessary the Brethren should have a little Respite . . . when some of the Members chuse to have a Bit for the Tooth",

the men having been properly "called from Work to Refreshment", after which period they would be called back "from Refreshment to Work", and the activities of the Lodge would be resumed where they had left off, when the informal Catechisms or "Lectures" would find themselves continually punctuated by the frequent "Charges" and "Firing" of the drinking glasses. At this time,

"the Table being plentifully stored with Wine, Punch, Tobacco, Pipes, etc. . . . some Health is proposed, *The King and the Royal Family, To all Masons wheresoever dispersed*, and these Healths or Toasts are all drank with Three Times Three, and an Huzza at the End".

The jug in question is barrel-shaped, and with a handle and pouring lip; 8½ in. in height, 7½ in. in diameter at the "belly", 6 in. in diameter at the mouth. It is basically cream-coloured, and decorated principally in a cloud-like pattern of violet tinged with a lustre of gold. In the mist of this decoration there is, on one face, a Masonic Chart, in black, with the conventional and familiar Masonic symbols, and, at the bottom of it, the second verse of the well-known Entered Apprentice's Song, found in many eighteenth-century works on Masonry, beginning with Anderson's 1723 *Constitutions*. It is the same verse found on the "Frog mug" mentioned by Bro. Winterburgh under Item 10. On another face of the jug there is the first of a two-verse song found in *Jachin and Boaz* (1762) and other works:—

“ Let Masonry from pole to pole
 Her sacred laws expand,
 Far as the mighty waters roll,
 To wash the remotest land:
 That virtue has not left mankind,
 Her social maxims prove,
 For stamp'd upon the Mason's mind
 Are unity and love.”

Alongside of this is the first of a three-verse song found in A. Lewis's current *Emulation Lectures* and ascribed to J. Montgomery, 1799. It helps, at least, to date the jug as of nineteenth rather than of eighteenth century manufacture, and is dedicated to the Society whose motto is “ Friendship, Love and Truth ”:—

“ When ‘ Friendship, Love and Truth ’ abound
 Among a band of Brothers,
 The cup of joy goes gaily round,
 Each shares the bliss of others.
 Sweet roses grace the thorny way
 Along this vale of sorrow:
 The flowers that shed their leaves today
 Shall bloom again tomorrow:
 How grand in age, how fair in youth.
 Are holy ‘ Friendship, Love and Truth. ’ ”

The Masonic Chart previously referred to was no doubt made from a transfer, as Bro. Winterburgh tells us, and the transfer was made somewhat awry; its floral border, we find, runs over into the violet cloud-like design of the main portion of the jug. Several finger-prints are also clearly discernible, embedded in the glaze. Unfortunately, the jug carries no maker's mark or other identification. Perhaps Bro. Winterburgh can help identify or date it.

The second item on exhibit is a piece of German porcelain some eight inches high, and part of the Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection. It is labelled “ Freemason Group ”, and ascribed to Johann Joachim Kaendler, of Meissen, 1735. It appears to be a duplicate of Item 17 in Bro. Winterburgh's list, and, if so, the labelled date 1735 may be an error, as Bro. Winterburgh states that “ the group was moulded between 1754 and 1760 ”. The short description of this group given by Bro. Winterburgh from Kaendler's *Taxa* corresponds exactly with the exhibit in our Museum: the two Freemasons in colourful knee-breeches, long coat, wig and triangular hat of the period, with swords at their sides. They wear large white aprons, bordered in blue—one with the top turned up, the other with the top turned down, the latter with a golden square suspended from a blue ribbon around his neck. The former figure holds a pair of Compasses applied to a Globe of the earth—symbolic, no doubt, of our institution as represented by “ Geometry ” in its earth-measuring aspect. As a further indication of the designedly symbolic rather than pictographic nature of this group is the representation of a broken-off Capital of the Composite Order lying at their feet.

Kaendler, originally a sculptor, was the chief modeller in the Meissen factory from 1731 until his death in 1775, a period that raised Meissen porcelain to world fame, rivalling even that of China. It would be interesting to know if Kaendler himself was a Freemason.

Bro. WINTERBURGH writes in reply:—

I am very pleased indeed with the reception given to my paper, and I thank most heartily all the Brethren for their comments. Any criticism is an inducement to the author to extend his research still further, in order to try and elucidate the points which were not clear enough.

Wor. Bro. Bruce W. Oliver has praised my paper perhaps more than I deserve. He underlines the importance of the “ punch bowl ” and the big part it played at any feast and party in the eighteenth century. Also I remember some little Masonic items in the house of my parents. There was also a punch bowl with lid and ladle, but it was not Masonic.

There is no doubt, as Bro. John Rylands says, that in the eighties and later our Freemasonry, at least in this country, enjoyed more publicity than nowadays. That may be so, but, in comparison with other countries, the English Freemasons enjoyed not only freedom but were even protected and patronised by their Governments.

German Masonic pottery with inscriptions is very rare, and to find some in German inns or taverns, as is, in fact, even now possible in England, is hardly probable. In France, Masonic pottery with inscriptions was manufactured in small quantities in earlier times.

I agree with Bro. G. Y. Johnson to the full when he says that the study of Ceramics is

not an exact science. I have seen only one private collection of Masonic ceramics in Vienna, consisting mainly of porcelain figures, a fact which only confirms Bro. Johnson's statement that pottery does not attract the collector very much. Collecting pottery is also more difficult than collecting porcelain, because the deviations which the single pieces of one and the same shape and measurements and manufactured in one and the same factory show are too manifold.

No. 7b—The shepherdian scene is a wood engraving, but I do not know if it is a Bewick.

No. 10a—The laying frog mug is Sunderland ware, as 10.

No. 12—Is labelled as: Barrel shaped punch jug—Sunderland ware. I am not sure if it is so, but if Bro. Johnson could see the jug I should be very interested to hear his opinion.

No. 13—A similar mantel ornament is reproduced in Bro. Johnson's book, *Masonic Pottery*, on Plate III, and at first glance I thought the ornament in question is Staffordshire make, too, but my opinion that it is Rockinghamware (as it is labelled) is mainly based on the decoratively worked out details. The Staffordshire ware details used to be more crude.

No. 13a—I am very thankful for Bro. Johnson's notes regarding this exhibit.

Bro. Sharp reminded me of the really sumptuous catalogue of the Grand Lodge Museum. I had it at hand, using it from time to time, and I am sorry I omitted to mention it. From the other mentioned collections, I only know that at the Manchester Masonic Temple Museum. All the Masonic verses are well known to me and originally they were mentioned in my MS., but later on I got a little frightened at the length of my paper and shortened it by omitting the greater part of the verses, which, I can imagine, are also interesting from the musical point of view.

As Bro. Grantham mentioned the friendly fashion in which I challenged several attributions, I think I may be allowed to mention his friendly assistance when he took out of his showcases one valuable exhibit after another, about 40 altogether, and put them in the right position for the photographer.

Bro. Rogers says Wedgwood ware was sent to Liverpool for decoration. It was not only Wedgwood, but many other factories, which sent their articles to Liverpool for printing, and the patterns which were used very often, perhaps too often, were repaired and mended again, not exactly to the original design, causing the mentioned differences. There is still new Masonic and pseudo-Masonic pottery embellished by new designs on the market.

Bro. L. E. L. Jones' interesting comments added much to my knowledge about Sunderland and Newcastle ware. I share his opinion that the output of Masonic pottery was speculative and not commissioned by the Craft. The names of Brethren or Lodges which we find on the jugs and other pieces were added on order. No. 10, Frog mug with the name of Tyler Gerlandson, is an example. Regarding No. 7, Bro. Jones has altered his original statement. He writes in a private letter of 6th January: "With regard to your slides, the Bridge over the Tyne transfer is a very rare design and depicts a proposed bridge between North and South Shields, which attracted attention when the proposal was put forward in the 1790's, but the Bridge was never built." Bro. Jones was kind enough to send me a number of brilliant slides which I have shown, in addition to mine, when I read my paper.

Bro. William Waples—No. 7/7a. It is very difficult indeed to make sure which bridge it is, in fact. There are too many different designs, with different inscriptions too. I have seen jugs with one and the same design, but with different inscriptions—sometimes it was the Bridge over the Wear and sometimes over the Tyne. I stuck to the labelling in the Museum.

Bro. Alexander Horne—it is extremely difficult to ascertain the make of pottery based on description only. Nevertheless, I would say that the jug is Sunderland lustre ware because it is cream coloured with violet and gold decoration, as the Sunderland lustre jugs mostly used to be. These jugs were mainly exported (eighteenth and nineteenth century) and also brought by trading sailors into the ports of many lands. Also, the verses mentioned can be found on Sunderland jugs.

Regarding the second item, there is no doubt that it is the Meissen ware group described in my paper, Sub. No. 17, but the year 1735 seems to me to be a little too early. Kaendler's Masonic groups and statuettes were moulded between 1743 and 1760 at the earliest. After Kaendler's death these groups were manufactured with many alterations, and sold as replicas throughout the years up to the second world war. The specimen in question is probably of a later date. Kaendler was not a member of the Craft, so far as we know, but his intrinsic knowledge of Masonic clothing and regalia and of the way in which they were worn gives all reason to suppose that he was in a very close connection with the Freemasons at Dresden, especially with the members of the Court Lodge there, who were at least partly his customers and gave him the necessary hints and advice.

NOTES



THE LEGEND OF THE VAULT.—The Grand Lodge of England has recently acquired a scarce pamphlet entitled “A Pathetic Address to Free and Accepted Masons. By a Deceased Brother”, the main interest of which lies in the title-page which bears a device portraying certain features associated with the legend of the vault. By permission of the Board of General Purposes this title-page is here reproduced; and the device may well be left to speak for itself.

This pamphlet consists of eight pages (6in. x 4in.), without date but with the printer’s imprint of “Br. M. W. Carrall, Walmgate”, York. The copy of this pamphlet now in the Grand Lodge Library is stitched within marbled paper covers together with another pamphlet of the same size with the imprint of “Young, Gillie, & Co. Printers”, but without indication of place or date. Neither pamphlet bears any watermark.

The second pamphlet lacks a title-page, and in its imperfect state comprises twelve pages numbered 5-16, preceded by a single unnumbered leaf bearing an advertisement in the following terms:—

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Preacher begs leave to inform the Fraternity, that, in consequence of the short notice he had of his deceased Brother’s wishes, he has, in this Discourse, made free use of a Masonic Sermon (without either title, author, or printer’s name) which he accidentally met with, now many years ago, Being so strenuously importuned to send the Sermon to the press, he at length reluctantly complied; and begs leave, in this public manner, to make his acknowledgments to the Author of the Sermon alluded to, if living, for the assistance it has afforded him.

A combined title-page covering both pamphlets reads as follows:—

A / Pathetic Address / TO / FREE AND ACCEPTED /
Masons: / WITH / A SERMON / ON / The Death of a
Deceased Brother.

Neither the text of the “Pathetic Address”, nor that of the Sermon, need here be summarised. In spite of the nature of the device on the title-page of the “Pathetic Address”, the legend of the vault does not figure in that pamphlet; but in the Sermon mention does happen to be made of workmen at the erection of the second Temple at Jerusalem who “had every man a sword by his side, and so he builded”, and elsewhere in this Sermon the word “Arch” is amongst those which receive special emphasis by the use of italics.

Although a precise date cannot be given to either pamphlet, there is internal evidence from which it may be inferred that the “Pathetic Address” was published early in the nineteenth century. Allusion is made to the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799, but no mention is made of the Union of 1813. The pencilled note “ca. 1818”, entered by an unknown hand on the title-page of the “Pathetic Address”, may not be far wrong.

October, 1957.

IVOR GRANTHAM.

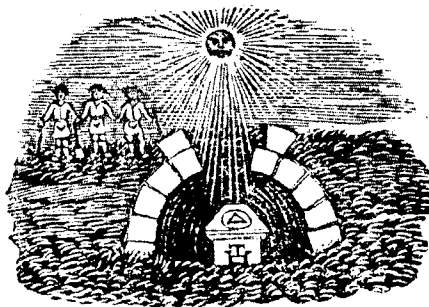
The Interpretation of Dassigny and certain “Antient” Minutes.—It has for some time appeared to me that students have quite unjustifiably twisted the meaning of certain passages in Dassigny’s *Enquiry* and in the Minutes of the “Antients”.

Dassigny’s statement that “it is an organis’d body of men who have passed the chair” is universally quoted as evidence that in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century to have passed the Chair, either actually or fictitiously, was a necessary prerequisite for the Royal Arch; but that is to read into his statement far more than he, in fact, says; he merely states that those who possess the R.A. have passed the Chair; not that their acquisition of the degree was conditional on their first passing the Chair; nor even that the R.A. was subsequent in time to the passing of the Chair. His statement is at least equally open to the interpretation that the two events were coincident. But because, at a later date, passing the Chair was made a prerequisite to the R.A., students have all assumed that Dassigny’s remark could only have a similar interpretation.

A
PATHETIC ADDRESS
TO
Free and Accepted
MASONS.



BY A DECEASED BROTHER.



YORK:

PRINTED BY BR. M. W. CARRALL,
WALMGATE.



1818

Title-page of "A Pathetic Address"

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United Grand Lodge of England

Is it not equally possible that Dassigny mentioned, not a qualification for a new degree, but one of the effects of passing the Chair, and that the part of his remark on which the emphasis ought to lie is the fact that they had become "an organis'd body"?

Dermott, in the 1756 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, relates how an "evil Designer, who has made a Trade" of the R.A., had led his dupes astray. He then goes on: "This is the Case of all those who think themselves Royal Arch Masons, without passing the Chair in regular Form, according to the ancient Custom of the Craft." This, again, is taken as meaning that the passing of the Chair is antecedent in time to the passing of the Arch; but look at the tense of the verb; he doesn't say "without having first passed", but "without passing", and the emphasis is on the regular form, and the ancient custom of the Craft. He is merely objecting to their obtaining the secrets of the R.A. in the wrong way.

Dermott himself was installed in the Chair in 1746; he also received the R.A. in 1746. What makes everyone so certain that the two events took place at different times? Charles Byrne, in his evidence before Grand Lodge in defence of Dermott on 2nd March, 1757, specifies minutely all the Offices that Dermott had held before he "was by him Regularly Install'd Master of the good Lodge, No. 26 . . . upon the 24th day of June 1746". You would think that if his Exaltation had been on a different occasion, Byrne might well have gone on to say that he had also seen him pass the Arch on such and such a day, but he says nothing at all about it. I admit this is purely negative evidence, but it is, I think, suggestive.

I do not suggest that the later fully-developed R.A. was similar to the fully-developed Installation Ceremony, but that the original Installation was the first part of the R.A. Bro. Carr has pointed out to me that in the French Exposures of the same period, each degree ends with a pass-word to the next degree, and the third degree also ends with a pass-word, which is very much to the point. Again, consider the evidence given before the Inquisition by John Coustos; the first session, on 21st March, had to do with the three degrees, but on 26th March he "remembered further things", and, as Bro. Bernard Jones points out (*Book of the R.A.*, p. 44), a rudimentary R.A. follows; but what Bro. Jones does not notice is that the whole atmosphere of this session is "Mastership". Read that section carefully and it is obvious that Coustos was thinking of himself as Master of a Lodge—Masters of the Fraternity—French and English Masters—Master called Venerable or Worthy; Coustos had presided as Master of the Lisbon Lodge, and it is quite possible that between 1732 and the time he left England he had properly become Master of a London Lodge; but of this there is no evidence.

In the minutes of the "Antients" on September 2nd, 1752, "every part of Real freemasonry was traced and explained; except the Royal Arch". Are we to understand that the Installation Ceremony was traced and explained in an assembly, two-thirds of whom were Wardens? Or, alternatively, that the Installation was not, in the opinion of the "Antients", a part of Real Freemasonry?

On March 2nd, 1757 it was "Order'd the *Masters* [my italics] of the Royal Arch shall also be Summon'd"; why Masters?

On September 4th, 1771, the Grand Secretary (Wm. Dickey) said that he had perceived many flagrant Abuses of the Royal Arch; whereupon it was "Resolv'd That a Meeting of Masters and Past Masters of Warranted Lodges shall be held . . . on the afore-mention'd Business". How could Masters and Past Masters enquire into R.A. matters, unless they were *ipso facto* R.A. Masons?

On December 4th, 1771, the Deputy Grand Master (Dermott) "expatiated a long time on the scandalous method pursued by most of the Lodges (on St. John's Days) in passing a number of Brethren through the Chair on purpose to obtain the sacred Mystry's of the Royal Arch". Note, *to obtain*; not *to qualify* them to obtain. This is followed by the Resolution: "That no person shall be made a *Royal Arch Mason* but the legal representative of the Lodge". Note, the *legal Representative*; not a Past Master, not even a Master, but, since this was on St. John's Days, the Master Elect, who had not yet been installed.

Why did the Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter ("Moderns"), in 1765, say nothing about any prerequisite of passing the Chair before Exaltation? Because they were not interested in the Ceremony of Installation, *as such*, but had lifted the Royal Arch bodily from (possibly) the Irish, or whoever the originators were. Later, when the Installation Ceremony and the Royal Arch had developed upon divergent lines, they adopted the qualification in imitation of the "Antients", and in the 1778 Laws the requirement appears for the first time.

Bro. Bernard Jones seems to me to put his finger on the mark when he says, "The Antients' attitude to the Installation Ceremony was . . . that the Master . . . was now of a peculiarly higher grade than the mere Master Mason."

In *The Institution of Free Masons* we find the following question and reply:—

Who rules and governs the Lodge, and is *Master* of it?

Jehovah, the right Pillar.

Bro. J. R. Rylands draws my attention to the curious entry in the second R.A. Journal of Wakefield Lodge showing a list of Brethren present on 18th February, 1767, when every Brother present is designated "Ma^r." Bro. Rylands then thought that the word meant "M.M.", but it appears to have other possibilities.

J.R.D.

The Quatuor Coronati on the Continent of Europe.—Next to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, the "Four Crowned Martyrs" have been venerated as Patron Saints of the Stonemasons and Builders—and therefore also in our Lodges—for many centuries. The legend referring to them is well known to us all.

The oldest picture of our Martyrs is from the fourteenth century and is in the "Palace of the Doges" in Venice.

Then follows a gravestone in the churchyard of the Parish Church of Steyr, in Austria, on which is the date 1513. Here is the text in the original:—

"Hie leit begraben der erbar Meister Wolfgang Tent schtanmez der paumeister ist gebesen hie pei diser chirche dem got gnadig sei der gestorben ist an erchtag nach des heiligen ckreuztag erhebum Anno domini 1.5.1.3."

Translated as near as possible:—

"Here lies buried the honourable Master Wolfgang Tent a stonemason who was the builder of this church to whom God be merciful who died on Tuesday after the festival of the raising of the Cross Anno Domini 1513."

In the original text the meaning of the word "erchtag" was for a very long time unknown, until we learned from a Brother in Austria that the word is derived from the name of the old Bavarian God of War or God of the Sword, "Eor" or "Eru", like the French "Mardi" for Tuesday taking its name from Mars.

This oblong gravestone has as its centre figure a Calvary cross; on each side two breast figures of Crowned Men, all wearing aprons. Looking at it from above, there are:—On the top left side: One holding a pair of compasses. On the top right side: One holding a pointed hammer and a stone. On the lower left side: One holding a chisel, a mallet and a stone. On the lower right side: One holding a pencil and apparently drawing on some board or flat stone.

At the bottom of the Cross, on the left, a man kneeling and holding his cap in his hands; on the right, a young man's figure wearing an apron and with his cap on his head, standing and holding a shield on which are depicted the bent arm in armour holding a double-edged hammer or axe.

A band twisted round the foot of the Cross bears some inscription, but it is illegible. Below the upright of the Cross there is a small shield with this design:—



Are we wrong in assuming that this was Tent's mark?

We now come to the perhaps most interesting document, or rather monument, of all, namely, the stone heads which are still today to be seen at the outside of a house in Wertheim on Main, Germany. Latest research shows that the house was built round about A.D. 1574 by the stonemason and builder, Mathes Vogel, for his father, Hans Vogel, who was a shoemaker. Vogel built the foundations and the ground floor; the upper storeys, in beautiful Tudor style, were built by Joerg Vierling, who was a carpenter.

The four busts are on three chapters, one double and two singles. Each of them holds a working tool and has two lines in rather quaint old German giving the esoteric teaching of his tool. All four inscriptions together form nearly word-perfect a medieval "Stonemasons-poem" which was published by Karl Heideloff in his book, *Bauhuetten des Mittelalters in Deutschland*, in 1844, at Nuernberg.

Back to our "Quatuor Coronati", each head wears a crown, but there is a distinct difference between one of the single busts (SYMPHORIANUS) in comparison with the other three; it is a decidedly different style. The face is more ascetic, the arms are pressed to the body, the folds of his cloak are much more severe, and, lastly, the way the crown is placed on his head. All this leads us to the idea that this Martyr was not made at the same time as the other ones and the building of the house. Not unlikely this carving was taken from an older



Tombstone at Steyr, Austria, dated 1513, showing
the Quatuor Coronati

(by courtesy of the Grand Lodge of Austria)

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

The Quatuor Coronati in Wertheim



The House, showing position of Corbels
(Simplicius is not visible)



Claudius
The Square

Nicostratus
The Compasses

The Quatuor Coronati in Wertheim



Symphorianus
The Level



Castorius
The Rule

house and used when the now existing one was built. We therefore venture to say that this carving is much older than the others; there may be even a difference of up to a 100 or so years. If this be so, we have a date inside the fifteenth century, most probably the oldest proof of esoteric teachings connected with our working tools. As far as we know, no other document, charter or monument shows this connection; it is only preserved on the outside of this little house in Wertheim on Main.

On the double chapter there is NICOSTRATUS holding a globe and a pair of compasses, with the following text (freely translated from the old German):—

“The compasses art and justice rightly used,
The help of God we need not to be confused.”

On the same chapter, CLAUDIUS carrying apparently over his shoulder a square, but part of it is broken off.

“The square shows us the real art,
When joining part to part.”

On a single chapter we have SYMPHORIANUS holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a level. This German text was for many years a riddle to all, but in the last few years the meaning of the old German word “klobe”, which has for a very long time always been assumed to stand for the modern “glaube”, belief or faith. But this is not its meaning at all; it means a wedge, in our case a wedge-shaped stone. Bearing this in mind, the translation of the inscription gives:—

“The level is highly to be praised,
Showing the stone is rightly raised.”

Lastly, we have the bust of CASTORIUS holding an open book and a rule. The text this time is carved on the leaves of the book, and not straight underneath the bust, as with all the others. It is:—

“The rule has arts so manifold
That it is in need for young and old.”

About 100 years later we find that our “Quatuor Coronati” appear on two seals of the Stonemasons’ Guild in Vienna, Austria—one a rather primitive-looking one dated 1636. This one only shows four Buddha-like figures as the horizontal centre of the seal, naked bodies, crowned heads, arms folded, with the exception of one of them, where there is only one arm to be seen hanging down. Text on this seal in original: “Sigilium Artis Lapidisinae et Murariae Vienae 1636.”

The other seal is a much more elaborate one, with the year 1651 on it. There is an outer and an inner ring of inscriptions. The translation of the outer ring (original in German) is the following: “Seal of the Mainlodge of the Stonecarvers and Masons of the City of Vienna at St. Stephen in Vienna.” St. Stephen is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Vienna. The seal shows on top of the averse the Virgin St. Mary with crown, holding in her right hand a sceptre, in her left arm the Child. Reading clockwise from there, we see a crowned figure with the name NICOSTRATUS (all four figures are only breast figures, crowned, with their arms folded, but no tools), then a similar figure with the name CASTORIUS. Then at about six o’clock we see the following tools intertwined: a gavel, a mallet, a pointed hammer, a square (gallows type), a pair of compasses and a trowel. Then again a figure with the name SYMPHORIANUS, and the last figure with the name CLAUDIUS.

In the inner ring there is the inscription: “S. Fraternita Lapididarum Vienesiv Austriae”, and right in the centre of the seal a shield with the bent arm holding a pointed hammer. The arm is shown as coming out of a cloud.

It seems to us that, long before Speculative Freemasonry, our working tools were already symbols of esoteric teachings, and in particular each of our Four Martyrs were connected with a particular tool and its teachings.

That is all we have to submit to you, Brethren. If these few words would perhaps inspire further search for facts, which might well be hidden, right in the open, on some building or churchyard or in some manuscript, we would consider our labour of love not to have been in vain.

Bro. Dr. B. BEYER, P.G.M. of Bavaria, and Bro. F. BERNHART, P.A.G.St.B.

Certificate of 1793.—The Certificate illustrated is in the possession of the Librarian to the Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons, by whose permission it is reproduced here.

The following is a transcription of the Certificate:—

Lodge of Love and Unity Number 203 Under the Constetution of
England Held at Dover in Kent. [Words in italics are handwritten.]

Design'd by C. Mate, Dover

Eng^d. by Skinner Cant^y.

In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God —
and the Word was God. —

And the Light Shineth in Darkness and the Darkness comprehendeth it not.

TO ALL Whome it may concerne We the High Priests of this
Royal Arch Chapter do certify that B^r. Thomas Clark was employed in Rebuilding
of the Temple where he clearly saw through in Darkness and brought in the Fruits
of his Labour for which he rec^d. from us the Wages of Honor, Therefore we
recommend him to you as he was Introduced to us by the Grace of God Free Born
and of Good Report.

To prevent bad use being made of this we have caused the Bearer to write his name hereon

Given under the Sanction of the Duke of Athol, at our private Chapter
Held at Dover in the County of Kent in the Kingdom of England the 11th
Day of November One thousand seven hundred & Ninety three and in the Year
of Masonry Five thousand seven hundred and ninety three

W^m. Clindon Scribe

Charles Mate R:W. H.P.
Joseph Johnson R:W: H.C.
W^m. Millie R W. G:M

Lane, in *Masonic Records*, shows the Lodge of Love and Unity as having been warranted by the "Antients" on 12th December, 1777, in the Canteen of the Dover Garrison at Dover Castle, under the number 203. He states that it was named only in 1813, but this Certificate shows that it had already been named twenty years earlier. It became No. 253 at the Union, and 180 in 1832, and was erased in 1837.

Bro. Pope directed my attention to Canon Horsley's paper, in Vol. iii of the *Authors' Lodge Transactions*, on the Minute Books of two old Dover Lodges (of which No. 203 was one); but, unfortunately, Bro. Horsley has inextricably tangled the entries from the two Lodges, so that little definite information can be sorted out about either.

It will be noted that though the Certificate is issued by the "High Priests of this Royal Arch Chapter", the actual degree conferred upon the recipient is nowhere mentioned, while the emblems depicted on the Certificate include those of Knight Templar, Rose Croix, and perhaps Kadosh; and the numbers on the steps suggest a Rite of seven degrees. I am inclined to read them as:—

1. Prentice
2. Companion
3. Master
4. Arch
5. Rose Croix
6. Templar
7. Heredom (Kadosh ?)

William Finch did not flourish until some eight years or so after the date of this Certificate, or one might have been tempted by its location in Kent to suspect Finch influence. Perhaps, on the other hand, Charles Mate was in touch with Lambert de Lintot.

It is interesting to find that the first Principal was the High Priest; the third Principal's title presumably stands for Grand Master, but how the second Principal's "H. C."¹ is to be read defeats me.

In this connection, it is one of the puzzles of the Royal Arch that, while both the "Antients" and the "Moderns" had the Zerubbabel legend with the King as Presiding Officer, so many Certificates (especially those issued by Military Lodges) show the High Priest in command, though without any indication as to whether the King is Zerubbabel or Josiah.

Bro. Pope draws my attention to the fact that there was also a *Modern* Lodge of Love and Unity, No. 518, at Dover; but it was erased in 1792. Probably the same body held both Warrants.

The characters in Masonic cypher on the Certificate read INRY. The recipient's signature is *not* included on the document, in spite of the proviso.

J.R.D.

¹ Col. Wilkinson suggests that this might be "High Councillor".



Certificate of 1793

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Ancient Brick-makers' Marks



Badagiriya Dagabas

Ancient Brick-makers' Marks in Ceylon.—About seven miles inland north of Hambantota, a small fishing town on the south-east coast of Ceylon, a large isolated rock rises to a height of 209 feet ; this rock is crowned by the ruins of an ancient vihara or temple, which is unique in Ceylon in having two small dagabas instead of one large one. At the foot of the rock is a ruined irrigation tank (lake), now in course of restoration. In former times this part of Ceylon was called Ruhuna, and it was roughly coincident with the present Southern Province.

This vihara and tank are called Badagiriya. The Buddhist record *Dhatuvamsa* (not a reliable work) ascribes to Kakavanna Tissa (Kavan Tissa), ruler of Ruhuna in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C., the foundation of a vihara named Badagaldora, which may or may not be identical with Badagiriya.

On the north side of the rock, near some rock-cut steps, there are the remains of four inscriptions carved in the rock. Two are in the Sinhalese script of the 3rd/4th century A.D., and two in that of the 6th/7th century. One of them contained the ancient name of the vihara, but is unfortunately now partly obliterated.

The bricks with the marks are found around the dagaba on the top of the rock, and would either have formed part of it or of the circular platform on which the dagaba stood. The marks were made before firing and indicate the courses in which the bricks were to be laid, and are also evidence of date ; four of the marks are as follows :—



These marks are about 2,000 years old.

The size of the bricks varied at different periods, but would be in the neighbourhood of 14in. x 9in. x 2½in., but no unbroken samples were found. This area did not come under the Dravidian (Tamil) conquest ; tradition says it was abandoned some centuries ago owing to a seven-year drought, but it seems more likely that wars and malaria were the main cause of the depopulation and abandonment.

I am indebted to Bro. F. W. E. de Vos for the photographs, and to Mr. C. W. Nicholas, formerly of the Excise Department and late Warden of the Wild Life Department, for the historical information.

A. E. BUTLER.

Lewis Lodges in South Australia.—The selection of a name is important in every phase of life. From the Masonic angle there is a good deal to be considered. People are influenced and inspired by a name. It may mean little or much to them. This also applies in Freemasonry.

When the Craft first came to South Australia, it brought into the colony some very old and distinguished names, such as Friendship, Faith, Truth, Fidelity, Harmony, Unity, etc., all admirable qualities for its members and, indeed, for Freemasons in general to practise.

When men join the Craft, in the course of their Masonic careers, they often drift through several Lodges, and we frequently find that, though this may be so, they often still retain the membership of their Mother Lodge.

The following is a list of the early South Australian Lodges, prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of South Australia in 1884 :—

Origin	Date of Warrant	Name of Lodge	S.A.C. No.
E.C.	October, 1834	Friendship	1
S.C.	August, 1844	Adelaide	2
E.C.	December, 1844	Harmony	3
E.C.	September, 1850	United Tradesmen's	4
E.C.	January, 1849	Fidelity	5
E.C.	December, 1849	Kooringa	6
E.C.	December, 1851	Unity	7
E.C.	December, 1854	Truth	8
I.C.	September, 1860	Faith	9
E.C.	November, 1860	MacDonnell	10
I.C.	December, 1860	Light	11
E.C.	August, 1861	Clare	12
E.C.	February, 1863	Union	13
E.C.	May, 1867	Prince of Wales	14

Origin	Date of Warrant	Name of Lodge	S.A.C. No.
E.C.	November, 1868	St. John	15
E.C.	July, 1869	Duke of Edinburgh	16
E.C.		St. John's	17
I.C.	May, 1871	Mostyn	18
S.C.	December, 1873	St. Andrew's	19
S.C.	May, 1878	St. Vincent	20
I.C.	May, 1878	Wooroorra	21
E.C.	May, 1878	Areas	22
E.C.		St. James	23
E.C.	April, 1879	Pirie	24
E.C.	August, 1880	Flinders	25
E.C.	May, 1881	Victoria	26
E.C.	May, 1881	Concord	27
S.C.		Concordia (German)	28
E.C.	July, 1882	Princess Royal	29
S.C.	February, 1883	Holdfast.	30

E.C. English, S.C. Scottish, I.C. Irish
(Nos. 17, 23 and 28 are not now working).

In April, 1884, the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of South Australia was formed, of which these were the constituent Lodges.

Several new Lodges were consecrated in 1884, who had applications for warrants pending prior to the formation of the new Grand Lodge, and these were consecrated as new Lodges under the new Constitution, amongst which were Leopold Lodge, No. 31; Emulation Lodge, No. 32; Semaphore Lodge, No. 33; and Corinthian Lodge, No. 34.

Mt. Gambier Lodge, No. 35, although E.C. December, 1867, did not come into the S.A.C. until after the formation of Grand Lodge. Then came Melville Lodge, No. 36 (1885); United Service Lodge, No. 37 (1887); Lodge St. Alban, No. 38 (1889); Commercial Lodge, No. 39 (1891); Orreroo Lodge, No. 40 (1894); Port Darwin Lodge, No. 41 (1896); Naracoorte Lodge, No. 42 (1896); Barunga Lodge, No. 43 (1897); Murray Bridge Lodge, No. 44 (1898); Port Lincoln Lodge, No. 45 (1898); Great Northern Lodge, No. 46 (1898); and all others in the twentieth century.

In the intervening years many of the Lodges have grown tremendously, and it became necessary to do something in the matter. It was recognised by many of our elder Brethren that the Lodges were becoming unwieldy, and that capable Brethren were being denied the right to prove their ability to rule the Craft.

They gave the matter such serious consideration that they reached the conclusion that the only solution was for the "large membership" lodges to form daughter lodges. Now, as Masonry was a men's society, the word "daughter" lodges did not find ready acceptance, whilst "son" lodges sounded equally ridiculous.

The subject was allowed to rest until early in 1912, when R.W.Bro. F. E. Cornish, P.D.G.M., and V.W.Bro. W. Herbert Jones, both Past Masters of Emulation Lodge, No. 32, which meets at Norwood, a suburb of Adelaide, South Australia, resurrected the matter. Emulation Lodge, No. 32, was becoming too big, and their lodge room overcrowded.

R.W.Bro. Cornish and V.W.Bro. Jones (both members of the Board of General Purposes) were in the habit of meeting at Kensington Road and walking through the East Parklands to the city to attend the meetings of the Board. The problem of Emulation's membership was a subject frequently debated during these walks, and the following words of V.W.Bro. Jones disclose when the inspiration was conceived. I quote from the *South Australian Freemason*, February 10th, 1938:—

"While traversing across the park lands on one of these walking expeditions, R.W.Bro. Cornish apparently had an inspiration, for, stopping suddenly, he exclaimed: 'I have it, Bro. Jones! What about a lodge within a lodge? A Lewis!'

"He was very impressed, and so was I. On the return journey we discussed the idea, and, evolving a scheme, the proposals were placed before R.W.Bro. M. V. Adams, the then D.C. of Emulation Lodge, who was so taken with the proposals that a meeting of the Brethren was held on 25th July, 1912. After discussion, the meeting decided to form what has proved to be

THE FIRST LEWIS LODGE IN THE WORLD.

"In due course application was made to Grand Lodge for a warrant for Emulation Lewis Lodge, No. 69, and it was granted. That is how the first LEWIS

Freemasons' Lodge in Australia, and in the world, came into being, and has not only become an accomplished fact, but has been, and is, a power for good in the district in which it meets."

Since then a number of Lodges in South Australia have formed "Lewis" Lodges, and whilst they are frequently referred to as "daughter" lodges and not "son" lodges, they remind us constantly of a very fine reference in the ritual of the First Tracing Board, *i.e.*, "Lewis likewise denotes the son of a Freemason, etc.", and makes our "Lewis" Lodges "sons" and not "daughters".

The Lodges so named in South Australia are as follows:—

Parent (or Mother) Lodge	Lodge No.	Date of Warrant	Offspring Lodge	No.	Date of Warrant
		1800			1900
Emulation	32	14/8/84	Emulation Lewis	69	8/8/12
Leopold	31	15/5/84	Leopold Lewis	74	3/11/13
Adelaide	2	8/5/44	Adelaide Lewis	77	24/2/14
Semaphore	33	29/8/84	Semaphore Lewis	78	4/12/13
Faith	9	10/9/60	Lewis Lodge of Faith	81	30/4/14
Holdfast	30	12/2/83	Holdfast Lewis	96	10/6/20
		1900			
Hope	75	20/4/14	Lewis Lodge of Hope	102	7/10/21
Torrensville	58	7/5/10	Torrensville Lewis	104	2/2/22
St. Peters	47	1/7/01	Lewis Lodge of St. Peters	144	8/3/28
Whyalla	158	13/5/39	Whyalla Lewis	160	23/3/46
Goodwood	107	6/4/22	Lewis Lodge of Goodwood	173	31/5/48
Southern Cross	66	5/5/11	Southern Cross Lewis	176	31/5/49
Tranmere	119	6/3/24	Tranmere Lewis	177	10/6/49
		1800			
St. Gambier (E.C.)	35	31/12/67	St. Gambier Lewis	183	28/9/51
Keswick	146	4/7/28	Keswick Lewis	185	18/8/52
Brighton	108	6/4/22	Lewis Lodge of Brighton	187	10/5/53
Hawthorn	73	4/10/13	Hawthorn Lewis	188	29/6/53
Pt. Lincoln	45	28/4/98	Pt. Lincoln Lewis	198	12/10/57

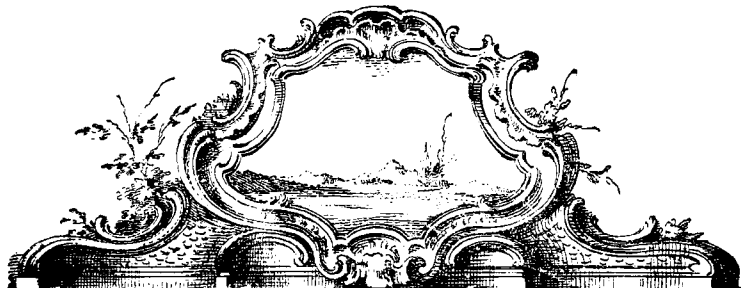
A number of Lodges have sponsored new Lodges, but these have not taken the name "Lewis".

In New South Wales there are a number of Lewis Lodges, the first of which was Burns Lewis, No. 403, N.S.W.C., and was consecrated on 8th November, 1921, over nine years after Emulation Lewis Lodge, No. 69, S.A.C.

How the name "Lewis" became associated with New South Wales Lodges is not exactly known. V.W.Bro. W. Herbert Jones moved to Sydney, New South Wales, in 1926, and died there some years later, which is evidence that he had nothing to do with Burns Lewis. I have also confirmed this fact.

The only suggestion so far is that a visiting Brother from New South Wales carried the idea back with him from South Australia. There are now 25 Lewis Lodges in New South Wales.

H. C. B. HEWETT,
Local Secretary for South Australia.



REVIEW

FREEMASONS' BOOK OF THE ROYAL ARCH

By W.Bro. Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B. (R.A.)

Published by George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.
(Price 27/6 net)



It is known that the late W.Bro. J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., during the earlier years of his tenure of the Librarianship to the Grand Lodge of England, intended to compile a book on the Royal Arch in two distinct parts. As planned, the first part would have been confined to an historical approach to this subject, while the second part would have been designed to provide the equivalent of Lane's *Masonic Records* in relation to Royal Arch Chapters in England. But increasing illness during the final decade of a life of great literary activity prevented Bro. Lepper from even embarking upon that formidable task. Bro. Lepper's Royal Arch mantle has fallen, as he himself would have wished, upon the shoulders of a former friend and colleague of many years' standing, W.Bro. Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., who, in the preface to his recently published *Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch*, is the first to acknowledge the source of much of his material and inspiration. The Craft at large may have lost another of Bro. Lepper's literary masterpieces; but Masonic students have gained immeasurably from Bro. Jones's wider treatment of this fascinating field.

The volume which forms the subject-matter of this review contains first and foremost a series of valuable historical sections; these are followed by others which deal with Royal Arch symbolism, and by further sections which treat of associated ceremonies such as passing the chair and passing the veils. Prominence has been given to the antiquity of the legend of the crypt, and the Ineffable Name of the Deity has been treated discreetly with the acknowledged assistance of W.Bro. H. Carr, L.G.R.

The first three sections of this book deserve careful study, for in those sections the author has reviewed the evidence relating to the origin and development of the ceremonies associated with the central legend of the Royal Arch. In the first section, entitled "Whence came the Royal Arch?", several possibilities have been considered, to which the present reviewer would venture to add one more—a possibility to which certain events in the year 1738 may perhaps afford a clue.

In a subsequent section dealing with traditional history, the author quotes the late W.Bro. the Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, P.A.G.Chap., as having once suggested that there might well be a factual basis for the legendary crypt, for our reverend brother is believed to have thought that certain crypts at Jerusalem may be the survivals of structures built by King Solomon and his successors. The recent discovery in Palestine of Hebrew scrolls, possibly pre-Christian in origin, seems to lend colour to this suggestion.

Those interested in the antiquity of the legend of the secret vault are urged to examine the pictorial initial letter "H" on page 468 of the 1553 (Latin) edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* compiled by Nicephorus Callistus, a copy of which may be seen in the Grand Lodge Library. This initial letter is reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, lxix, at page 43.

The well-known passage relating to the Royal Arch to be found in Dr. Fifield Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* of 1744 is quoted on page 45, where the author mentions two surviving copies of this scarce work. In fairness to the Grand Lodge of England it must here be stated that a third copy—the only known perfect copy, complete with frontispiece—is now located in the Grand Lodge Library, thanks to the generosity of the late W.Bro. Wallace E. Heaton, P.G.D.

Also to be seen in the Grand Lodge Library, as stated by the author, is the Charter of Compact of 1766, the misdating of which has recently been noted by W.Bro. J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D. The elaborate nature of this document is well illustrated in Plate IV, and a transcript of the text is given in the Appendix. Those wishing to learn more of this Charter, and of the circumstances which led to its execution, are advised to read Bro. Jones's address to Supreme Grand Chapter on 7th November, 1956 (published in the printed proceedings of the Quarterly Convocation held on that date), and Bro. Dashwood's note on the falsification of the Charter (published in *A.Q.C.*, lxiv, at page 136).

The *Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch*, which runs to nearly 300 pages, is a tribute to the skill of both author and publisher. The author's treatment of his subject, in a style reminiscent of his former work on the Craft, is well balanced and readable; while the technical production of this book by George G. Harrap and Company, Limited, leaves nothing to be desired. The illustrations are an outstanding feature, and the volume itself is a pleasure to handle. In crimson covers, with a distinctive dust-wrapper incorporating an appropriate sword and trowel design, this book forms a companion volume to the author's *Freemasons' Guide and Compendium* by the same publishers.

In the firm conviction that a second edition will one day be called for, and in the belief that the author will welcome a few minor criticisms, the suggestions that follow are offered by one who has derived immense pleasure from his initial study of this work.

To avoid confusion, the author has wisely divided his text into "Sections" instead of "Chapters", and the former word is used consistently throughout, with a single exception on page 220. Misprints are commendably few and will no doubt be corrected in any future edition of this work. The extract from the "Ancients'" minutes quoted on page 59 deserves to be checked against the original record; and it should be noted that the meeting in question was held at the Griffin Tavern in Holborn (not at the Griffon). In the quotation on page 216, three ampersands appear in surprising succession, instead of the intended abbreviations "&c. &c. &c.", a slip which may also have been made in the second line on page 183.

In the third Section the author has alluded to the meeting held in the library of the Duke of Montagu's residence at Ditton in 1735, when three persons were "made chapters". The date of this meeting has been given somewhat ambiguously as "At the New Year 1735". At that period New Year's Day fell in the month of March. The meeting in question was held on 1st January, 1734 (O.S.).

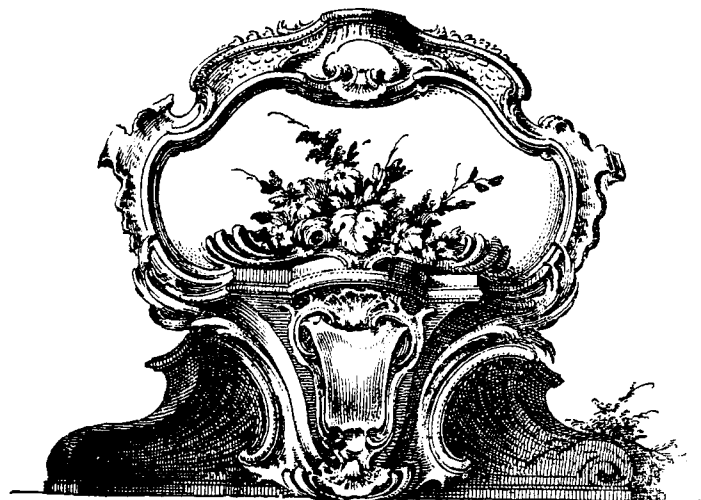
The Royal Arch activities of Thomas Dunckerley are noted; but it was 18 (not 28) Provinces over which he presided as Grand Superintendent.

A peculiar feature of early nomenclature will be noticed in the list of the earliest warranted Chapters printed on page 78, where it will be seen that each of these Chapters dating from the year 1769 was originally known by a double name, as, for example, "The Restauration Lodge or Chapter of the Rock and Fountain Shilo". Some of the titles quoted in this list do not correspond precisely in all particulars with the titles which appear in the earliest Grand Chapter register; but doubtless considerable latitude was permitted in this respect.

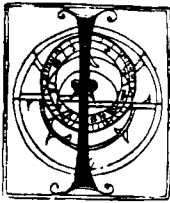
This volume, which concludes with a useful bibliography and an index of model precision, will assuredly prove of inestimable value to Masonic students, and will long be quoted as the trustworthy standard work concerned with the Royal Arch.

September, 1957.

IVOR GRANTHAM.



OBITUARY



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Auld, John, of Tauranga, New Zealand, on 28th June, 1957. Bro. Auld was a member of Tauranga Lodge No. 125 (N.Z.) and of R.A. Chapter No. 1515 (S.C.). He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1945.

Barns, Joseph Henry, of Stoke Newington, London, in December, 1956. Bro. Barns was a member of Thornhill Lodge No. 3163 (London) and of The Warrant Officers Chapter No. 2346. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1928.

Bone, Charles Henry, M.B.E., of Dar es Salaam, in October, 1957, in the R.M.H. Bro. Bone was a Past Master of Dar es Salaam Lodge No. 5095, Tanganyika, and a member of the Haven of Peace Chapter No. 4385 TT. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

Brooking, Reginald Arthur, of Rio de Janeiro, in January, 1957. Bro. Brooking was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1926.

Campbell, Sir Archibald Young Gipps, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. (retired), of Camden Court, London, on October 30th, 1957, aged 85. R.W.Bro. Campbell was a Past Master of the Lodge of Unanimity No. 150 (Madras) and Past First Principal of the School of Plato Chapter No. 150 (Madras), and a Past District Grand Master of Madras District. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle to which he was elected in June, 1906.

Caress, Thomas Albert, of Carshalton, Surrey, on 10th November, 1956. Bro. Caress was a member of Sloane Lodge No. 4333. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1948.

Claudy, Carl Harry, of Washington D.C., on May 27th, 1957, in his 81st year. Bro. Claudy was a Past Master of Harmony Lodge No. 17, Washington, his mother lodge, and became Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the District of Colombia in 1943. He was for 28 years Executive Secretary of his Masonic Service Association, from 1929 until his death. He was the author of numerous Masonic Books and Bulletins, including twelve Masonic Plays. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1931.

Cole, Robert Bell, of Te Kuiti, New Zealand, on 9th September, 1956. Bro. Cole was a Past Master of Plunket Lodge No. 163, N.Z., and a member of the attached Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

Croucher, Thomas George, of Heaton Norris, Cheshire, on 15th February, 1957. Bro. Croucher was a member of Corner Stone Lodge No. 6330, Stockport, and of Manchester Lodge of Research No. 5502. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1954.

Dentith, Arthur W., of West Norwood, London, in January, 1957. Bro. Dentith was a member of Isaac Newton Lodge No. 859, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for over 58 years, since June, 1898.

Ellis, Herbert George, of Ramsgate, Kent, on 30th August, 1957. Bro. Ellis was a Past Master of Penge Lodge No. 1815 and Past First Principal of the Associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1947.

Ellis, Robert, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in December, 1956. Bro. Ellis was a Past Master of Eureka Lodge No. 5557, Rio de Janeiro, and a member of the attached Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1952.

Elvidge, George David, of Southgate, London, in May, 1957. Bro. Elvidge was a Past Master of Ferramenta Lodge No. 4926, and a member of Hardware Chapter No. 3365. He was promoted to London Grand Rank, and in 1953 to the rank of P.A.G.D.C., and to P.G.St.Br.(R.A.). He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1935.

Francis, Dr. Shirley Elliston, of Malvern, Victoria, Australia, on 5th September, 1956. Bro. E. Francis was a Past Master of Lodge Belgrave No. 439 (Vic.), and was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in June, 1932.

Frost, Albert, of Sheffield, in September, 1957. Bro. Frost was a Past Master of Welcome Lodge No. 3779, and a member of the associated Chapter. He received the rank of P.G.D. in 1948. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in November, 1918.

Girling, William Robert, of Wisbech, Cambs., in January, 1957. Bro. Girling was awarded the rank of P.A.G.D.C. in 1932, and promoted to Past Grand Deacon in 1950. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1918.

Gordon, William Henry, M.D., of Detroit, Mich., U.S.A., on May 5th, 1957, aged 66. Bro. Gordon was a member of University Lodge No. 482 (Mich.). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1945.

Grant, Taylor Banker, of New York City, U.S.A., on 15th October, 1956. Bro. Grant was Past Master of Hyatt Lodge No. 205 (N.Y.), and a member of Constellation Chapter No. 209 (N.Y.). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Greenfield, James Frank, of Bexley Heath, Kent, on 5th December, 1956. Bro. Greenfield was a member of Borough Polytechnic Lodge No. 3540, and Faith Chapter No. 141. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle for over 36 years, having been elected in October, 1921.

Hamilton, Howard Seymour, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in March, 1957. Bro. Hamilton was a Past Master of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1, Halifax, and held the rank of Past Grand Warden (N.S.). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1951.

Hann, Herbert Frederick, of Herne Hill, London, in May, 1957. Bro. Hann was a member of West Kent Lodge No. 1297, and held the rank of P.A.G.D.C. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for 52 years, having been elected in May, 1905.

Harnett, Lt.-Col. Walter Lidwell, C.I.E., M.D., F.R.C.S., in May, 1957. Bro. Harnett was Past District Grand Deacon Bengal, and was awarded the rank of Past Grand Deacon in 1954. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1947.

Harris, George, of Streatham, London, in 1936. Bro. Harris was a Past Master of Belgrave Lodge No. 749, and a member of St. Leonard Chapter No. 1766. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1924.

Heaton, Wallace, of Lancaster Gate, W.2, on 18th January, 1957, aged 79. Bro. Heaton was a Past Master of Nevil Talbot Lodge No. 4092, Sheffield, and a member of Quintinian Chapter No. 2956. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1923, and was elected a member of the Lodge in June, 1940. See also page 32.

Holmblad, Emil, of Corcoran, California, U.S.A., on 27th June, 1957. Bro. Holmblad was a Past Master of Corcoran Lodge No. 490 (Cal.) and joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1952.

Holte, Eric Barratt, of Wallington, Surrey, on 14th January, 1957. Bro. Holte was a Past Master of Lodge Kedah, Malaya, No. 3830, and a member of Chapter No. 5324. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1951.

Houtman, David, of Finchley, London, in February 1957. Bro. Houtman was a Past Master of Samson Lodge No. 1668, and a member of Atlas Chapter No. 6083. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1951.

Howkins, Francis, of St. John's Wood, London, on 14th October, in his 80th year. Bro. Howkins was a Past Master of Mt. Moriah Lodge No. 34 and was awarded the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1935. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since January, 1913, over 44 years.

Hudson, Edward James, of Burlingame, California, U.S.A., on 5th July, 1956. Bro. Hudson was a Past Master of Lodge St. Andrew in the Far East, No. 493, Hong Kong. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1956.

Johnston, Thomas Ernest, M.A., LL.D., in April, 1957. Bro. Johnston was a member of Lodge and Chapter No. 332 (I.C.), Concord, Omagh, and a Past Master of the Lodge of Research No. 200 (I.C.). He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1931.

Jones, Arthur Ronald, of Achiasi, Ghana, W. Africa, in July, 1956. Bro. Jones was a Past Master of Sekondi Lodge No. 3238, and Past Principal of the attached Chapter. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1954.

Kaye, John Harold, of Haxby, Yorks., on 27th January, 1957. Bro. Kaye was a Past Master of York Lodge No. 236, and Past Principal of Zetland Chapter (York) No. 236. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1948.

Lawden, Harold, of Sutton Coldfield, Warwick., on 24th September, 1956. Bro. Lawden was a member of Holte Lodge and Chapter No. 1246, Edgbaston. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1949.

Lobinger, Judge The Hon. Charles Sumner, of Washington D.C., U.S.A., in 1956. Bro. Lobinger was a member of St. John's Lodge No. 25 Omaha (Nebraska Const.). He was for over 55 years a member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1900, becoming a Life Member in 1919.

Lockwood, Sidney Clifford, of Pudsey, Yorks., on 16th March, 1957. Bro. Lockwood was a member of Lodge Perseverance No. 3197, Pudsey, and Chapter of Integrity No. 380, Morsley. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1923.

Maclean, Lachlan, of Staines, Middx., on September 13th, 1957. Bro. Maclean was a member of the Royal Naval College and United Services Lodge No. 1593 and of Trafalgar Chapter No. 1593. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1947.

Marsh, Stanley Howard, of Nassau, Bahamas, in 1957. Bro. Marsh was a member of Royal Victoria Lodge and Chapter No. 443, Nassau. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

Mather, Thomas, of Lower Hutt, New Zealand, in May, 1957. Bro. Mather was a Past Master of Ulster Lodge No. 62 (N.Z.) He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in June, 1922.

Matthews, Col. Maurice Kershaw, T.D., D.L., of Bournemouth, Hants, in 1957. Bro. Matthews was awarded the rank of P.A.G.D.C. and in the Royal Arch of P.G.St.Br., in 1944. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1947.

Moulds, Frederick William, of Leeds (formerly of the Government Farms Department, N.W.F.P.), in April, 1957. Bro. Moulds was a Past Master of Lodge Triune Brotherhood 2121, Kasauli, and was a Past First Principal of the Border Chapter No. 582. He was Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1921.

Mumford, William Augustus, of Kidderminster, Worcs., in December, 1956. Bro. Mumford was Past Master of Hope and Charity Lodge No. 377, and was Past Provincial Grand Treasurer of Worcestershire. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Munro, John, of Watlington, Oxon., on 26th October, 1956. Bro. Munro was a Past Master of Authors' Lodge No. 3456. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1948.

Oats, Frederick James, of Plymouth, Devon, in 1956. Bro. Oats was a Past Master of Plym Lodge No. 3821 and P.Z. of Chapter of St. George No. 2025 (Plymouth), and was Prov. Grand Registrar (Devon). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1945.

Owens, Francis William, of Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia, on 25th January, 1955. Bro. Owens was Past Master of Lodge 549, Yenda, and a member of Ibis Lodge No. 605 (S.C.). He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

Parker, Sidney Stuart, of Sheffield, on 31st August, 1957. Bro. Parker was a Past Master of Hallamshire Lodge No. 2268, and held the rank of Past Prov. A.G.D.C. (Yorks. West). He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Patel, Ishwarbhai Vitalbhai, Kampala, Uganda, in August, 1957. Bro. Patel was a Past Master of Lodge 4945, Light of Asia, and a member of Lodge 543 (S.C.), St. John, Dalmeir. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

Perram, Dr. Charles Herbert, of Bedford, in January, 1957. Dr. Perram was a member of Amptill Lodge No. 2490, and was granted the rank of Past Grand Warden in 1947. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in March, 1909.

Rae, Thomas Herdman, of Sunderland, on 8th January, 1957. Bro. Rae was a Past Master of Fenwick Lodge No. 1388 and of Wear Lecture Lodge No. 7248, and a member of the Chapter of Strict Benevolence No. 97, all of Sunderland. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in March, 1923.

Rask, Louis, of Schenectady, New York, U.S.A., on 26th June, 1957. Bro. Rask was a member of Chas. W. Mead Lodge No. 862 (N.Y.). He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1923.

Riviere, Hal R., Sen., of Charleston, Georgia, U.S.A., on 7th December, 1956. Bro. Riviere was a Past Master of Columbia Lodge No. 7 (Ga.), and joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1952.

Sargeant, Lt.-Cdr. Charles Corbet, of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, in January, 1957. Bro. Sargeant was a member of Eastern Star Lodge No. 51 (N.S.) and of Chapter 19 (N.S.). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1953.

Simcox, Arthur Lewis, of Arvida, P.Q., Canada, on 21st January, 1957. Bro. Simcox was a Past Master of Saguenay Lodge No. 97, and a Past District Deputy Grand Master of the District of Quebec and Three Rivers, Grand Lodge of Quebec. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1951.

Söder, Harald, of Torsas, Sweden, on 25th August, 1957, aged 53. Bro. Söder was a member of Lodge Kristianstad, Sweden, and joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1956.

Sparrow, William Austin, of Bath, in January, 1957. Bro. Sparrow was a member of Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, Bath, and a Past Prov. G.D. of Somerset. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1948.

Stansell, Charles William, of Taunton, on December 8th, 1956, aged 81. Bro. Stansell was a member of Lodge St. George No. 3155, Taunton, and was Past Prov. Gr. Dir. of C. and, in the Royal Arch, Past Prov. Gr. J. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1946.

Stewart, Donald, of Glasgow, on 26th November, 1956. Bro. Stewart was a member of Trades House of Glasgow Lodge No. 1241 (S.C.) and of Chapter 189. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1929.

Suffolk, Sydney Alfred, of Tutbury, Burton-on-Trent, on 16th May, 1957, aged 70. Bro. Suffolk was a member of Tutbury Priory Lodge No. 4873, and of Royal Sussex Chapter No. 353. He was awarded the rank of P.A.G.D.C. and P.G.St.Br. (R.A.) in 1953. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1941, and was its Local Secretary in Staffs. from 1949 to 1956.

Swabey, Harold Edward, of Hong Kong, on 8th February, 1957. Bro. Swabey was a Past Master of Ravensfield Edgware Lodge No. 5833 and a member of Swatow Lodge No. 3705, and was P.Z. of Jubilee Chapter No. 2013, Hong Kong. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

Sykes, Horace, of Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., on December 18th, 1956, aged 70. Bro. Sykes was a member of Walker F. Meier Lodge of Research No. 281 (Washington), to which he contributed several papers. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1954.

Titley, John, of Uppingham, Rutland, in January, 1957. Bro. Titley was a Past Master of Vale of Catmos Lodge No. 1265, and a member of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1948.

Turner, Philip Andrew, of Nairobi, Kenya, on October 19th, 1957. Bro. Turner was a Past Master of Lodge Harmony No. 3084 E.C. and P.Z. of Kenya Chapter No. 3727. He held the District Grand Rank of D.J.G.D. (E.A.) and was District Grand Treasurer of the R.A. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since November, 1948.

Tyers, Frederick George, of Pretoria, South Africa, in November, 1956. Bro. Tyers was Past Master and P.Z. of King Edward Lodge and Chapter respectively, No. 3004, Transvaal. In 1944 he was awarded the rank of Past Asst. Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was promoted in 1952 to Past Grand Deacon. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1919.

Wakefield, C. F., of Dutch Flat, California, U.S.A., in 1956. Bro. Wakefield was a member of Clay Lodge No. 101 (California). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1955.

Westerman, William, of Leeds, Yorkshire, on December 15th, 1956. Bro. Westerman held the rank of Past Prov. Grand Warden (Yorks. W.). He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1956.

Westheimer, Eugene F., of Cincinnati, U.S.A., on February 21st, 1957. Bro. Westheimer was a Past Master of Charity Lodge No. 331 (Mo.). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1954.

Wheldon, Martin Lowish, of York, in June, 1956. Bro. Wheldon was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1926.

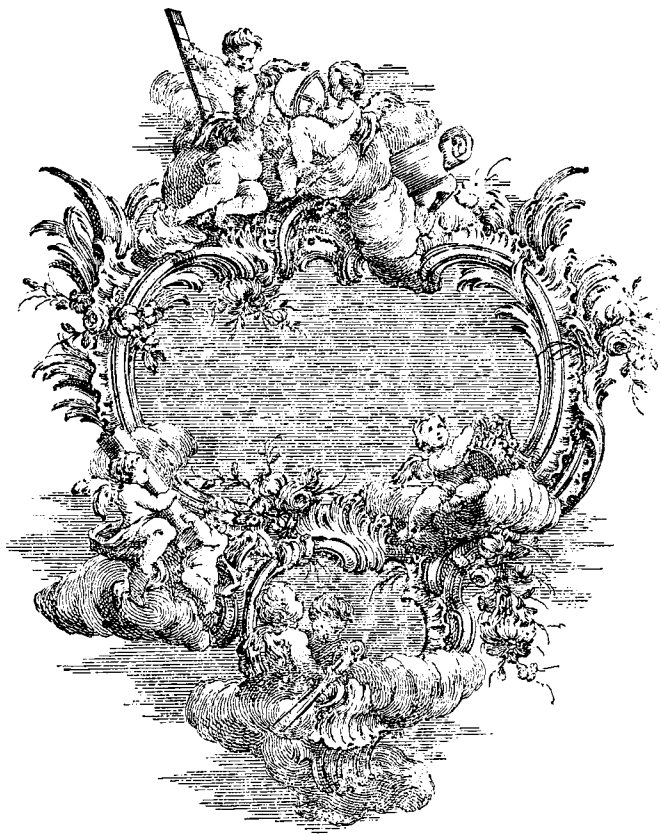
White, W. J., of Brighton, Victoria, Australia, on 6th November, 1956. Bro. White was a member of Shakespeare Lodge No. 124 (Victoria) and was Past Grand Deacon in the Grand Lodge of Victoria. In the Royal Arch he was a member of Charlton Chapter No. 35, and Past Grand Sojourner in the Supreme Grand Chapter of Victoria. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1945.

Wikstrom, Olle, of Boras, Sweden, in July, 1957. Bro. Wikstrom was a member of Lodge "Gota Provincial", Gothenburg, and was for a few years the Local Secretary for the Correspondence Circle in Sweden. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1949.

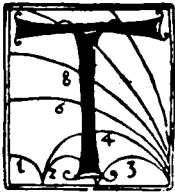
Williams, Frank Claude, of Menai Bridge, Anglesey, on August 9th, 1956. Bro. Williams was a member of Anglesey Lodge No. 1113 and Mona Chapter No. 4086. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1950.

Wilson, Walter Leonard, of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, in July, 1957. Bro. Wilson was Past Master of Faith and Hope Lodge No. 4772 (Warwickshire) and a member of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1952.

Wise, William, of Thame, Oxon., on June 18th, 1957. Bro. Wise was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1926.



ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1956-57:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

Deutsches Freimaurermuseum Bayreuth
Old Concord Lodge No. 172
St. Paul's Lodge No. 374

Blagdon Lodge No. 659
Te Awamutu Lodge No. 2221
Napier Clavering Lodge No. 3428
Queenborough Lodge No. 3893
Lodge Jamrud No. 4372
St. Wilfrid Lodge No. 5439
Hastings Lodge No. 6035
Ripon Falls Lodge No. 6221
Elmley Castle Lodge No. 6247
Kampala Lodge No. 7167
William Wynn Westcott College, S.R.I.A., Brighton
Mostyn Lodge No. 18, S.A.C.
Pirie Lodge No. 24, S.A.C.
Barossa Lodge No. 49, S.A.C.
St. Peter's Collegiate Lodge No. 53, S.A.C.
The Island Lodge No. 54, S.A.C.
Leopold Lewis Lodge No. 74, S.A.C.
Henley Lodge No. 79, S.A.C.
Glen Osmond Lodge No. 99, S.A.C.
Lewis Lodge of Hope No. 102, S.A.C.
Sturt Lodge No. 132, S.A.C.
Spencer Lodge No. 139, S.A.C.
Croydon Lodge No. 140, S.A.C.
Lewis Lodge of St. Peters No. 144, S.A.C.
Ardrossan Lodge No. 150, S.A.C.
Alice Springs Lodge No. 156, S.A.C.
Somerton Lodge No. 167, S.A.C.
Lodge Hindmarsh No. 170, S.A.C.
Lodge Kenilworth No. 178, S.A.C.
Keswick Lewis Lodge No. 185, S.A.C.
Westbourne Lodge No. 186, S.A.C.
Lodge Lockleys No. 191, S.A.C.
Vermilion Chapter No. 14, Canada
Victoria District Lodge of Education and Research, Canada
Masonic Study Circle, Lusaka, N. Rhodesia
Arkansas Research Lodge No. 739
Winona Lodge of Perfection, Minnesota
Miami Scottish Rite Bodies, Florida
Masonic Service Association, Washington

BRETHREN

Albert Abelson
Jack B. Abram
A. J. Sorby Adams
Alec Hubert Aldridge
George Totty Allcock
John Allen
John Buxton Amarteifio

Samuel Amos A. Amarteifio
Oswald Anderson
Sidney James Anslow
Jesse Anstey
Ian Robert Arnold
Antony Atkin

Harry Balaam
 Bertram Bennett Bannister
 Isaac Marsden Barraclough
 Alick Stuart Beck
 Henry C. Beckman, jun.
 William Edward Bennett
 John William Bentley
 Alec Martin Bergman
 Lynton Royce Berlin
 Hugh Y. Bernard, jun.
 Adolph P. Bernhardt
 Alfred Best
 Dr. Bernhard Beyer
 Karl Max Blauhorn
 Carl Edward Borgis
 Dr. Hermanus Lambertus Bosman
 Alexander Boyes
 Arthur Ernest Bradbury
 Ray Ernest Brereton
 Harry David Bridgeford
 Albert Brown
 Basil Williamson Brown
 Harry Lloyl Brown
 Geoffrey James Browning
 Walter George Bryant
 Charles Ernest Samuel Bull
 Simeon Wilson Burrill

William Harry Brenton Carey
 Paul Carter
 Clarence George Castellas
 George F. Cavendish-Land
 Raymond Joseph Chamberlain
 Henry Michael Chapman
 David Childs-Clarke
 George Washington Clampitt
 E. W. Classey
 J. M. Smith Coates
 William S. Coates
 Morris Michael Cohen
 Carroll E. Cole
 Edward Christian St. A. Coles
 Fred R. Colley
 Roydon H. Minton Connell
 Fred Neil Conner
 Stanley Conway-Lee
 Samuel Lloyd George Cowell
 Charles Hunter Craig
 Harold William Creasey
 Herbert Frederic Crebbin
 Harold Miles Criddle
 Horace Crittenden
 Walter Edward Croser
 M. C. Cunnann

George Sinclair Davidson
 Dennis Britnor Heywood Dawson
 Arie Hendrik de Bruijn
 Hugo Clive de Lacey
 William Claude Dennison
 John Dick
 Lawrence Michael Doffman
 Max-Henri Dubsky
 Murvin Kenneth Duffield
 Peter Rex Dunn
 Aubrey Carl Durow

Charles Earp
 Arthur William Ecclestone
 Frederick James Eden
 Joseph Jacob Edgar
 Ekow Eggir-Danso
 George Ellesworth
 T. E. Etchells
 Howard Ivor Evans

Jack Farrell
 Dozier Finley
 James Burton Fisher
 William Wilson Forgan
 Arthur Dennis Foxley
 Daniel P. Franklyn

Ivon Garcia
 William Herbert Gardner
 Arthur Dean J. Garrison
 Arthur Ernest Gomes
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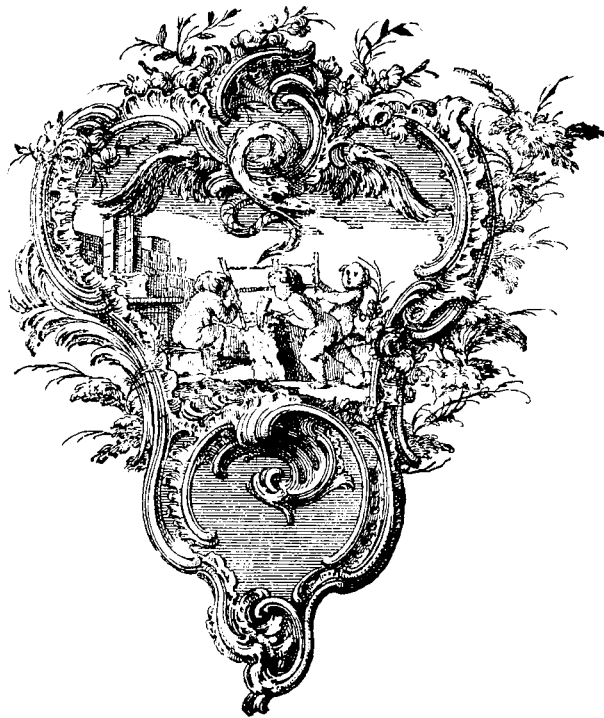
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