

» 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 LXXII

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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, except at the Installation meeting in November.

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 twelve volumes have been issued, consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest or transcripts of Minute Books, with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated.

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers nearly 4,000 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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VOLUME LXXII

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE
1960

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April, 1960

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Ars
Quatuor Coronatorum

Ers Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076

VOLUME LXXII

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

SATURDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1958



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, P.M. Lodge 2347, W.M.; Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; H. Carr, L.G.R., S.W.; N. B. Spencer, *B.A., LL.B.*, P.G.D., 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., S.D.; A. Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., J.D.; F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. E. Trott, G. Norman Knight, H. Fraser, R. St. J. Brice, A. L. Blank, R. Gold, M. Baker, C. B. Shaw, A. J. Beecher Stow, F. H. Anderson, H. S. Buffery, B. Foskett, L. Luckier, Sir George Boag, E. Winterburgh, A. Parker Smith, C. Lawson Reece, K. H. Phillips, T. E. Etchells, J. Laurence, R. M. Tye, A. F. Ford, J. R. Hatcher and D. R. Cook.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Maxwell Ellis, 2265; L. Solomons, 1614; M. Rose, 6226; W. Wimborne, 2265; A. Kemp, 2265; H. de Bruin, 2265; H. Fox, 6226; D. Sandler, 2265; J. Caplan, 2265; M. Callis, 6226; D. Carr, 6226; M. Cappin, 6226; A. Cappin, 6226; H. Bender, 2265; B. Elleston, 6226; S. Rosenblatt, 2265; O. B. Davis, 2265; H. Kafetz, 2265; and H. A. Phillips, 1745.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.A.G.D.C.; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, P.A.G.D.C., 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.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M.; W. Waples, P.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.D.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); G. Brett, P.M. 1494; and Lt.-Col. E. Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. 5386.

One District Grand Lodge and twenty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

It was proposed by the W.M., seconded by the S.W. and carried unanimously:—"That Bro. George Stirling Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland and Past Master of Lodge No. 2347, 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

SOME FOREIGN MASONIC DOCUMENTS

BY BRO. H. CARR

Author's Note. Important

The various points of ritual and ceremonial-procedure which are discussed below relate only to practices which may have been in use during the period covered by this essay, c. 1730 to 1745. The English Masonic ritual of the late 18th century, and the changes that were made at the time of the Union of the Grand Lodges, are beyond the scope of this essay and are not discussed here.



HAVE chosen as the subject of my Inaugural Address a little-known collection of French and German Masonic documents which have held a very special interest for me ever since I first came to know them.

During the past 300 years or so the Masonic ritual has developed into an elaborate system of degrees (or ceremonies) which, with only slight variations, enjoys practically world-wide usage.

We can only guess at the nature of the brief and simple ceremony which must have comprised the whole of the Masonic rite in its earliest form.

During the 1600's, however, we begin to find the first evidence of a two-degree system in practice among the Scottish Lodges, and in 1696 we have, in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, the oldest document which describes those two ceremonies, one for the "entered-apprentice" and another for the "fellow-craft or master".

Within the next thirty years or so there are a number of documents which indicate that some expansion of the ceremonies was going on in different places, and in 1730 there appeared Samuel Prichard's famous pamphlet, *Masonry Dissected*, which claimed to reproduce the whole system of three degrees, then supposed to be in practice amongst Masons.

Brethren, it is an extraordinary thing that throughout the whole history of the Craft in England there has never been a single piece of authoritative evidence from which we might draw a reliable picture of the ceremonies, or of the verbal details of the ritual. Our whole knowledge of Masonic ritual, during this first great period of expansion and change, is drawn from the 16 or 17 versions of the "aides-mémoires and exposures" which run from 1696 to 1730.

As a class, all these documents are suspect, and their contents need to be examined with great caution; but the total absence of official information on the ceremonies compels us to place a higher value upon them than they would otherwise deserve.

Nowadays their contents are easily accessible to students, so I shall only speak for the moment about Prichard's work.

Prichard did not invent the three-degree system, for it was certainly in existence before he went into print, and much of the detail contained in his work had already appeared in earlier documents. Perhaps it was his novel presentation of his material that attracted public attention, or it may be that with ritual practices in a state of flux there was great need for a work that would help to stabilise ceremonial procedure. Whatever the reason, Prichard's pamphlet met with a most enthusiastic reception and three editions were advertised within eleven days. In all about thirty editions were published, and the book was also translated into French, German and Dutch.

In effect, Prichard became the "standard" English exposure, and for thirty years it was virtually without a rival. Whatever changes there were in English ritual practice (and there must have been a great number during that period), they went unrecorded, as Prichard's work appeared with monotonous regularity, but with unchanging text.

Across the Channel, however, starting in 1736-7, we find the beginning of a new series of exposures, which rapidly developed into a flood. Some of these publications were mere "catchpennies" and quite worthless, but a few of them were really interesting, and it is this little group of French (and German) works which are my subject for this essay.

Brethren, in a short paper of this kind, it would be quite impossible to examine the texts exhaustively; I am concerned only with the evidence which they give us of ritual developments in Europe at that time.

But first a brief sketch of Prichard's work, which will serve as a kind of standard against which we can measure the innovations and changes as they appear in the foreign texts.

Apart from a few paragraphs of introduction, the whole of Prichard's exposure is in the form of a catechism. The Entered 'Prentice's Degree is made up of 91 questions and answers, a few of them clearly designed for test purposes. There are questions relating to the officers, their situations and their duties; there are some which deal with the lodge, its furnishings, lights, jewels, etc., and these are mainly symbolical in character.

A few questions and answers deal with ceremonial matters, and they describe the preparation of the cand., the perambulation round the Lodge, the steps and the posture during the Ob. At one point the whole text of the Ob. is given as the reply to a single question, and later a few answers give details of Sn., Tn. and Wds. These are the only Q. and A. in the whole of Prichard's exposure which purport to describe the actual procedure of the ceremony, and they do, in fact, furnish information from which it would be possible to reconstruct a part of the actual "floorwork" of the first degree.

The Fellow Craft's Degree also gives a Sn., Tn. and Wd., but the remainder is pure symbolism, and there is no ceremonial detail at all.

The Master's Degree or Master's Part is very interesting, and contains a splendid version of the Legend of H.A., finishing with the F.P.O.F. The whole of the legend is given in the course of the replies to some twelve questions, but again there is no ceremony at all, only a few test questions—the Legend, the F.P.O.F. and the "Word".

Prichard's work is important for us as the most comprehensive catechism that had ever been published up to 1730, but as an exposure of the *ceremonies* it fails miserably, for it gives us only a fragment of what may have been the first degree in those days.

The earliest of the French exposures appeared at Paris in 1736, and is known as the "Herauld Letter". It is supposed to have been communicated to Herauld, some-time Chief of Police at Paris, and was published by him as part of his campaign against the Masons. It must have had wide publicity, for it was reproduced in 1737, in English, in the *Secrets of Masonry made known to all men by S.P., etc.* (a version of Prichard). It was also translated and printed in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in January, 1738, and in the *St. James' Evening Post*.

In striking contrast to Prichard's work, this is a purely narrative exposure; no Q. and A., just a straightforward story describing the actual procedure of the ceremony from beginning to end. It begins with the preparation of the candidate, the report, admission, perambulation and three steps. A description of a sort of Tracing Board on the floor of the Lodge with two pillars; an explosion to frighten the candidate, the restoration to light, three more steps, the posture for the Obligation, with details of the Oath and the penalties; the presentation of apron and gloves, and details of Sns., Tns. and Wds., and it finishes with a method of "lettering" which is introduced as a safeguard. That is all, Brethren, just one ceremony, and no trace of a second and third. But there is a serious fault, because this exposure quite obviously contains "secrets" of the first and second degrees all compressed into the framework of one ceremony. Yet even the bare skeleton which I have described is sufficient to show that here is a real coherent whole, a ceremony which could be reconstructed perfectly. In this respect the "Herauld Letter" is incomparably the most lucid exposure that had ever appeared up to that time.

The next work in the series was *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons*, by the Abbé Perau, and it appeared first at Geneva in 1742, with several editions following soon after.¹

The description of the initiation ceremony is excellent, and very similar to that in Herauld. Indeed, our late Bro. Vibert was of the opinion that it was based on Herauld's work, but I am convinced that the Abbé had some other source of information, because the Initiation in the *Secret* is definitely a description of only one ceremony, and not the curious mixture that was served up by Herauld. And it is interesting to notice that the "ritual changes" which are supposed to have been made by the English Grand Lodge "in or about 1739" are reflected in the *Secret*.

Perau's Second Degree is no ceremony at all; he mentions some trivial changes in the "floor-design", and says that the F.C. does not repeat the oath. After this he gives another Sn. and Wd., and that is all. No ceremonial procedure, no floorwork, no catechism! Nor does he give a third degree. Some more variations in the floor-design, but no details of ceremony or legend. The M.M.'s only get another sign, which he does not describe, but he does mention an "embrace" which is remotely suggestive of the F.P.O.F.

Perau's lack of information on the second and third degrees is not surprising, for he was not a Freemason, and he was merely retelling what he had been able to acquire from indirect sources.

¹ I have been unable to examine the first edition. There is no copy of it in the British Museum, or the Grand Lodge or the Q.C. Libraries.

An interesting collection of documents, recently discovered in the Lisbon Archives, contain the so-called Confession of one John Coustos, who was arrested in March, 1743, and examined by the Inquisition, who were trying to ascertain the nature and extent of his Masonic activities. Coustos was a Swiss who had resided in England, and had been a member of two London Lodges (and founder of one of them). A part of his Confession seems to have been made voluntarily, and the rest under torture. The information which he gave was transcribed at the time and vouched for, upon oath, by his interrogators.

The Confession can hardly be described as an Exposure (in our sense of the word), but it contains a description of various signs, tokens and words which clearly belong to several degrees, although they are given continuously and unseparated, as if only one ceremony was being described.

There are a number of miscellaneous details, *e.g.*, preparation of candidates, some phrases from the Ob., the description of a Hiram legend, with esoteric matters which probably belonged to that legend (and perhaps to a ceremony *beyond* that).

The text (though deeply interesting in view of its date, 1743) is of little use in helping us to reconstruct the ceremonies, and the value of these documents lies mainly in the somewhat dubious confirmation which they give to other contemporary texts.

There were several other exposures during the next two years, all quite worthless. One of them was *La Parfait Maçon*, published in 1744, and its only claim on our attention is a reference to four grades, and a note that the fourth deals with the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubabel, when the builders worked ". . . with sword and buckler at their side . . ."

One really important work of this class appeared in 1744, entitled *Le Catechisme des Francs-maçons*. Its author, Louis Travenol, claimed that he was not a Freemason, but had always passed for one in the Lodges. The work begins with some corrections of Perau on points in the first degree, but they are so slight that one cannot resist the implication that he accepts Perau's first degree as a reasonably accurate description.

He adds nothing to Perau's information on the second degree except a Tn., which the latter had omitted. But Travenol's third degree is the really important part of his little book. It begins with the Legend of Adoniram, an excellent description, which is more detailed than Prichard's. Then the opening of an M.M.s' Lodge which includes two new signs that had never appeared before, and after that a narrative description of the actual ceremony, in tremendous detail, so lucid and so "reconstructible" that one may readily believe that this was indeed the French third degree of 1744.

Some parts of the catechism which follow are closely related to Prichard's first and second, and he gives several new questions, some of which clearly relate to the M.M.¹

There are also some illustrations—one a sort of combined Tracing Board for the first and second degrees; the other is a Tracing Board of the third degree, and it contains a coffin, skull and crossbones, and a plan showing footsteps across the coffin leading from the Square to the Compass. On the coffin is written the word "Jehovah", which is said to have been the original "masters' word" until it was changed, for reasons which are explained in the story.

But the outstanding part of Travenol's work is his description of the M.M. ceremony, which is really a lovely piece of work.

In 1745 there appeared a rare little pamphlet by an anonymous author, *Le Sceau Rompu*, with a sub-title in Hebrew characters which may also be translated "The Broken Seal". The author of the *Sceau* praises the ceremonial descriptions in Perau and Travenol; indeed, he says that the whole sum of Masonic knowledge might be found in those two works. But he finds Travenol's catechism deficient, and he proposes to remedy this by publishing the whole correct catechism, this time divided into separate parts. The *Sceau* catechism is quite delightful, largely purely Prichard, and the expansions are very interesting.

And so, Brethren, we come to the last, and perhaps the most important, of all the works that I will deal with here—*L'Ordre des Francs-maçons Trahi et Le Secret des Mopses Révélé*.² It appeared in Paris and Amsterdam in 1745, the work of an anonymous compiler who admits that he had "borrowed" a great deal of his material. The second part of this book, which deals with the "Mopses", may be dismissed very shortly. The Mopses were a mock-masonic society, open to men and women, practising a very vulgar rite in which the principal symbol was a "Mopse" or pug-dog. But the first part of the book is deeply interesting.

The compiler first of all reprints the whole of the "Secret", and although he points out that the "Secret" does not give the complete story, he adds that generally ". . . it is consistent with the facts and so well done that I advised my publisher to print the work as it stood . . ." The "Trahi" compiler is not quite so happy about Travenol's work. He has little fault to find with his description of the third degree, but the catechism, he says, suffers from a great many omissions, and he promises to remedy that. Then he copies the whole of

¹ The Q. and A. are continuous, without any division into separate grades.

² There is supposed to have been an earlier, undated, edition, but as the work contains comments on *Le Catechisme* it cannot have been earlier than 1744.

Travenol's Legend, and his description of the third degree, almost word for word. (There cannot have been any defence against plagiarism in those days.)

The catechism, which follows, is indeed a splendid piece of work. Much of it can be traced right back to Prichard and even long before. It is virtually a compilation of all that is best in the *Secret*, the *Sceau* and the *Catechisme*, with several new Q. and A., mainly of an esoteric nature.

In a work of this kind, in which the compiler openly admits that he has "borrowed" his materials, promising merely to improve on his predecessors' work, our attention is naturally drawn towards the changes that now appear for the first time. The changes are, in fact, rather few and comparatively trifling; but there are a number of *additions* which are very important. If we exclude the worthless "catchpennies", it may be said quite simply that all the early exposures, both English and foreign, had given Sns. which might have been traditionally associated with E.A., F.C. or F.P.O.F., and nothing more.

In the *Catechisme* we had two new signs (the S. and F. G. and D., and another involving "the pit of the stomach"). Here in the *Trahi* we have a third which requires "hands to the head" and "interlaced-fingers".

We cannot be sure whether these things were novelties, or whether they were, in fact, older practices that had never been recorded. They may have been genuine expansions of ritual practice, or they may have been pure inventions of the *Trahi* compiler; and, of course, we do not know whether they were of English, French or German origin. We only know that they make their first appearance in print in a French exposure, the *Trahi*.

The expansions in the catechism are also very interesting. One new Q. and A. describes a distress or danger signal:—

Q. Lorsqu'un Macon se trouve en danger, que doit-il dire & faire, pour appeller ses Freres a son secours ?

A. Il doit mettre les mains jointes sur sa tete, les doigts entrelasses, & dire, "A moi, les enfans (ou Fils) de la Veuve".

Then there is a whole block of Q. and A. dealing with "*Passwords*" for the E.A., F.C. and the M.M., and *Passwords had never been heard of until this time*.

The *Trahi* compiler, in a footnote, states quite clearly that the "passwords" are an innovation, and are hardly used anywhere except in France and at Frankfurt-on-Main; he goes on to say that they are in the nature of watchwords which have been introduced as an additional safeguard.¹ Once again we are unable to say whether the writer was merely circulating his own fabrications or whether he was genuinely describing new practices.

We know, from the number and variety of the exposures which appeared within a few years, that this was a lively period of expansion and innovation; and in France especially the middle decades of the eighteenth century saw the rise of a great number of "exotic" degrees, all more or less related to the Masonic rite.

And so, Brethren, you can begin to see why I chose this little group of foreign documents as my subject. In England we have that splendid series of texts from 1696 onwards, culminating in Prichard's exposure of 1730; then a long gap, until 1761, when a whole new series of elaborate and detailed exposures began to appear. Our only evidence of ritual developments during that thirty-year gap is drawn from the French (and German) exposures which I have been discussing. We cannot be sure that the developments which they portray were also English developments, but there is reason to believe that some of the texts do reflect changes and expansions of English practice.

And now I must bring my essay to a close. For those Brethren who are not acquainted with the documents I have mentioned, I must say that there are many more things in them beyond the points I have touched upon.

I suppose, Brethren, it is fair to say that for most of us the actual words and procedure of the ceremonies provided us with our earliest interest in the Craft, and too many of us nowadays are content with only a bare knowledge of the ceremonies, so that all-too-frequent repetition leads to boredom.

But when we begin to learn something of the evolution of the ritual, and we see how certain phrases, signs and pieces of "floorwork", etc., have developed during the centuries, the words begin to acquire a new and deeper meaning, and we can take a delight in the ceremonies, as something valuable in themselves.

That is why I have confined myself in my examination of these texts to one particular aspect, *i.e.*, how far do they enable us to envisage the ceremonies, and how far would it be possible for us to reconstruct them from the descriptions which they give? With these questions in mind, Brethren, I promise you that the student will find himself well rewarded for his pains.

¹ Quotations throughout this essay are my own translations from the original.

At the subsequent dinner, "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" was proposed by the I.P.M., Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN, Grand Librarian of Scotland, in the following terms:—

THE TOAST OF THE WORSHIPFUL MASTER

Tonight the Lodge of the Four Crowned Ones has a new Master. It gives me the very greatest possible pleasure to propose that his health be drunk.

Bro. Carr showed his abilities at an early age by winning a scholarship—something, I fancy, that few of us here succeeded in doing—and perhaps we may, even at this late date, congratulate him on that achievement.

To win a scholarship one must be certain of one's facts, and facts are the "meat and drink" of Harry Carr as far as this Lodge is concerned. I would not like to suggest that he is beyond being influenced by innuendo, suggestion or inference, but I think he looks at them somewhat askance. Not for him are the spicy dishes flavoured by theories, such as I perhaps myself am at times inclined to put forward. If Bro. Carr should ever approach the College of Arms with a Petition for Ensigns Armorial, I am quite certain that he would choose as his motto "Give me all the facts".

The high reputation of this Lodge—a reputation which it has consistently upheld for nearly 70 years—is based upon these very attributes which I have just mentioned, and which I am quite certain Bro. Carr will maintain during his Mastership. He has already written much for our *Transactions*, and also—mention it not in the streets of Astoroth—for other Lodges of Research. His reputation is such that he will bring fresh lustre to this Lodge, and I feel sure that his Mastership will be long remembered as one of the brightest in the annals of our history.

His Masonic career is not flavoured with much variety. By that I mean that he has avoided, either deliberately or by chance, the extraneous Masonic bodies of which many of us are members. In some cases this is unavoidable. In others it is by choice, and I have suggested on more than one occasion that he might with advantage become a member of at least one more Masonic body. Not that his career in the Craft has been undistinguished. Far from it. Let me give you a list of his achievements.

Born in London in 1900 of Russian immigrant parents, he won a scholarship at the age of 10 to Davenant Foundation School. He started work in a retail shop at the age of 14, and when 19 joined his father in business. In 1932 he set up his own business, to which he added a Clothing Factory two years later. He married, and has three sons. In World War II he was a Lance-Corporal in the Royal Berkshire Home Guard (Signals Section), stationed at Newbury.

In Masonry, he was Initiated in Barnato Lodge, No. 2265, in 1929, and became Master of that Lodge in 1943. He was exalted in Barnato Chapter in 1935, and reached that Chair in 1945. He was Founder and First Master of Noble Brotherhood Lodge, No. 6226, in 1946, and since 1947 has been Secretary of both Barnato and Noble Brotherhood Lodges. He joined Barnato Lodge of Instruction in 1936, and read his first Paper there in the same year; he became Deputy Preceptor in 1944, and since 1954 has been Preceptor. He was appointed to London Grand Rank in 1953.

His interest in Masonic Research was aroused after hearing Bro. Lewis Edwards' Prestonian Lecture in 1936, and he joined the Arcadian Study Circle and the Leicester Lodge of Research, and read his first Paper before the latter in November, 1943. He also joined our Correspondence Circle in 1938, but it was before the Leicester Lodge of Research that all his early Papers were read; however, from about 1948 he received much encouragement from Bro. Poole, with whom he worked in close association. He became a Full Member of our Lodge in November, 1953.

The following are some of his Papers:—

For the Leicester Lodge of Research—

- 1943-4 *The Old Charges* (in two parts)
- 1944-5 *Hebraic Aspects of the Ritual*
- 1946-7 *An Examination of the Early Masonic Catechisms*
- 1948-9 *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi*
- 1950-1 *A Collection of References to the Mason Word*
- 1952-3 *Two Short-lived Lodges: Reconciliation and Promulgation*

For A.Q.C.—

- Oct., 1950 } *The Lodge at Haughfoot, 1702-1763*
- Jan., 1951 }
- March, 1953 *The Conjoint Theory*
- March, 1954 *The Mason and the Burgh* (also fuller edition in book form)
- May, 1956 *Apprenticeship in England and Scotland up to 1700*

Brother Carr, you are now the Master of the most famous Lodge of Research in the world. Let me wish you every success during your Mastership, and, Brethren, I ask you to join with me in furthering that success by drinking his very good health.

FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1959



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. Carr, L.G.R., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.G.D., P.M., as I.P.M.; Norman Rogers, M.Com., P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; Bruce W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 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; Lewis Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B., J.D.; Lt.-Col. E. Ward, T.D., P.M. 5386, I.G.; and W. Waples, P.G.St.B.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. L. Penny, L. E. C. Peckover, Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst, J. R. King, A. J. Thurnell, N. Hackney, B. S. Brown, E. M. Davison, P. K. Bradley, R. A. Dyer, A. Fleming, N. L. Eckhoff, P. Rainsford Hannay, W. J. Wyse, J. C. Holliman, P. J. K. Webster, C. W. Gregory, R. Gold, A. P. Cawadias, H. W. Johnson, W. J. Clark, T. W. Marsh, I. B. H. Evans, B. Jacobs, J. Foster-Petree, A. I. Sharp, D. Graham, E. Stanley Goddard, L. Bevis and M. J. Baker.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. Bramley, 2434, and J. Routh, 6370.

Apologies for absence were recorded from Bros. C. C. Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.A.G.D.C.; F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, P.A.G.D.C., 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.; S. Pope, P.G.St.B., P.M.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.D.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., S.W.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, P.M.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; A. Sharp, M.A., P.G.D., S.D.; and F. R. Worts, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., Steward.

Three Libraries, four Lodges and forty-eight 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, 2nd January, 1959.

Present:—Bro. Ivor Grantham, in the Chair, with Bros. Lewis Edwards, Norman Rogers, Bruce W. Oliver, 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, 1958

BRETHREN,

It is with much regret that we record the death of Bro. B. Ivanoff, Master of the Lodge in 1940-41. The membership of the Lodge now stands at 28. The Correspondence Circle shows a satisfactory increase of 97. Three hundred and sixteen new members were elected during the year, and two were reinstated; but 94 resigned, 66 died and 61 lapsed; leaving a total at the end of the year of 3,840. If progress continues to be satisfactory, we may attain our target of 4,000 in about two years.

We welcome the accession of seven new Local Secretaries, five for new territories and two replacing Brethren who have resigned, and to whom our thanks are due for their past services. Our special thanks,

for the highest numbers of new members introduced, go to Bro. N. Schenk for 29 from Japan, and Bro. H. C. B. Hewett for 28 from South Australia ; but it must be remembered that Japan is practically virgin soil, whereas Bro. Hewett already has the longest list of any Local Secretary and must be nearing saturation point.

A.Q.C., Volume LXX, was published on 14th April, and the publication of *Q.C.A.* XI was regrettably delayed till 28th July.

The Accounts show an excess of income over expenditure of £892, from which a reserve of £500 has been set aside for *Q.C.A.* XII. It is intended that the latter shall be the second volume of the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, with the valuable notes left by our late Bro. W. J. Songhurst.

The principal increases in expenditure were, as expected, on Postages, Electricity and Gas, due to the rise in the rates for these services. On the other side, a saving of £260 was made on the sum reserved for *Q.C.A.* XI and two complete sets of *Transactions* were sold. Other items in the Accounts are normal.

During the Master's tour of Africa, our Local Secretary for Kenya, Bro. *Lt.-Col.* C. W. M. Young, and 30 members of the Correspondence Circle in his District entertained Bro. Draffen to lunch, and presented the Lodge, through him, with a fine Gavel made of local Iron-wood.

For the Committee,

IVOR GRANTHAM,

In the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET, 31st OCTOBER, 1958

LIABILITIES				ASSETS			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions Paid in Advance—				Cash at Bank and in hand—			
1959	758	3	3	On Deposit Account ...	2500	0	0
1960	57	7	0	Current Account ...	1556	7	0
1961	22	8	0	In hand	85	18	3
1962-4	21	8	0				
					4142	5	3
				Stock of Publications, etc.—			
Binding Paid in Advance				Bound Volumes ...	6	0	0
				Pamphlet No. 1 ...	15	3	6
				Medals	37	5	0
Sundry Creditors; receipts unallocated							
				Sundry Debtors—			
Reserves for Publications—				Binding			
A.Q.C., LXXI ...	1600	0	0	Subscriptions in arrear:			
Q.C.A., XII ...	500	0	0	1957	106	19	6
				1958	306	10	6
Suspense Account, being outstanding subscriptions as per contra, subject to realisation ...							
				Investments—			
Furniture Reserve as last Balance Sheet ...	9	8	1	£1000 — 4% Defence Bonds at cost ...	1000	0	0
Less Expended ...	9	8	1	£1000 — 4½% Defence Bonds at cost ...	1000	0	0
Repairs Reserve—							
Balance as last Balance Sheet	317	3	7				
Add Receipts	55	0	0				
Less Expenditure ...	24	8	8				
Lodge Account—							
Balance as last Balance Sheet	268	15	7				
Add : Receipts	56	11	0				
Less : Expenditure ...	72	19	3				
Income and Expenditure Account—Accumulated Balance thereon at date							
Trustee Account (S.C.S. Fund) as last Balance Sheet	334	11	6				
Less transferred to Income and Expenditure A/c	334	11	6				

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

For the Year ended 31st October, 1958

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Salaries, Rent and Rates			1666 12 0	Correspondence Circle—			
Lighting and Heating ...			118 16 6	Being Subscriptions collected, less Reserves:			
Stationery ...			171 3 11	1958 ...	1985	4	4
Postages ...			412 4 9	1957 ...	485	4	3
Office Cleaning, etc. ...			37 0 9	1956 ...	23	2	0
Insurance—				1955 ...	5	5	0
Fire and Burglary, etc.	16	8	7				2498 15 7
National ...	61	7	1	Back Transactions ...			381 19 10
			77 15 8	Binding ...			90 10 1
Telephone ...			23 7 9	Lodge Publications—			
Office Sundries ...			115 4 11	Pamphlets and Songs ...	2	5	3
Local Secretaries' Expenses			17 18 4	Reprints, Q.C.A., XI ...	261	18	10
Library ...			24 1 0				264 4 1
Income Tax on Investment Income, 1957-58, and Corporation Duty .	68	0	5	Medals ...			49 12 10
Less Income Tax 1957-58 repaid ...	19	2	6	Various Publications ...			19 11 2
			48 17 11	Joining Fees ...			328 12 0
Bank Charges ...			2 9 2	Publication Fund ...			19 3 7
Pension ...			208 0 0	Interest—			
Furniture Addition ...			62 11 5	On Bank Deposit ...	139	17	9
			2986 4 1	On Defence Bonds ...	85	19	8
Excess of Income over Expenditure ...			892 2 6				225 17 5
			£3,878 6 7				£3,878 6 7
Reserve for publication of Q.C.A., XII	500	0	0	Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ...			892 2 6
Balance carried to Balance Sheet ...	2504	0	2	Accumulated Excess of Income over Expenditure on 1st Nov., 1957 ...			1777 6 2
			£3,004 0 2	Balance of Trustee Account (S.C.S. Fund) on 1st Nov., 1957, transferred hereto ...			334 11 6
							£3,004 0 2

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

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

(Signed) GEDGE, ILOTT & McLEOD,

Chartered Accountants,

35, Great James Street,

London.

Dec. 3rd, 1958.

Bro. W. WAPLES read a paper entitled *The State of Masonry in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1725-1814*, as follows:—

THE STATE OF MASONRY IN NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 1725-1814

PART I

BY WILLIAM WAPLES

ST. JOHN'S LODGE, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, 1725-1782

ERASED 1788



ACKENZIE, in his history of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, states "that the first Northumbrian Lodge to be warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was established in 1725". Mackenzie, however, gives no authority for the statement. The earliest mention of Speculative Masonry in the City is the Sale of "The Constitutions of the Freemasons" (1723) at Bro. Bartholomew Pratt's on Wednesday, 18th September, 1728 (*Courant*).

At nearby Swalwell the old operative Lodge was at that time in the Transitional stage to Speculative Masonry. The unattached Lodge at Darlington is noted in 1725 as holding its Anniversary. Other unattached Lodges were in existence at Gateshead, Durham, Sunderland and Hexham about 1733 or before.

Four months prior to the first newspaper reference to the Lodge, there appeared what may be one of the earliest Masonic Exposures—the one in question being "The Mystery of Free Masonry" (9th January, 1731).

The following items are brought together for the first time:—

27th May, 1730—(From *Archaeolog. Aeliana*, vol. 5, 1860, page 237)

"In 1730, the performances on the 27th of May were 'by the command of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons', and consisted of 'the Play called the Committee, or the Faithful Irishman, with a Prologue and Epilogue suitable to the occasion, and likewise the Freemason's Song with Hob's Opera and the Song of Molly Mog for their entertainment. 'Never,' we are told, 'such an appearance of ladies and gentlemen were ever seen together in this place'."

6th June, 1730—*The original Mercury, York Journal*, No. 252

An advertisement appears in the *Newcastle Courant* on 6th June, 1730, which states "that a Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Society of Freemasons will be held on the 24th June between 11 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon at the house of James Hall, Keyside, By Order of Fr. Armorer Junr. Master, Hilton Lawson and Thomas Thursby, Wardens".

(Lodge No. 1 dealt with under St. Nicholas Lodge.)

1730—*Weekly Journal*

In the *Weekly Journal*, London, on 6th June, 1730, it is related under date Newcastle-on-Tyne, 29th May, 1730, "that on Wednesday last was held at Mr. Bartholomew Pratt's in the Fleshmarket a lodge of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at which abundance of Gentlemen assisted wearing white leathern aprons and gloves. N.B. Never such an appearance of ladies and gentlemen were ever seen together at this place".

(Lodge No. 2. This was the Lodge which in 1757 was constituted as No. 225, and later named St. John's Lodge.)

In these two announcements two meeting dates are given, i.e., 29th May and 24th June—the former at the house of James Hall, Quayside; the latter at Bro. Pratt's in the Flesh Market. As the names of two different Masters and two Wardens for each of the two meetings are given, it is obvious that two different Lodges were meeting in 1730.

22nd May, 1731—*Newcastle Courant*

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1731.

"Whereas the Antient and Honourable Society of free and accepted Masons, have appointed a Meeting, at the House of Mrs. Jonah Grey, at the Sign of the King's Arms, on the Key-side on Wednesday, the 16th day of June next, precisely at the Hour of 11 in the Morning, whence a Dinner will be ordered for the Reception of all Gentlemen who are Brothers of the said Society; and they are hereby summoned to personally appear, at the said Time and Place above-mentioned, with their proper Adornments when they will be attended on by

Their Affectionate Brethren and Humble Servants,

MATTHEW WHITE, Master.

THOMAS LAMBTON }
WILLIAM DIXON } Wardens."

(Matthew White was made a Baronet in 1756 and died in 1763.)

6th June, 1732—*Newcastle Courant*

On this date a Lodge was held at the house of James Hall on the Key between 11 and 12 o'clock, and a dinner provided By Order of Thomas Lambton, Master, William Selby and Lang Sunderland, Wardens.

29th December, 1732—*Newcastle Courant*

Jonah Grey appears to be dead, for a Lodge was held at Widow Grey's on the Key. The *Courant* states:—

"There was a great appearance of Gentlemen of the town and country, when they unanimously chose John Fenwick, Esq., as their Master for the ensuing year, a gentleman of great accomplishment, unblemished character and a plentiful fortune, one of the candidates for Northumberland for Members of Parliament. Thomas Thursby—Surgeon, as Deputy Master, Adam Askew, M.D., and John Green, Gentlemen, as Wardens. The Fraternity ordered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among the poor families sent to Georgia."

Saturday, 19th May, 1733—*Newcastle Courant*, No. 421.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"A Lodge of the Ancient and Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons will be held on Tuesday the 22nd instant betwixt the Hours of 11 and 12 in the Forenoon at the House of Mrs. (Jonah) Grey on the Key, when the Gentlemen of the said Society are desired to attend, and then and there to conform themselves to the Rules of the Lodge, and to such other Matters as shall be given them in Charge, by their affectionate Brethren and humble Servants.

JOHN FENWICK, Master

ADAM ASKEW }
JOHN GREEN } Wardens.

N.B. A Dinner will be provided."

The following contemporary announcement concerning the Lodge at Sunderland is quoted in order to draw attention to the similarity of the wording:—

Saturday, 24th August, 1734—*Newcastle Weekly Courant*

"Whereas a Meeting of the Antient and Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons, is to be held on Thursday, the 26th of September, 1734, at 12 o'clock of the said Day, at the House of Mr. Matthew Carr in Sunderland, where all Brothers of the said Society are desired to attend, and then and there to conform themselves to the Rules of the Lodge and to such other matters as shall be given them in charge by their

Affectionate Brethren and Humble Servants,

JOHN HICKSON, Master.

TIMOTHY STOKELD }
JOHN BARROW } Wardens."

28th December, 1734

The following appeared in *St. James' Evening Post*, London:—

"Yesterday being St. John's day was held the usual Anniversary of the Most Honorable and Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons at Widow Gray's

on the Key, when there was the greatest appearance that has been known on that occasion, the society consisting of the principal inhabitants of the town and country from when they went in procession in the afternoon with their regalia and proper Ornaments, to the Chapel at Bridge End and heard a most excellent sermon preached upon the nature and usefulness of the Society by the Rev. Mr. Robinson, Vicar of Bywell, their Chaplain. On returning they unanimously nominated Dr. Askew their Master, Mr. Blenkinsop, and Mr. Skall, their Wardens for the ensuing year."

1734

This year a Patent was granted by the Earl of Crawford, Grand Master, appointing Matthew Ridley, Esq., the first Provincial Grand Master for Northumberland, and Joseph Laycock, first Provincial Grand Master for the County of Durham.

Tuesday, 17th January, 1737 (1738), Newcastle, December 31st
The Leeds Mercury, No. 623. Country News

"On Tuesday the 27th December being St. John's Day was held the Anniversary Meeting of the Most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons at Mr. Baxter's on the Key (Quay). The Society consisted of the Principal Inhabitants of the Town and Country. In the afternoon they were saluted with the discharge of Guns and other demonstrations of joy. In the Evening they had an elegant Entertainment and unanimously nominated Walter Blackett, Esq. their Master, Mr. Thoresby their Deputy Master, Mr. Newton and Mr. Graham their Wardens, for the year ensuing."

Walter Blackett had recently changed his name from Calverley (see *Leeds Mercury*, 4th February, 1729). He later became Sir Walter Blackett, Bart., Alderman and M.P. for Newcastle. He died in 1777 in the 70th year of his age.

Saturday, 28th April, 1738—*Newcastle Journal*

"We hear, that on Monday Evening next, will be acted (for the Benefit of Mr. Barden) at the desire of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, a Comedy call'd 'The Careless Lovers', written by the late Sir Richard Steele."

23rd December, 1738—*Newcastle Courant*

"A Lodge of the Antient and Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons, will be held on Wednesday next, being St. John's Day, betwixt Four and Five o'clock in the Afternoon, at the King's Head on the Key; where the Brethren of the said Society are desired to attend, and then and there to conform themselves to the Rules of the Lodge, and to such other Matters as shall be given them in Charge, by their Affectionate Brethren and Humble Servants,

WALTER BLACKETT, Master.

JOHN NEWTON

WILLIAM GRAHAM

} Wardens."

Saturday, 29th December, 1739—*Newcastle Journal*, No. 39

"On Thursday last, the same day being St. John's, a Lodge of the Ancient and Worshipful Society of Free and Accepted Masons was held at Mrs. Baxter's on the Key when Hilton Lawson of Churton Esq. was chosen Master, Mr. George Blenkinsop, Deputy Master, and Mr. Joseph Smith and Mr. John Rose, Wardens, for the ensuing year."

Hilton Lawson, of Chirton, was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1767, and died in December of the same year whilst in office.

George Blenkinsop died in February, 1768, and is described as of the Iron Works, Newcastle, aged 90 (*York Courant*), and a person of considerable fortune (*Newcastle Journal*).

1743

From the *Newcastle Journal*, No. 243, of Saturday, 3rd December, 1743, it is learned:—

"We hear from Durham that on Wednesday last, being St. Andrew's Day, the same was observed with becoming decency by the Freemasons of the Scots Order of Masonry in that City, at their Lodge, where the proper Healths were drank, and the Evening concluded with that Harmony and Order becoming so celebrated a Fraternity."

The announcement is quoted here because it refers to the "Scots Order of Masonry". So far it is the first reference to the Scots Order to be found in Northern England. As it was not

a Lodge constituted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, one may reasonably suppose that it may have been:—

- (1) A Lodge of Scots Masters, or
- (2) An unattached Lodge of St. John's Masons working, amongst others, the Scots Master's degree.

It is interesting to know that the only unattached Lodge in Durham City was functioning from the 1730's to 1763, when the Brethren took a Warrant under the Grand Lodge of England.

1740

A Lodge of Freemasons met at Mr. Baxter's, King's Head, on the Quayside.

13th October, 1757

The Grand Lodge of England granted a Dispensation for a Lodge to meet in Newcastle-on-Tyne by the number of 225. (This was St. John's, and the Lodge now under review.)

1764

St. John Lodge fraternised with Lodge No. 120 of the "Ancients". (See No. 120 under St. Nicholas Lodge.)

30th June, 1764—*Newcastle Courant*

"The Ancient and Honourable Society of Freemasons assembled at their respective Lodges in Newcastle-on-Tyne, namely:—Bro. Wright's Sign of the Cock, and Bro. Fife's of the Black Boy Inn, near the Head of the Side, when Bro. Huntley and Bro. Green, the Masters, were elected and duly installed, after which both bodies joined at Bro. Wright's and thence went in procession to St. John's Church in their proper habilaments and respective Insignia of dignity where an excellent sermon was preached by the Bro. The Rev. Mr. Barwise from Psalm 133. v. 1, 'Beloved how good and how pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in unity' in which the grand characteristics of Freemasonry were fully displayed and justly represented, after which they returned to their respective Lodges above mentioned."

27th December, 1764

On St. John's Day, 27th December, 1764, the Brethren were present at the laying of the foundation stone of a new Church in the East end of Sunderland dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Sermon by Bro. Rev. Thomas Barwise.

(See Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* for full description of the Ceremony, etc.)

June, 1765

The Brethren, after the Installation of their Master, walked in procession to St. Andrew's Church, where a Sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Barwise.

1765

St. John's Lodge was re-numbered 184.

27th December, 1769—*Bain M.S. (1900)*

"The officers and about forty privates of the 22nd Regiment, quartered in Newcastle, being Freemasons, went in procession, preceded by their own band, to St. Nicholas Church, when a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Slack of South Shields from I Thessalonians, 4 ch., 9 v."

1770

The Lodge was named St. John's in 1770.

St. John's Lodge met at the Cock Tavern up to 1775, when it went into a private room in Westgate Street.

19th October, 1774

At a meeting of the Harodim Lodge in the Phoenix Lodge, Sunderland, the following Brethren of St. John's Lodge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were raised into the Harodim:—

John Falcon, Gateshead
Ralph Brown, Newcastle
Anthony Smith, Newcastle
David Reay, Newcastle
James Huntley, Newcastle

Similar raisings were made until after 1782.

23rd September, 1776

The foundation stone of the new Hall of St. John's Lodge was laid in Low Friar Street by Bro. Francis Peacock, W.M., and underneath the stone was placed a copper plate with a Latin inscription thereon. (See Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*.)

26th December to 2nd January, 1773—*Newcastle Journal*, No. 1756

"The Lodge of free and accepted Masons at Swalwell went in procession to Whickham Church, where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Barwise of Trimdon, Micah VI: 8. After Divine Service they returned to Swalwell, where a dinner was provided, which consisted of five dishes of Soup, five plumb (*sic*) puddings, five flanks of Beef, with cabbage and pease pudding."

According to the Lodge Minutes, visitors from St. John's and St. Nicholas Lodges at Newcastle-upon-Tyne were present.

The interesting point in this announcement is that Bro. the Rev. Mr. Barwise preached a sermon on the occasion. As early as 1755 he preached at Sunderland to the local Brethren. In 1764 he preached a sermon on behalf of Lodge No. 120. From records in both Durham and Northumberland he must have been more in demand to preach Anniversary sermons than any other Minister over a period of fifty-odd years.

16th December, 1775—*Newcastle Journal*

"Last week an elegant room was finished at Monkwearmouth Shore for the use of the Free and Accepted Masons, known by the name of the Lodge of Harmony. It is looked upon to be the most complete and best adapted for that purpose of any of the kind ever built in the North of England."

The Brethren of St. John's Lodge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were present for this occasion.

6th January, 1776—*Newcastle Journal*

"We hear from Sunderland that on the 27th ult. being St. John the Evangelist, the Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, belonging to the Golden Lion Lodge in that town, and the Brethren of the Lodge of Harmony held in Monkwearmouth Shore, assembled together in a new and elegant room lately erected for the use of the Brethren of the Lodge of Harmony in order to hold their annual feast jointly, where they were favoured with the company of many Brethren from the neighbouring Lodges, particularly from St. John's, Newcastle, and St. Bede's, South Shields. A sermon was preached in Monkwearmouth Church on the occasion by the Rev. Bro. Lawson, a member of the Benevolent Lodge, held in Middleham in Yorkshire from Rom. XII part of ver. 10. After which they repaired to the Lodge, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided and many toasts drunk with the discharge of a cannon. The evening was concluded with peace and joy and harmony, which are the distinguishing characteristics of this distinguished Society."

A Bro. James Lawson (no Lodge mentioned) is recorded having attended the Dedication Ceremony of the Masons' Hall (King George's Lodge), Sunderland, on 16th July, 1778.

1776

The Lodge visits Sunderland Brethren.

From an early date the Lodge visited the Phoenix Lodge No. 94 (formerly King George's Lodge) and Sea Captains' Lodge (now Palatine Lodge No. 97), and the Lodge of Harmony No. 475.

It is traditional that the Lodge was present at the Constitution of the Phoenix Lodge No. 94 in 1755. Two years later St. John's was constituted, prior to which both Lodges appeared to have had some relation as unattached Lodges of St. John's Masons.

The first recorded visit to Sunderland was on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1764, on the occasion of the Dedication of St. John's Chapel, when twenty-eight Brethren made the journey. On the 17th July, 1778, the Brethren were in strength at the Dedication of the Masons' Hall in Vine Street, Sunderland. As the proceedings commenced at 9 a.m. and ended at 10 p.m., the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Brethren must have had a long day. In those days the journey had to be made by coach and usually occupied three hours each way.

On the 5th April, 1785, the Lodge was represented by sixteen Brethren on the occasion of the Dedication of the Phoenix Hall.

The Dedication of the elegant Hall of the Lodge of Harmony No. 475 at Monkwearmouth on 27th December, 1775, was yet another event to draw the interest of the members of St. John's Lodge. Records in both the Phoenix and Palatine Lodges show that the members of St. John's were unofficial visitors on many occasions, and that several of the members sought membership in the higher degrees practised in the Sunderland Lodges.

Minutes of the Lodges at Swalwell, Durham City and South Shields show that St. John's members were present on the occasion of the Festivals of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

South Shields, 19th March, 1780

This day the Rt. Worshipful Francis Peacock, Master of St. John's Lodge, Newcastle, No. 384, constituted the Brethren into a Regular Lodge to be called St. Hild's No. 521.

Also present from St. John's were:—

Samuel Wilson
Ralph Brown
William Anderson

St. John's visited St. Hild's again on 17th April, 1781.

16th October, 1777—Dedication of St. John's Hall.

The Hall was built by subscription and dedicated on 16th October, 1777. It contained an excellent Organ and two paintings by Bell, one representing St. John the Baptist, and the other Bro. Francis Peacock, as Master of the Lodge. In front of the building was a Greek inscription signifying "The darkness comprehendeth it not".

At its dedication an excellent band and the best vocal performers from Durham Cathedral assisted.

A pathetic exhortation was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Huntley, and an eloquent oration displaying the antiquities, progress and excellence of the Order by the Rev. Dr. Scott, of Simonburn. The Festival was held in the New Assembly Rooms, when nearly 400 of the Brethren dined together at three tables.

In 1935, Bro. Ralph Vincent, of Sunderland, had in his possession one of the original copies of the above Oration, a quarto volume printed by Bro. T. Angus, and sold at 1s. each by Bro. E. Humble, Pope's Head, Foot of the Side, 1777.

From *Richardson's T.B.*, vol. iii, 144, 10th December, 1814

"Died at his home in Somerset Street, Portman Square, London, in the 81st year of his age, the Rev. Dr. Scott, Rector of Simonburn in Northumberland. This very popular divine was a native of Leeds. He published ten Occasional Sermons, also three Leatonian Prize poems, etc., which exalt him high as a poet. As a public speaker he had scarce an equal, and his compositions were of the most elegant kind."

1787—From the *Monthly Chronicle* of January, 1891, p. 20, the Hall of St. John's Lodge, Friar Street

The article states that Katterfelto, the Philosopher, &c., performed his wonders there in 1787. On the 29th May he gave his first discourse, for which purpose he called the Lodge room "The Temple of Wisdom". In 1798 he visited Sunderland, where he entertained Ladies and Gentlemen and Soldiers of the Garrison. According to local records, the itinerant Philosopher gave readings and recitations in Freemasons' Hall, London.

Portrait of Francis Peacock, Master—1777

An oil portrait, with several documents formerly belonging to the Lodge, was in possession of a family in Bridgwater, Somerset, 1953. During 1949, 1951 and 1952, the writer was in touch with Bro. Bruce Oliver, who knew the relative of the late Mrs. Seymour Bell, and into whose possession the properties were vested. It appears that Mrs. Seymour Bell, after the death of her husband, Bro. Seymour Bell, P.P.G.M., Northumberland, left Newcastle-on-Tyne to reside in Somerset, and that she was embittered about an offer for the Records. How Bro. Bell got them is not known. It is thought that he was a descendant of the Bells of Newcastle, many of whom were connected with Masonry, especially John Bell, of the Athol Lodge No. 26 (Newcastle 24), and of the Royal Kent Encampment.

The two portraits, *i.e.*, Francis Peacock, Master, and that of St. John the Baptist, are said to have been by Bell (*i.e.*, William Bell).

THE CLOSING YEARS

The last years of St. John's Lodge are uncertain. The latest record available is entered in the books of the Phoenix Lodge No. 94 at Sunderland, which indicates that the properties and the Hall of the Lodge were for Sale. Notwithstanding this entry, it is noted that on the 5th April, 1785, a few members of St. John's Lodge were present on the occasion of the Dedication of the Freemasons' Hall at Sunderland. It may be that the Lodge was struggling to keep intact soon after Bro. Blackett had foreclosed on his mortgage. The final erasure of the Lodge in 1788 proves that the end must have been in sight for some time. The date of the actual Sale is unknown, but the purchase of a complete suite of Lodge Furniture in December,

1784, strongly suggests that the Portraits of the Master, Bro. Francis Peacock, and of St. John the Evangelist were purchased by Bro. John Bell, the Land Surveyor and Antiquary, about the same time. Recently the portrait of Bro. Francis Peacock has been returned to Newcastle-upon-Tyne through the generosity of Bro. Sandford, of Torquay.

1788

The Lodge was erased, but had ceased to function about 1782.
Strachan (*Northumberland Masonry*)

"In a short time extravagance and the introduction of politics ruined the Lodge, and Alderman Blackett, who had a mortgage on the Hall, sold it and the property of the Lodge for £320."

1790

The Hall was again sold in 1790 to the Dispensary.

From *Richardson's Table Book*, vol. ii, 253

The Dispensary at Newcastle was first opened in Pilgrim Street; as funds accumulated the governors were enabled to make a purchase of the Free Masons' Lodge (St. John's) in Low Friar Street, to which it was removed in 1790.

LODGE No. 120A ("ANCIENTS")

From *G. W. Bain's Portfolio*, 1890

1763

From a Cash Book beginning the 5th April, 1763 (John Fife, Treasurer), commencing with a balance of cash in hand, shows that the Lodge to which it relates had previously existed, and that it was deemed advisable this year to obtain a Warrant from a Grand Lodge. On the 19th September of the same year the Lodge appears to have obtained a Warrant (No. 120) from the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" and issued by Lord Kelly, Grand Master.

Sykes Local Records state: "That on the 1st November, 1763, a Lodge of Freemasons was constituted at the house of Mr. John Fife, Publican, in the Castle Garth, in due form, under the sanction of the Hon. Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kelly, Lord Baron of Pittenween, Grand Master of 'Ancient' Masons in Great Britain, as the following shows:—

"I do hereby certify that John Fell, John Hall, John Fife, Robert Green, Lewis Gillet, John Moleson, James Killock, Daniel Harris, Alexander James, Robert Clark, John Young, and James Ferguson, are all regularly registered in the Grand Lodge Books No. 120. Given under my hand and the Seal of the Grand Lodge in London, the 7th Day of October, in the Year of our Lord, 1763 and in the year of Masonry 5763.

L Dermott, G. Sec.

To whom it may concern.

(Seal)."

1764

Nearly a year later, 24th June, 1764, it is learned from the *Newcastle Courant* of the 30th June, 1764:—

"Lodge No. 120, fraternised with St. John's Lodge, both Lodges assembled at their respective Lodge rooms when Bro. Green was Installed Master of Lodge No. 120 and Bro. Huntley, Master of St. John's, after which both Lodges went in procession to St. John's Church, in their regalia, and an excellent Sermon was preached by Bro. the Rev. Thomas Barwise, from Psalm No. 133."

(Bro. Robert Green was a Clerk in Holy Orders and frequently called upon by the Lodges in Durham County to preach their Annual Sermons.)

1764

On the 11th December of this year (the following item was included in the late Bro. Geo. Bain's *Portfolio*):—

"Bro. Fife — Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Please deliver to Bearer £2.14.0 for the use of the Shields Lodge. By Order of
Your Brother. Robert Green."

1764

Also from the *Bain Portfolio* (1890) (see Strachan's Notes):—

"Lodge No. 120A was actively engaged this year in founding a Lodge at North Shields which received Warrant No. 131 from the Grand Lodge of the 'Ancients',

which Warrant, after lying dormant for many years, was revived in 1805 as the Atholl Lodge, No 131, Newcastle-upon-Tyne."

The next heard of No. 120 is that no returns had been made to the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients", since the Lodge was constituted in 1763, and that the Warrant had been returned to Grand Lodge.

The same Brethren of the Lodge made an application to the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") for a Warrant to hold a Lodge, and on the 21st November, 1766, were granted Warrant No. 378, the Lodge being constituted on the 9th June, 1767, receiving the name of St. Nicholas. The Warrant No. 120, "Ancients", remained in abeyance until the 20th October, 1804, when it was re-issued to Lodge No. 309B (1803) held in the 2nd Royal Lancashire Militia, then in the Garrison of Colchester.

LODGE No. 120B ("ANCIENTS"), FORMERLY LODGE 309B
KNIGHTS OF MALTA
2nd ROYAL LANCASHIRE MILITIA

Whilst the Regiment was stationed on the Colchester Garrison (Lexden Heath) the Masonic Lodge was granted a new Warrant of a lower number (No. 120) for services rendered in the cause of the "Ancients". This Warrant was formerly held by a Lodge in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1763) and went into abeyance late in 1764. On the day the Warrant No. 120 was installed, the Lodge received the name "The Knight of Malta Lodge" No. 120 (20th October, 1804). On the same day the Brethren transferred their old Warrant No. 309B to a new Lodge which they constituted in the Westminster Militia. This Lodge eventually became a civilian Lodge, the Warrant later being transferred to Ipswich, where it functions today as St. Luke's Lodge No. 225.

Before leaving the Colchester area, the Lodge installed Warrant No. 249B at Woodbridge in a new Lodge to be known as Prince Edwin's Lodge, comprised of civilians, made Masons in No. 309B/120 (erased 1828).

On the 4th July, 1805, the Royal Lancashire Militia set out from Colchester for the garrison town of Sunderland, reaching its destination nineteen days later. The Regimental log shows that arduous conditions were experienced en route, there being 896 officers and rank and file with but two waggons for supplies and casualties. Just prior to reaching Sunderland the Regiment halted at Durham to receive its new Colours. This was the second time the Lancashires had been stationed at Sunderland, the first being in 1797 as the 1st Lancashire Militia, when it marched direct from Liverpool upon its establishment under Lord Stanley. Just prior to the Peace of Amiens (1803) the Lancashires were made up into the 1st and 2nd Battalions. It is the latter with which we are concerned. After peace was declared the Regiment returned to its Depot at Liverpool and was demobilised, only to be re-mobilised after the short period of the Peace of Amiens. After settling down in the Garrison at Sunderland, the Regiment was given a "Duty tour" which included Tynemouth Castle and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Following its usual practice, the Lodge initiated many civilians at all three centres. The Brethren at Sunderland and Newcastle-upon-Tyne soon became sufficiently numerous to form Lodges of their own. In August, 1805, two petitions were made for new Lodges, and both were granted. Warrant No. 131B was secured for the Newcastle Brethren, and Warrant No. 94B for the Sunderland Brethren. The Lodge at Newcastle-upon-Tyne was constituted 25th October, 1805, under Warrant No. 131B, formerly held by a Lodge at North Shields (1764), and to be called the Atholl Lodge. The Sunderland Brethren received Warrant No. 94B, formerly held by a Lodge in the 51st Regiment of Foot (1761), and to be known as St. John's Lodge No. 94. Whilst stationed at Sunderland the Knight of Malta Lodge No. 120 kept the two Festivals of St. John and did a fair amount of visiting.

On the 27th December, 1805, the Lodge held the Festival of St. John at the Union Tavern in the Church Street. After the Lodge was opened at 9 a.m., the Brethren, preceded by the Regimental Band, proceeded two and two up the High Street to Bishopswearmouth Church, just short of a mile from the Lodge room, where Bro. the Rev. Birkett Dawson, the Lodge Chaplain, preached a sermon. Accompanying the Lodge were the Brethren of the Atholl Lodge 131, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. On returning to their Lodge room the Brethren ordered that the sermon should be printed, a copy of which has been preserved in the Public Library at Sunderland. The following week, 4th January, 1806, St. John's Lodge No. 94/80 was constituted by the Knight of Malta Lodge, the visiting Lodge being No. 131, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Frequent visits were paid to the Atholl Lodge. Both Atholl Lodge and St. John's Lodge made fraternal visits to the Knight of Malta Lodge, the most spectacular event being an occasion in July, 1807, when the Atholl Lodge Brethren made the journey down the River Tyne (12 miles) by boats. St. John's Brethren proceeded by road to South Shields, where they were met by the Knight of Malta Lodge and Atholl Lodge, who were awaiting their arrival in the Market Place. Having formed into procession, the Brethren, headed by the Regimental Band, proceeded to St. Hilda's

Church to hear a sermon preached by the Lodge Chaplain. After the Church Service the procession moved towards the River Tyne, where they were ferried across by a flotilla of men-of-war's men to the Low Lights at North Shields. Here the three Lodges re-formed in procession and, headed by the Regimental Band, proceeded to Mrs. Ramshaw's at the Rose and Crown Inn, North Shields, the headquarters of the Knight of Malta Lodge, where the Brethren of the three Lodges were right royally entertained. The day was spent in the greatest harmony. In the evening the Atholl Lodge members returned by water to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The members of St. John's Lodge were rowed over the Tyne by Naval ratings to South Shields, where conveyances were waiting to transport them to Sunderland.

In November, 1807, the Regiment was ordered to proceed to Liverpool for refitting and reorganisation. From Liverpool it was ordered to join the Garrison at Hull, where a goodly number of civilians joined the Lodge. In conjunction with a Lodge held in the Cumberland Militia, a new Lodge was formed and granted a Warrant, *i.e.*, "The Ancient Templars", formerly held by a Liverpool Lodge (17th March, 1809), and renamed Humber Lodge on 2nd July, 1810, now No. 57 on the Register of Grand Lodge. From Hull the Regiment proceeded to Plymouth for embarkation to Ireland, where it was to take its place in the Garrison of Mullingar. Shortly afterwards the Peace of 1815 was heralded, and in consequence the disbandment of the Militia. From military records it is learned that the Regiment returned to Liverpool for demobilisation. After that no more has been learned about the Lodge's activities. Grand Lodge records show that it was erased from the Register in 1822.

Two points of special interest arise at this late date:—

- (1) It may be assumed that the Lodge properties, *i.e.*, Jewels, Working Tools, Minute and Cash Books, etc., were taken back to Liverpool by the Lodge, and, if so, one may enquire if they have been preserved, and by whom!
- (2) The second point is the name of the Lodge, *i.e.*, "Knight of Malta", is a name suggestive of extra Craft degrees. This point should not be lightly dismissed, because it is known at Sunderland that the Lodge worked an "Arch and Temple" series of degrees up to N.P.U.

In recent years the writer copied a Certificate issued by the Knight of Malta Lodge, under Seal, that Sir Kt. Thomas Wilby had received the degrees of the Temple and of Malta, &c., &c. Bro. Thomas Wilby was R.S.M. in the 2nd Royal Lancashire Militia, and his Certificate is dated 12th August, 1807, at Sunderland. Wilby was also one of the Constituting officers of the Atholl Lodge No. 131 and of St. John's Lodge No. 94.

To add to the interest in high Degrees, one must also take into account that the Regimental Lodge original members hailed from Liverpool, and that in 1809 they were interested in reviving an old Liverpool Warrant, *i.e.*, "The Ancient Templars", which in itself is certainly suggestive of much beyond Craft Masonry. It may be possible that some trace of this Lodge, even the Minute Books, may still be in possession of some family in Liverpool, and if such were the case there is no doubt that a comprehensive story of one of the most aggressive Lodges in Freemasonry could be revealed.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Waples on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the acting S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. G. Y. Johnson, L. E. L. Jones and F. R. Radice.

The W.M. said:—

I have much pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Waples, not only for his interesting paper, but because—despite advancing years and poor health—he has come all the way from Sunderland to read it to us himself.

It seems to me that the most interesting aspect of the notes that he has collected is the picture which they give us of the strong and rapid development of non-operative Masonry among the provincial gentry during the 1720's and 1730's. The first quotation, dated 1730, speaks of a Masonic "command performance", in Newcastle of all places, and "never such an appearance of ladies and gentlemen were ever seen together in this place". The occasion seems to have been a huge social success, and we may infer that a great number of gentlemen-masons from that locality had helped to make it so.

There must have been a close link between Freemasonry and the Theatre at that time. As early as 1723, a Drury Lane comedy, "Love in a Forest", was printed with a dedication to "The Worshipful Society of Freemasons", and one performance of the play at least was advertised as being "For the Benefit of the Author, a Free-Mason". The first recorded meeting

of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in June, 1725, ended with a visit by the Grand Master and Brethren, in their Aprons, to an unnamed play, and at the end of the performance Bro. Thomas Griffiths, the leading actor and the then Grand Secretary, sang the Enter'd 'Prentice's Song, with Brethren joining in the chorus.

It is not certain whether any of these were "bespeak" performances, but in December, 1728, and again in 1730, there are records of two productions at Drury Lane which were real "bespeak" performances, with Prologues and Epilogues specially written for them in praise of the Craft, and the Enter'd 'Prentice's and Master's Songs incorporated into the plays!

There are records of several similar performances at the theatres in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Goodman's Fields, at Drury Lane and in Dublin. Altogether they must have been great fun, and there can be little doubt that the performances, with their Press notices before and afterwards, must have played some useful part in advertising the Craft during a period when the whole nature of the society was undergoing a major change.¹

Next, Bro. Waples goes on to show evidence that there were two Lodges in Newcastle at that time, and I would like to suggest, for the sake of our *Transactions*, that his quotations on this point should be amplified, because as they stand they are inadequate to justify his conclusions.

One gathers, from the complete absence of any reference to Lodge minutes, that no minutes of these early Lodges have survived. It is a pity that a great Masonic centre like Newcastle, now boasting some 80 flourishing Lodges, can count only three or four which are more than 100 years old, and none at all that go back to those early years in the 1730's when Freemasonry was beginning to spread so widely.

In the absence of official records, such patient work as Bro. Waples has done, in collecting these little scraps of evidence from newspapers and local records, becomes all the more valuable, and before I throw the paper open for general discussion, I shall ask our Bro. S.W. to second a sincere vote of thanks.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

Bro. Waples' paper is very interesting to me, particularly the last section, which deals with the Lancashire Militia, and his references to the Lodge Chaplain, for I believe I can add something of general interest.

First, may I deal with the Royal Lancashire Militia. During the Napoleonic Wars many Militia Regiments were raised in the Provinces, their functions being to act as reserves for the Line Regiments and, above all, to perform garrison duties in support of the Civil Power. Bro. Waples seems to imply that there were only two in Lancashire, but the truth is that there were actually seven, each being attached to a different Regular Regiment, and at least one seeing service abroad. They were:—

- The 1st, which now constitutes the 3rd and 4th King's Own (Royal Lancashire Regiment).
- The 2nd, which is now the 3rd and 4th King's (Liverpool Regiment).
- The 3rd, attached to what is now the Loyal Regiment.
- The 4th, " The South Lancashire Regiment.
- The 5th, " The East Lancashire Regiment.
- The 6th, " The Manchester Regiment.
- The 7th, which is now the 3rd Battalion, Lancashire Fusiliers.

All these, therefore, must be considered as Territorial Regiments coming from different parts of the County.

Incidentally, at least one of the Regular Regiments had a Lodge in its ranks, for the Loyal North Lancashire was originally the 45th Foot, which occupied the position of honour in the centre of General Wolfe's famous battle line at Quebec in 1769, then also being known as "Lascelles", from the fact that General P. Lascelles was the Commanding Officer from 1743 to 1772. This Regiment had an Irish Warrant, and was the first of the six Lodges which participated in the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec in November, 1759, when an Officer of the Regiment was proclaimed the first Grand Master. A mural in the Montreal Masonic Temple (A.Q.C., lxviii, p. 17) shows that the Lodge was numbered 192 I.C.

The 2nd Royal Lancashire Militia, which is mentioned by Bro. Waples, was attached to the 8th/63rd Regiments of Foot in 1797, which are now included in the King's Liverpools. Here is probably the reason for the Militia having an Atholl Lodge in the Regiment, particularly while it was on garrison duty in Colchester and the North-East. In 1800 there were seven "Antients" Lodges in Liverpool, and, as the Regiment was recruited there, what more certain than that there were many "Antient" Masons among them. Lane's List of Lodges shows that they got a

¹ Cf. Knoop, *Masonic Pamphlets*, pp. 17-21.

surrendered warrant in 1803 (No. 309), and they exchanged this for No. 120 in 1804. As they were disbanded in 1814, after duty at Colchester, Sunderland, Tynemouth, Hull and Plymouth, and no returns were made after 1814, they were erased in 1822, probably having gone back to their Mother Lodges. The Lodge's influence with the "Antients'" Grand Lodge can be seen by the transfer from Liverpool of the Humber Lodge, No. 57, warrant in 1809.

The second matter of interest is Bro. Waples' reference to the Lodge Chaplain, the Rev. Birkett Dawson, who preached sermons in 1805 and 1807. This must have been the same Rev. Birkett Dawson who, on 15th September, 1829, was "Unsanely Declared to be a Subscribing Member" of the Anchor & Hope Lodge, now No. 37, Bolton, a term which indicates that he became a Joining Member. He is then described as "age 48, Clergyman", and he became Master on 26th June, 1834. This Bro. Birkett was Incumbent of Bradshaw, a parish on the outskirts of Bolton which has a Church without a steeple and a steeple without a Church—the steeple being an old one in the grounds of the later church. Bro. the Rev. Birkett Dawson served the Province of East Lancashire as Provincial Grand Chaplain from 1829 to 1846.

It would probably not be amiss to relate here what is probably the only story of Masonic Baptism in this country; it is taken from the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* for 1836, pp. 195-6, and reads as follows:—

On the 6th of March, 1836, was baptised at Bradshaw Chapel, by the Rev. Birkett Dawson, B.D., Provincial Grand Chaplain for the Eastern Division of Lancashire, and P.M. of the Anchor & Hope Lodge, No. 44, Bolton-le-Moors, Nehemiah Blunt, sixth son of Matthew Blunt, member of the aforesaid Lodge.

The sponsors were Brother David Barber, Provincial Grand I.G., and Secretary of the above Lodge, Brother Matthew Blunt, and Mrs. Mary Thorp, consort of Brother William Thorp, of the Legs of Man Inn, at which the above Lodge is held.

The child was invested with a handsome Masonic apron, made for the occasion, together with other valuable emblems of the Royal Order, the whole of which were presented to the young Nehemiah by the godfather and godmother, as a memento of the sacred and solemn rite, the ceremonial performance of which, from the peculiar circumstances attending it, was every impressive.

In facilitating the young Nehemiah, and also his brother Ezra, who is about two years his senior, upon being thus early brought to the notice of the Masonic public, we beg to express a fervent hope, that they may live to reward their parents and friends, by affectionate and virtuous conduct, such as becomes all men, but is especially to be expected from the sons of the Royal Order, whose duty it is to exercise the noblest affections of the heart; but when, at a future date, they may peruse this memorial, may some kindred spirit teach them why they were called Ezra and Nehemiah.

Matthew Blunt, the father of these two sons, was an outstanding member of the Chapter; indeed, he travelled to London in 1835 to obtain from Grand Chapter a copy of the Royal Arch ritual, then recently promulgated, which is still used in Concord Chapter, No. 37.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

In the first place I would like to congratulate Bro. Waples on his paper, which I have read with much interest. It is a pleasure to greet him in the Lodge this afternoon, as for some time his health has not permitted him to travel far from home.

The first part of Bro. Waples' paper consists of a list of the various known Masonic references to the early Newcastle Lodges. Some of these references are taken from *The Newcastle Courant*, first published in 1711 and only ceasing publication in 1902.

Can Bro. Waples tell us where early copies of this newspaper can be seen? As far as I know, there is none in the Newcastle Public Library, but it is only fair to say that my search was made in the War period.

Towards the end of the paper, Bro. Waples gives some further information about the formation of the Humber Lodge, now No. 57.

Some of the Brethren at Hull, wishing to form a new Lodge, purchased the Warrant of a defunct Liverpool Lodge No. 53. This Liverpool Lodge was only known by number and possessed no name. The Warrant had been withdrawn for unmasonic conduct.

The Hull Brethren chose "Ancient Knight Templars Lodge" as the name of the new Lodge for no apparent reason, but a year later, in 1810 (and not 1820), the name was changed to Humber Lodge.

Bro. L. E. L. JONES writes:—

As Librarian to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland, I am very interested in Bro. William Waples' paper. As a second part of this paper is to follow, I will confine my

comments to the Lodge which later became St. John's Lodge, No. 225/184, etc.

Among the books of the Province is one labelled *Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland Registry, 1814*. The first few pages of this book comprise a number of newspaper quotations carefully copied by Bro. John Bell, the local antiquary, and for many years P.G. Registrar. All these quotations are from the *Newcastle Courant*, and as today it is very difficult to find a complete run of this, the first successful Newcastle newspaper, Bell's copies are of importance. The first five extracts give similar information to that quoted by Bro. Waples. The next three are as follows:—

Newcastle Courant, 4th January, 1735.

"On Friday the 27th December, the Anniversary Meeting of the Free and Accepted Masons, was held at Mr. Baxters on the Key, from whence they walked in procession in the Afternoon to the Chapel at the Bridge end, where a Sermon was preached by the Revd. Robert Henderson A.M. Vicar of Felton, in the evening they had an Elegant Entertainment, and nominated Edward Collingwood, Master, Mr. Thoresby, Deputy Master, Mic. Dawson and Is. Thompson Wardens."

Newcastle Courant, 31st May, 1735.

"A Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons will be held on Wednesday the 4th of June at 7 o'clock in the Evening, at Mr. Richard Baxters, of the Key, by order of Edward Collingwood, Master, Michael Dawson and Isaac Thompson, Wardens."

Newcastle Courant, 2nd August, 1740.

"On Thursday the 7th Instant a Lodge of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, will be held at Mr. Baxters, King's Head on the Key, to meet at 6 o'clock, by order of Hilton Lawson, Master, Jos. Smith and John Rose, Wardens."

Having regard to the extract from the *St. James' Evening Post* of the 28th December, 1734, the first of these new quotations is startling. Did the Chapel on the Bridge End accommodate two Lodges and two preachers on the same afternoon? I think not. There are two possible explanations. As the Mail Coach took rather more than four days to reach London from Newcastle, the information for inclusion in the London paper must have been dispatched before the event took place, so we may ask: Did last-minute alterations take place? I would agree that one of the persons named might have been changed at the last minute, but surely not all four or five. What has probably happened is that in one of the quotations there is an error in the year, and I incline to the view that Bro. Waples' date is wrong. I believe he is quoting from Strachan's *Northumbrian Masonry*, and I have found other, in some cases more serious, errors in this book.

If this explanation can be proved by checking from originals (the London paper may be the easier to locate), and if it is conceded that Thursby and Thoresby are variations in spelling the one surname, then the conclusion must be that all these meetings, where the names of the officers are given, are of one Lodge.

As to the two reports in 1730, I submit that the first, when they met at Mr. Pratts, was simply a case of convenience; they were going to the Theatre at the Moot Hall, in Castle Yard, and they would not ask the ladies, dressed in all their finery, to toil up the steep bank from the Quayside, especially in the year 1730. The second meeting was their normal Lodge meeting—I have seen the original announcement in the *Courant*, and they held this in their usual haunt, an Inn on the Quay. Francis Armorer was a Coal Fitter, *e.g.*, exporter.

Biographical notes of Matthew White, Adam Askew, Edward Collingwood, Walter Blackett, Matthew Ridley and Isaac Thompson can be obtained from *Men of Mark twixt Tyne and Tweed*, R. Welford; 1895, three vols.

Finally, without comment, I would call attention to the following further entries by John Bell. They immediately follow a copy of the report from the *Courant* of the 30th June, 1764, and the source of the information is not given.

"1764"

"By desire of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free Masons at the New Theatre, in Parkers Yard, Bigg Market was enacted 'Othello' and the 'Intriguing Footmen'—with Masonic Eulogiums, etc. 25th August 1764."

"1765"

"January 2nd a Lodge of Freemasons was constituted at N^o. Shields by Brother Green, deputed from Newcastle."

"1765"

"June. The Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons assembled at their respective Lodges in Newcastle (i.e. at Bro Wrights Sign of the Cock, and Bro Fifes Sign of the Black Boy) both near to the head of the Side,

where Brothers Peacock and Callender the respective Masters were installed with the usual Solemnity. Both Bodies then joined from Brother Wright's in Masonic procession to Saint Andrews Church, where a Sermon was preached by the Reverend Brother Barwise of Dalton."

" 1765 "

" June. The Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Freemasons met at their respective Lodges and went to see 'Love in a Village' and the 'Mayor of Garret' — which performance they patronized for the benefit of Brother Cram. — they also on the 30th June 1766 patronized Brother Cram's Benefit by desiring the Masque of 'Comus' and the afterpiece of 'The Commissary on Horseback' to be performed. — in the following year they bespoke 'The English Merchant' and 'Midas' also for the benefit of Brother Cram."

" 1766 "

" Tuesday the 24th June, the Brethren of the St. John's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons celebrated the Anniversary of St. John the Baptist at their Lodge Room at Brother Wrights sign of the Cock, head of the Side, where they dined and Drank many usual and Loyal Toasts. — as also did the Brethren of the St. Nicholas Lodge meeting at Brother Fife's."

" On the 23rd May 1767 the Masonic Body meeting at Bro. Wright's sign of the Cock, subscribed five guineas per annm. to the Infirmary."

" 1767 "

" The Masonic Brethren who had met in a Lodge held at Brother Fife's at the Black Gate, Castle Garth, on the 21st of November 1766, applied for and obtained a New Warrant of Constitution from the Right Honourable Lord Blayney, Grand Master of England which on the 9th June 1767 was constituted under the name of the Saint Nicholas Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, by Brother Potter, Master of the Sion Lodge in North Shields, who installed Brother Ansell, the Master, and his Officers with the usual ceremonies. — The Lodge was shortly after removed to Brother Edward Wilson's in the Flesh Market."

Bro. FULKE RADICE writes:—

I also wish to thank Bro. Waples for his valuable compilation and his shrewd comments. One point interests me specially: the quotation from the *Newcastle Journal* No. 243 of the 3rd December, 1743. It says that Freemasons of the Scots Order of Masonry observed St. Andrew's Day. Bro. Waples gives alternatives as to what this Lodge may have been, or, perhaps more precisely, what ceremonies it worked. He seems to exclude the Royal Order of Scotland, and in this he is probably right—out here in Switzerland I cannot find out if that Order already existed at that date. On the other hand, if the Lodge worked the ceremony of Scots Master the point is interesting, as this degree became on the Continent a necessary preliminary to the degrees of the Strict Observance, now the *Rite Rectifié Ecossais*, just as the Royal Arch is now the necessary preliminary to the Knights Templar's degree. If one could have some more definite information as to the nature of the ceremony worked at Durham in 1743, one might draw some interesting conclusions about the connection between Scotland and so-called Continental Scots Masonry.

Bro. WILLIAM WAPLES writes in reply:—

Our Worshipful Master, Bro. H. Carr, suggests that, in his opinion, there is not sufficient supporting evidence to convince one that there were two Lodges in Newcastle-upon-Tyne c. 1730. This is a controversial matter even in Newcastle, but I do not think that the inclusion in the paper of additional extracts would have been more helpful. Bro. Leslie Jones, in his comments, has given three examples which I omitted. Many others were available, but, owing to a necessary limitation in the length of the paper, drastic cuts had to be made. Whatever view one may hold, it is necessary to bear in mind the first entries shown for 1730:—

29th May, 1730, at Bro. Bartholomew Pratts in the Fleshmarket.

24th June, 1730, at the house of James Hall, Keyside.

The usual argument about using both houses for convenience appears to be begging the question. It is hoped that when Part II of the Paper is completed, an analysis of the period 1730-65 will have been made.

The loss of Minute and Cash Books, as well as a considerable quantity of documents, is appalling, the only book of the eighteenth century being a Minute Book of St. Nicholas Lodge, 1791-1814. Forty years of personal contact with the story of Masonry in and around Newcastle-upon-Tyne has shown, too clearly, how the archives have suffered at the hands of collectors. Much has also been lost inadvertently because Secretaries and others responsible for the care of Lodge properties passed away, and much of which they were the guardians was dispersed. I can write from experience. One was the case of three ancient Minute Books retrieved as a bonfire was to begin; the other of a collector's son (a non-Mason) who deliberately burnt a heap of valuable Masonic and other documents before he could be prevented. Now that most Lodges have moved from the Inns and Taverns, the necessity for storing in private homes has gone.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Masons have had two bitter disappointments. The first was the dispersal of G. W. Bains' amazing collection, which was sold to English and foreign buyers; the second was the passing of a Newcastle-upon-Tyne Brother whose valuable collection of local documents has become scattered. Fortunately, through the generosity of a West Country Mason, part has been recovered, and is now in London. One of the reasons which prompted the compilation of this paper was to arouse interest so that similar circumstances cannot recur.

Any consideration of Masonry in Newcastle-upon-Tyne should include mention of the several unattached Lodges of St. John's Masons in Durham County, *viz.*, at Swalwell, eight miles away, at Sunderland and Durham City, each 12 miles south of the town, and at Darlington, 32 miles due south. At Swalwell there was a Lodge with Minutes from 1725. At Darlington the Lodge is recorded in 1724-5 in the *Leeds Mercury*. At Sunderland in 1734 there is an announcement (*Newcastle Courant*) of a Lodge meeting at 12 noon. The antiquity of the Lodge at Durham is not known; the oldest Minute Book available was begun in 1738, and covered nearly forty years of records. From an early date there was an inter-relationship between the Lodges in both counties, and records in the Durham County Lodges show the Durham influence in the extra Craft degrees.

Bro. Carr's mention of the Theatre and to Plays bespoken by Lodges was common practice here and elsewhere. Many distinguished members of the Profession were members of local Lodges, and made their contributions in verse and song. John Cunningham, of St. Nicholas Lodge (the Northumberland Pastoral poet), wrote a well-known Masonic Ode, *i.e.*, "Let Masonry from pole to pole her sacred laws expand". James Field Stanfield penned the words of two much-printed songs: "When Orient Wisdom" and "When grave business is o'er". James Cawdell wrote a well-known "Irregular Ode", and in the nineteenth century Edward Dean Davis (of the Lodge at Taunton) introduced on the stage of his Theatre at Sunderland the great Sir Henry Irving as a budding professional, and Charles Dickens as an amateur. Just before his day the Kemble family, father and two sons, each contributed odes and verse, and each were supported on opening nights by the local Lodges.

In reply to Bro. G. Y. Johnson *re* the "Ancient Templars' Lodge", the following from Lane's *List of Lodges*, p. 42, shows the source of the quotation:—

No. 57 Humber Lodge	17th April, 1775
(Ancient Knight Templars)	Nos. 53b, 73, 65, 57.
1786.	
Humber Lodge, 1810.	

It would appear that John Lane was quoting from an endorsement. The name A.K. Templars also turned up in research into Northern Templarism pre-1939, but the latter reference was unauthenticated. Thank you, Bro. Johnson, for the correction *re* Humber Lodge, 1810, which is shown in the paper as 1820. I should have known better. As regards the *Newcastle Courant*, I have visited the Newcastle Reference Library and copied the list as follows:—

Newcastle Courant—1711-12, 1723-25, 1729-37, 1739-44, 1745-47, 1749, 1755, 1757-63, 1763-67, 1772-74, 1776-81, 1783-1836, 1836-86 to last day of publication.
Newcastle Journal—1739-40, 1741, 1763-80, 1787, 1838, 1839-40, 1885-1920, end of entries.
Newcastle Gazette—1746-49.
Newcastle Intelligencer—1756-7-8.
Durham Chronicle—1820-1.
Durham County Advertiser—1814-1837.
North Country Journal—1735-7.

Bro. Leslie Jones, in his comments, has added materially to the paper, and I am grateful for his contribution and enlightenment. There is a wealth of material now in hand, and more to follow. From this further evidence an analysis of the period 1730-65 may be possible, and controversy eliminated, or substantially reduced.

Bro. Fulke Radice, in his comments, raised an important query with reference to the Scots Order of Masonry in Durham City, 1743. As the early high grade Masonry of Durham County undoubtedly influenced Newcastle-upon-Tyne Masonry, it may be appropriate to dwell upon its significance to Masons the world over. It has already been stated that there was an inter-relationship between the Lodges in Northumberland and Durham, and there is evidence of mutual membership. Therefore, the Durham City reference to Scots Masonry in 1743 is of paramount importance, particularly when considered in connection with Bro. F. W. Levander's paper on "The Collectanea of the Rev. Daniel Lysons" (*A.Q.C.*, xxix, p. 26). The relevant extracts from the above are:—

(1) November 26th, 1743.

The brethren of the Scotch H. D. M. or Ancient and Honourable Order of K. W. g. are desired to meet the Grand Master and the rest of his Grand Officers at the Sign of the Swan in Great Portland Street near Oxford Market on Wednesday next at three o'clock in the afternoon precisely to celebrate the day.

(2) August 1st, 1750. R. L. F. P. G. M. in S. B.

The brethren of the H.R.D.M. are desired to take notice that the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of the Order are removed from the White Swan in Great Portland Street, near Oxford Market, to Bro. Field's, the Thistle and Crown in Chandos Street near St. Martin's Lane. Note the Grand Lodge meets on the first, and the Grand Chapter on the third (fifth) sic Sunday in each month at six in the evening.

By command of the

P.G.M. N.B.L.T.Y.

Grand Secy.

(3) November 17th, 1753.

On Wednesday next being the third Wednesday of the month will be held the Grand Chapter of the Order of H.R.D.M. at the Crown and Ball in Playhouse Yard, Black-Fryars, where the brethren of that Order are desired to attend.

Yours W. S.

Gd. T.R.S.T.A.

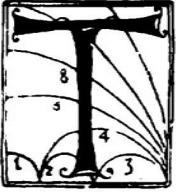
From these extracts one learns that both Durham and London Brethren were celebrating St. Andrew's Day. The use of H.D.M. and P.G.M. have similarities in both bodies. At Swalwell in 1743 (St. Andrew's Day), the H.D.M. Brethren "displayed the Banners of the various Orders". These references, and a recent discovery of the working of the Mark degree (dated Newcastle, 1756) showing a strong Scottish attachment, goes to show beyond doubt the Scottish influence, probably via Northumberland and Durham to London. It only remains for a fortuitous reference or two to come to hand, which may well be the case, for the framing of a reasonable picture of early North-Eastern Masonry.

Bro. Radice's query whether the Durham Lodge in 1743 worked the Scots Master's degree or not cannot be answered unless documentary evidence to that effect comes to hand. The account reads "Scots Order". What is known for certain is that the nearby Swalwell Lodge did work the English Master's degree, the Harodim, Domaskin, etc. It is known that the Harodim was a preliminary to the Arch system at that date. I have long felt that some day, and in the near future, someone will bring to light the key to the adamantine lock, which will open the door to a flood of knowledge on high-grade Masonry. I think that General Hirtzell and the officers of his Swiss Regiment, who were initiated in the Lodge in the City of Durham in 1746 for the purpose of holding a Lodge in the Regiment, may have taken back to Zurich a knowledge of the extra Craft degrees. If this should prove correct, then we may well hold the key to important developments of the Strict Observance Rite, if not the origin.

It was not intended to make this reply so long, but I seriously think that the references, etc., may lead to something practicable, and thereby enrich the history of Freemasonry in this important centre. My sincerest thanks to all for helpful criticisms and contributions. The original M.S. from which the paper was written is available to students, and may be consulted in the Library of Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham.



FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1959



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. H. Carr, L.G.R., W.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as I.P.M.; Norman Rogers, *M.Com.*, P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C., 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.; Arthur Sharp, *M.A.*, P.G.D., S.D.; F. Bernhart, P.A.G.St.B., J.D.; Lt.-Col. E. Ward, *T.D.*, P.M. 5386; I.G.; and F. R. Worts, *M.A.*, P.A.G.D.C., Steward.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. Norman Knight, H. S. Aberg, C. W. Gregory, I. B. H. Evans, A. Parker Smith, K. H. Philips, R. W. Reynolds Davies, C. Madison Roberts, A. J. Beecher Stow, J. B. Howes, W. Patrick, W. E. Carter, R. Walters, E. H. Ball, R. Gold, E. N. Lane, T. W. Marsh, C. Lawson-Reece, Alan R. Jole, R. A. Abell, J. E. Trott, B. Foskett, G. Maxwell, A. G. Sharp, A. F. Mills, T. C. Etchells, A. N. Gutteridge, M. P. Arnold, M. J. Baker, P. R. Rainsford-Hannay, A. F. Christlieb and R. W. S. Smith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. Brough, Lodge 2405; L. R. A. Baker, Lodge 4094; and A. E. Wadman, Lodge 4094.

Letters of apology for absence were recorded from Bros. Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; J. A. Grantham, P.A.G.D.C.; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, P.A.G.D.C., 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); B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; N. B. Spencer, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.G.D., S.W.; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, P.M.

Two Lodges and fifty-one Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS

From the Grand Lodge Library and Museum:—

A copy of the first edition of Matthew's version of the Holy Bible (1549).

Photographs of two pieces of Tapestry (Brussels mid-16th and mid-17th centuries) depicting a Temple-building scene.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS read an interesting paper by Bro. R. J. MEEKREN, entitled *The Age of the Master's Part*, as follows:—

THE AGE OF THE MASTER'S PART

BY BRO. R. J. MEEKREN



MORE than thirty years ago—to be precise, in March, 1925 (A.Q.C., xxxviii)—Bro. Bullamore submitted a paper to the Lodge entitled *The Antiquity of the Third Degree*, which met with a good deal of criticism. While I agree with the method he propounded (p. 82), I think he tried to prove too much. The subject is one upon which a great deal could be said, though in what follows I shall try to keep within the due bounds which circumstances now make desirable. It would, however, be much easier to write more at length. What I shall attempt to prove is not that the Third Degree is ancient, but that its substance has existed from the very beginning of Masonic ritual—whenever that may have been.

How the question now stands among Masonic students I do not know, seeing that it has not been discussed in recent years; but I do know that books are still published or reprinted in which it is asserted, or taken for granted, that the third degree was invented and introduced subsequently to 1717, and that many apprentice students, possibly more in America than in Britain, are definitely misled by these erroneous guides.

The hypothesis that the third degree was invented was quite a natural one when first advanced. Findel had argued, on what appeared to be cogent grounds, that in the operative fraternity the secrets were all communicated at one time. This, I think, still stands, though not, as he thought, communicated to the apprentice. Albert Mackey accepted Findel's conclusions in his *History of Freemasonry* (chapters 33 to 36), and showed that in the First Book of *Constitutions* a degree, called Fellow Craft, was evidently then the superior grade; but that in the second edition the Regulations had been systematically revised in the sense that the highest degree was then that of Master Mason, and that the Fellow Craft had become an intermediate step. R. F. Gould made the same discovery shortly after, and I think independently, but he was not so certain as Mackey had been that it was the Master's grade that had been invented in the interval between 1723 and 1738. In fact, he rather obscurely, as usual, says (Vol. ii, pp. 362 and 365) that the old Master or Fellow Craft was disjoined, and that the old second grade became the third.

However, the hypothesis that the M.M. Degree was invented at that time was accepted by almost everyone else, at least by those who wrote upon the subject, and the question arose as to its origin; for it was felt, very rightly, that it was not at all in keeping with eighteenth century ideas and modes of thought. Search was made in various places, and especially in the Talmuds, for something like the legend of the degree. But the search was fruitless—nothing of the kind was found. This because the seekers were looking for the wrong thing in the wrong place. They were looking for a legend or myth about King Solomon's building activities when it was a ritual that should have been sought, and this much nearer home than Jerusalem.

The Legend of the Master is a ritual myth, a species not distinguished or recognised by the older mythologists, but one which has very distinctive features and is not at all rare. It is not possible to go into this more fully here, but for those to whom the subject is new I may refer to A.Q.C., xiii, p. 131. This is a review of William Simpson's *Jonah Legend* by the eminent mythologist and Masonic student, Count Goblet d'Alviella, who, however, did not accept the hypothesis. A later and more definite statement may be found in Chambers' *Medieval Stage*, vol. i, p. 105, a work that should be readily accessible. Jane Harrison's *Themis*, if available, is informative and suggestive. But Simpson gives an argument in *The Jonah Legend* respecting the relation between ritual and myth, which contains, in brief, the chief arguments for the hypothesis.

ELABORATION OF THE THIRD DEGREE

There is a quite considerable amount of evidence that the rite embodied in the present forms of the third degree was known prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge, and even that the putative hero of the myth as now told was referred to in some places, though not so certainly. But we have a number of dated documents which show different stages of definite evolution or elaboration from the original rite of, let us say, 1700, to the Master's grade that we know today.

Leaving the *Graham MS.* on one side as aberrant, the earliest account is in Prichard. Here we find a bare set of references to the details of the rite, with some incipient explanations, but with nothing in the way of moralisation. The author of the *Secret des Francs-Maçons* in 1744 gives us even less. This author (who may not have known much about it) tells us that the degree of *Maître* is no more than a singular ceremony—"ne consiste que dans une cérémonie assez singulière"—and some pages further on he again describes it, "*Cette dernière Réception n'est que de pure cérémonie*", adding that nothing more is learned in it, with the exception of an additional sign called *Pedestal*. It is also to be noted that the *Compagnon*, the Fellow Craft, is an even more embryonic simulacrum of a degree than that which is to be found in Prichard. I am unable to give references to *Le Secret*, but it was reprinted the following year, with additions, in *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi*, and the above quotations will be found in the first edition of this work on pages 75 and 80. In this latter compilation there is an additional account of the Master's Grade, and in this there is only a description of the rite, with nothing whatever in the way of symbolism or allegory. For those interested who do not read French, there is an excellent translation of the work by Bro. H. Carr, the only English version so far as I know.

In 1760, fifteen years later again, we have *The Three Distinct Knocks*. These catechisms were reproduced two years later in *Jachin and Boaz*, preceded by a mosaic composed of passages taken from *L'Ordre Trahi*. In these two works (*The Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz*) we find a notable addition to the Legend. This is an account of the discovery of certain criminals and their punishment. These criminals are merely spoken of in the two earlier accounts in reference to their crime, and are then entirely dropped and we learn nothing further about them. It would seem that, except for their action in causing the death of the Master, they were of no interest or importance.

At the end of the eighteenth century we have Browne, Finch and the Lodge of Lights' set of catechisms, a transcript of which was made for the Lodge by John Yarker in 1888, but which has apparently been mislaid or lost since then. All these have in the third degree a strong family resemblance, but the last is, not exactly militantly, but freely and almost unconsciously Christian. Browne and Finch are also Christian as compared with later formularies or rituals. In each of them there is a very considerable expansion of moralities in the third Catechism, though not on the same lines as those we have now. Thereafter the rite is diverged into three branches. The first of these, the French, and the European rituals generally, interpreted the M.M. in terms of the mythological theories then greatly in vogue—those of sun worship and the dying and reviving divinity. Those in England, presumably under the influence of the Duke of Sussex and his circle, eliminated almost everything in the way of dramatic action, except the bare minimum required for raising the candidate, though it is to be noted that Browne and Finch show little more. In America the exact opposite occurred, the dramatic element being developed to the utmost possible. Actually, in the European variants the rite remained in this respect, that of dramatic action, very much as it always had been.

Thus, leaving on one side the still later developments at and after 1813, we have four co-ordinates, as it were, on the curve of evolution—an increasing curve—and we can only infer that Prichard and *L'Ordre Trahi* give us something not far from the earlier, pre-1717, ritual. But we must not infer that there was any standard, or that there were not various usages in regard to details. And these variants, many or few, provided the basis of the M.M. degree. I do not think it had been a degree; I do not think it was originally; it was a component part, and the essential part, of the initiation by which "new men" were admitted, or accepted, into the Society or Fellowship of Masons. But in some form it existed.

As I have said in discussing this problem, the terminology generally used is so loose and vague that it is hard—sometimes almost impossible—to know the exact meaning of what is said, if indeed there is exact meaning. The primitive ritual has been termed "simple" and "bare"; if these and like terms are to be taken as meaning that the original rites were not symbolised or moralised and were without the addition of elaborated explanation, I should agree with those who speak of a simple ceremony or bare formality. But I do not think this is often what is meant. In my opinion the original rites were not simple, but rather quite complex, in the sense of exhibiting a number of ritual elements—elements that are to be found in traditional rituals (not Masonic) not only in Europe, but almost everywhere in the world. But though I would like to enlarge upon this, it is, as the members of the Lodge will understand, necessary to refrain.

THE PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT

Returning, then, to Prichard's version of the Legend. It must be premised that his set of catechisms as a whole is obviously a compilation from at least two different sources. The one is distinguished by the abbreviations, Exam. and Resp., while the other by the more usual Q. and A. In the Entered Apprentice Part, out of ninety odd questions and answers, six only have the E. and R. beginning. In the F.C., all are Q. and A. up to the "repeating the letter G.", and from there on all are E. and R. In the M.M., excepting the five that come first and the two next to the last, all are E. and R.

This seems to indicate that two documents at least had been used, from which parts had been selected to compose a three degree system out of a single initiation. It is highly improbable that this was done by Prichard; he merely reported it. It appears to me very likely that in the first place two degrees were compiled, for the F.C. part appears to be largely repetition—as the word and sign, and, less obviously, the reference to the pinnacle of the Temple, and the form of Greeting. When it later appeared desirable to make three steps of the old initiation, material was removed from the E.A. part to give some content to the new F.C. grade. But these developments were made in the Lodges, not by authority, and they argue a considerable lapse of time; in any case, we can safely infer that the sources used for Prichard's three catechisms were in evidence before 1730 and probably a good many years before.

THE VERSION IN PRICHARD

In the legend as given by Prichard there are a number of features to be noted. As a whole, it appears speciously like later versions, but there are several statements quite incompatible with these. Especially so is the insistence on the decency of the interment, and the grave even is described as "handsome". So far as I know, this peculiarity has never been noticed hitherto. What I would now point out, however, is the answer to the question: "How was you pass'd Master?" and the answer: "From the Square to the Compass." The equivalent of this appears in the French work entitled *Le Sceau Rompu* of 1745: "*De l'Equiere au Compas*." Later it is found in the *Recueil Precieux* of 1780, with an extension: "*En passant de l'equerre au compas sur la tombe de notre respectable Maître Adoniram*." The ritual action to which these questions refer is still employed in Europe, and the same action is still retained in the English forms of the ritual, and those generally current in what (in my youth) used to be called the British Empire. And up to the time of the Union of the "Ancients" and "Moderns" the progress was the same, judging by the old designs collected by Dring (*A.Q.C.*, xxix). But about that time a change was made, though never referred to, and the two implements were reversed in position. Why this was done I have no idea. Possibly it was the mere whim of the designers, or possibly it had some significance. But in either case it was an abandonment of a very old tradition. The same formula appears in the Minutes of the old Lodge of Dunblane a few times, in 1720 and 1721, and this has occasionally been commented upon, but, as it would seem, not at all understood. Lyon, *History of Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 77; also *A.Q.C.*, lxvii, p. 97, lxviii, p. 83.)

In the *Wilkinson M.S.* there is another question and answer: "If a Mason be lost, where is he to be found?" This is also embodied in the Emulation Lectures, but curiously (or significantly?) it is in the E.A. Lecture (Sect. 7). This misplacement can only be accounted for by its meaning having been completely lost and forgotten. The question is also contained in *Le Catechisme (L'Ordre Trahi, 1745, p. 166)*. Ragon also includes an equivalent question in his Instructions for the third degree, and the formulary of the Grand Orient had it in 1889 and, I daresay, still retains it. I leave it to the perspicacity of the members of the Lodge to see for themselves the connection between this pair of questions and answers and its significance, and will not enlarge upon it. But I must express my astonishment that our late Bro. Knoop and his collaborators should have been able to say in their notes upon questions 74 and 77 in their publication of the *Wilkinson M.S.* that they "know of no parallel to these" (*Notes*, p. 46), seeing that the first is to be found in the well-known Emulation ritual, and the second not only in the *Sceau Rompu*, 1745 (p. 39), but also in Prichard, which they had themselves reprinted in *Early Masonic Catechisms* three years before. It comes there at the end of the Master's Part.

THE PROPER POINTS

Prichard, towards the end of his account of the Master's Part, has three questions on the raising, in the answers to which the five points of Fellowship are referred to. I suppose that some, at least, of my readers will have wondered at the "Proper Points" mentioned in the three members of the Grand Mystery Group of the old Catechisms, as also the question about the points of Fellowship in the Examination Group. To me it was a puzzle for a good many years; a puzzle, however, to which the hypothesis advanced in my paper on the Grand Lodge gives a complete and simple solution. I refer to the difference in external economic and social relations as between England and Scotland, and the conclusion that while Scotland had as early as the sixteenth century divided the original single initiation into two, the primitive method was continued in England right up to the Grand Lodge era, except perhaps in London. But, aside from this, we can thus carry the essential nucleus of the third degree back to 1723 and, since the discovery of the *Edinburgh Register House M.S.*, back to 1696, and who shall say how much earlier? Thus the ground is completely cut away from under every theory of the invention of the ritual of the Master's degree after 1717.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND

The late Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett discussed the problem on somewhat similar lines to the above in a paper read before the Somerset Masters' Lodge in October, 1921, but, of course, the *Edinburgh Register House M.S.* had not then been brought to light. He also brought in another

point from the Mason's Examination of 1723, which I have left on one side on account of the difficulty in discussing it, though it is important and well worth consideration. But Bro. Tuckett was handicapped by a lack of knowledge of ritual in general, and of folk rituals in particular. I will say again what I have intimated before, that no one, however great his acumen or what his authority may be in other fields of research, is fully equipped to discuss the origins of Masonic ritual who has not a comprehensive knowledge of the facts collected under the heads of anthropology and folk-lore—the facts, not the interpretations put upon them—for I think the writers on these subjects are often not a little handicapped by their ignorance of, and about, the Masonic rituals.

Bro. Tuckett, as nearly as I can judge, appears to have thought that it was a legend, or the Legend, that existed before 1723. I think that probably it did, but he did not appreciate the fact that, excepting cases of conscious imitation, a ritual is never founded upon a legend, but always it is the ritual that gives rise to the legend or myth.

This may, perhaps, be questioned by those not familiar with the subject. It is not to be supposed that the ritual becomes a myth. Ritual contains two elements, an action and a verbal formula. This formula, even in the least developed rituals, generally contains a statement of the action, and often takes a simple narrative form. From this an elaborated account of the myth in a literary form may arise. And if the ritual is one of death or resurrection—simulated death, of course—it may be subject to radical modification. Greek tragedy developed out of a Dionysiac ritual—the Dithyramb. What happened was a rationalisation. The narrative was taken as historical—but while the death was rational enough, resurrection (to the rationalist) is impossible. So the persons in the Greek tragedies died, and in place of their resurrection a theophany—an appearance of some deity was introduced—the well-known “god from the machine”. This mode of rationalisation did not occur only in ancient Greece. But most of such folk rites in Europe have evaded the difficulty by being turned into burlesque amusements, as in the Mummer's Play. But the limits of space prohibit further discussion here of a most interesting subject.

The Masonic Legend, in the form now universal, came into existence after the publication of the first printed version of the Bible. This was the Coverdale Bible, published in 1535. It could not have been before this, as all previous versions, from the Septuagint to Wyclif's version, translated the Hebrew word *Abi* or *Abiv* until Luther in 1532 transliterated it into Latin letters. After the suppression of the Coverdale and Matthews Bibles under Henry VIII and his daughter Mary, all subsequent English versions fell back on the traditional rendering of the Hebrew word, that is, “his father” or “his father's”, or some like equivalent. Coverdale's Bible created a great and very general interest, and I cannot help thinking that the details of King Solomon's Temple, so fully given in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, must have struck the imagination of any Mason who read or heard them read.

Now ritual myths in their undeveloped form are something like fairy tales. They tell a story about a man, or a King or a Prince, who lived somewhere at some time. At the same time they are very prehensile and readily attach themselves to any more or less appropriate personage or period, whether historical or pseudo-historical. The Mason's myth might once have been told of Nimrod, or Noah and his sons, or it might be of Charlemagne or Charles Martel, or even St. Alban. Or it could have been localised at any well-known cathedral or other notable building. For in the ritual myth the locale and the persons named are entirely adventitious. The important thing is the description of the ritual itself and its details. This being so, it could well have been attached to the building of Solomon's Temple not long after 1535—but not before. Nor yet, I think, very long after.

My argument in this paper has been drawn from documents. These, though naturally, considering their nature, open to suspicion, support each other in such a way that the conclusion reached cannot easily be evaded. It is not, however, the only argument. There is another, more massive in character, though much more difficult to present. It is, indeed, the one that had convinced me, in the face of the prevailing doctrine of *post* 1723 invention, of the antiquity of the Masonic ritual, especially that part now embodied in the Third Degree, before I had had any opportunity of becoming acquainted with the evidence which I have here used. But it would take too much space to enter upon it now. It depends on the parallels between the Masonic ritual and a multitude of folk rituals that have been described as having existed, and in some instances still survive in Europe. But, as I have said before, I believe the documentary evidence does prove that the essentials of our rites, in the sense that I defined in my paper on *The Lodge* (A.Q.C., lxi, p. 6), are of an indefinite antiquity.

I have once more to acknowledge the help of Bro. A. J. B. Milborne in preparing this paper. He has read it and raised questions, checked the references, and finally made a fair copy of it for publication, for all of which I owe him a debt of gratitude that I am unable fully to express.

On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Meekren for his paper, and to Bro. Rylands for the excellent manner in which he read it, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the acting S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Bernard Jones, Ivor Grantham, F. Bernhart, E. Ward, J. R. Rylands and F. R. Worts.

The W.M. said:—

In this Lodge it is the Master's privilege to propose a vote of thanks to the Author of the Paper and to open the discussion that follows. In this instance I find myself at a serious disadvantage because Bro. Meekren has stated quite bluntly that "no one is fully equipped to discuss the origins of Masonic Ritual who has not a comprehensive knowledge of the facts collected under the heads of Anthropology and Folk-lore".

I fear that this pronouncement would have barred me from the discussion completely were it not for the fact that Bro. Meekren and I have shared a long correspondence on this subject already, and, although I endorse some of his conclusions very heartily, I am not always able to follow his arguments. (Indeed, it is fair to say that on the subjects of Folk-lore Bro. Meekren has given me up as a total loss.)

The crux of Bro. Meekren's argument lies in his statement that Myth and Legend arise out of Ritual, *i.e.*, that once a series of ritual practices are established, a myth or legend will be evolved to explain those practices, and that although the explanation may be expanded or changed in the course of time, the ritual will remain constant, and the sources of the legend should be sought within the ritual itself.

I would be willing to accept this argument so long as it applied to general principles of folk-lore research, but I cannot accept it in regard to the particular legend with which we are concerned here, that of the Third Degree, and I am very glad to see that at least one eminent mythologist and Masonic student, Count Goblet d'Alviella, was equally loth to accept it.

Bro. Meekren himself indicates that there may be exceptions to this rule (*i.e.*, in cases of conscious imitation), and I have no doubt that there must be many other exceptions, and since I have already stated that I agree largely with his conclusions, I must now show briefly the line of argument which has brought me to those same conclusions by a different route.

1. It must be generally agreed that the earliest kind of admission ceremony within the Mason craft, whether in England or Scotland, was almost certainly a single ceremony, for the "fellow" or qualified craftsman. This single ceremony would have preceded the introduction of the system of apprenticeship, and we might therefore place it somewhere in the twelfth century.
2. English evidence on the rise of the Masonic ceremonies is so scanty that it is almost impossible to say whether or when the two-grade ceremonies were introduced. During the 1500's, however, the existence of a two-grade system in Scotland is a reasonable inference to be drawn from records which exist in the late 1500's of Lodges whose membership was made up of Fellows of Craft and Entered Apprentices.
3. Between 1696 and *c.* 1714 there are at least four documents which portray the Scottish two-grade ceremony:—
 - (a) The *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, *c.* 1696.
 - (b) The *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, *c.* 1700.
 - (c) The *Haughfoot Fragment*, 1702.
 - (d) The *Kevan MS.*, *c.* 1714-1720.

These four texts are closely related, and it is evident that they all describe the same bi-gradal rite, but the *Haughfoot Fragment* only contains a few words belonging to a part of the fellowcraft's ceremony. The similarities and the differences in the texts are sufficient to justify the assumption that they represent ritual practices which were well established throughout the Scottish Craft long before 1696. It is in these documents that we find the earliest evidence as to the actual ritual, *i.e.*, words and actions of the bi-gradal rite.

4. The description of the ceremony for the fellowcraft is briefly as follows: All apprentices are removed out of the company and the Candidate takes the Oath anew. He goes out of the Lodge with the youngest Master, who instructs him in the "postures and signs of fellowship". He returns to the Lodge, makes the Master's sign, and says the "words of entry". Then the "word" is whispered all round the Lodge, starting from the youngest Mason until it reaches the Master. The Candidate puts himself into "the posture" in which he is to receive the word. He gives a greeting to the Master, who then gives him the word and a grip, "which is all that is to be done to make him a perfect mason". In the brief catechism which appears in all the texts of this group¹ there are two or three questions only which relate to the fellowcraft, and one of them shows that the F.P.O.F. were a part of the fellowcraft ceremony, and there seems to be little doubt that the "posture" referred to in the text relates to the F.P.O.F.

¹ Except in the *Haughfoot MS.*

5. It is beyond dispute that this particular passage represents one of the essential elements of the ceremony which ultimately appeared as the theme of the third degree, and I have already given the reasons why I believe that the F.P.O.F. part of the ceremony may date back to the early 1500's.
6. Despite this presumption of great antiquity for the F.P.O.F., as late as 1700, there is still no documentary evidence as to a "legend" belonging to them; yet I am convinced that they could not have taken their place in the ritual without a legend of some sort to support them.
7. It must be remembered that the legend at any time up to the 1730's or 1740's was not necessarily one which we would recognise nowadays. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that there were several legends current in craft-lore, e.g.:
 - (a) The "faithful-unto-death" theme which forms the first part of Prichard's version.
 - (b) The necromantic "secret-from-a-corpse" theme which forms the second part of Prichard's version, and also appears in the *Graham MS.*, 1726, with Noah as the central character.
8. The F.P.O.F. would "fit" as a suitable climax to either of these legends, and, with only three exceptions, they appear in every version of the *aide-mémoires* and exposures, English and Scottish, up to and including Prichard.

Up to this point it will be evident that I am in general agreement with Bro. Meekren's argument, but now we differ. His view is that Ritual gives rise to the legend of Myth, but I cannot accept the view that a complicated piece of ritual procedure such as the F.P.O.F. could have come into use unless there was some sort of legend *already in existence* to explain it. Perhaps the best I can do to show the force of my argument is to take a familiar example, "The Slip".

At a certain stage in the ceremonies, two officers separately go through a piece of ritual procedure which would be quite meaningless unless there is a legend to explain those particular words and actions.

"The Slip", in fact, appears as *part of the legend* in Prichard and in the *Graham MS.*, and because both documents are incomplete there is no indication in either text as to whether it formed part of the *ritual*. In the *Catechisme des Francs Macons*, 1744, and in the *Trahi*, 1745, the "Slip" is fully described as part of the ritual *procedure*, and also appears in its proper place in the legend, and the combination is logically complete.

I am in full agreement with Bro. Meekren's views on the *age* of the Master's Part; our only difference is on the question of when the legend made its first appearance, and I firmly believe that (in some embryonic form perhaps) it is as old as the F.P.O.F.

There are a few other points on which I would like to comment:—

"*The pre-1717 Ritual*."—Bro. Meekren, speaking of the third degree, says that Prichard and L'Ordre Trahi give us something not far from the earlier pre-1717 ritual. These two texts cannot be bracketed together. Prichard's work is a compilation containing only a tiny fragment of ceremony, and an *incomplete* version of the legend. The Trahi gives a beautifully detailed and *re-constructible* ceremony, and a very advanced legend. I would suggest that Prichard and the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* together probably give the best picture of the *pre-1717* ceremony.

"*From the Square to the Compass*."—This "phrase", with slight variations, occurs in the Prichard and Wilkinson Catechisms, where it has the appearance of a simple test question. In the Dunblane minutes the same phrase (c. 1720) is used to record the passing of candidates from the status of E.A. to F.C. at a time when the Lodge only knew of two grades.

In *Le Catechisme des Francs-Macons*, 1744, the Question and Answer appear in the catechism itself; and the candidate's mode of procedure from Square to Compass is given in detail in the description of the ceremony, with an excellent illustration of a kind of third T.B. which shows a diagram of the "progression".

The *Trahi*, in 1745, is almost identical in every respect, and it is evident that from 1744 onwards the "phrase" related to a specific piece of ritual procedure or floorwork. It should be noted that in both texts (and, of course, in the later versions) the details relate to a properly-furnished Lodge-room, with a "Tracing board" design drawn or laid out on the ground before the ceremony began.

In Bro. Meekren's reference to the earlier appearance of the Square to Compass "phrase" (e.g., at Dunblane in 1720), he seems to assume that the existence of the "phrase" also implies the existence of the ritual act.

I feel that this is perhaps taking too much for granted, having regard to the elaborate "lay-out" of the Lodge which the "progression" requires. May we have Bro. Meekren's views on the possibility that in this case a simple "test-question" was "worked up" into a piece of ritual procedure?

Brethren, I am sure we are all grateful to Bro. Meekren for a deeply interesting and

provocative paper on a subject which has a wide general appeal. I only wish it had been possible for him to be here in person, so that he might have provided the answers to some of the questions he will have raised. In his absence I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to him, and to Bro. Rylands, who read the paper in such an able and entertaining manner.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

We can all agree with Bro. Meekren when he says that it is misleading to assert that the third degree was invented and introduced subsequently to 1717, but when he adds that the substance of it "has existed from the very beginning of Masonic ritual—whenever that may have been", we are not so sure. He quotes Mackey as having deduced that the degree was invented between 1723 and 1738, and also Gould as having arrived at the same conclusion; but neither Mackey nor Gould had the evidence which is available today.

Let us consider a few (and only a few) of the major facts known today:—

1. In 1646, Elias Ashmole wrote in his Diary: "I was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire . . ." (Apparently at one meeting.)
2. In 1682 he wrote in the same Diary: "I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 yeares since I was admitted) . . . We all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapside at a Noble Dinner prepared at the charge of the New-accepted Masons". (Apparently two degrees.)
3. Randle Holme, in his *Academie of Armory*, 1688, mentions the Fellowship of which he was a member. The *Harleian MS.* of c. 1670 mentions "several words and signes of a free Mason".
4. Both Aubrey's *Memorandum* of 1691 and Rawlinson's *Memoir of Ashmole* mention "an Oath of Secrecy".
5. The *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696 mentions two degrees (with no interval), and the "points of fellowship" are attached to the second degree, that of the "Master Mason or Fellow Craft". (The five points would be appropriate to the Fellows, as the name is.)
6. The *Chetwode Crawley MS.* of c. 1700 is practically the same as No. 5, though neither is a copy of the other.
7. The *Sloane MS.* of c. 1700 has the "five points" with two sets of secrets, but no legend.
8. The Haughfoot minute of 1702 implies the existence of a second ceremony.
9. The *Trinity College, Dublin, MS.* of 1711 is the earliest known to recognise three separate degrees, each with its own secrets.
10. There is a hint in the Warden's Song, verse vi, and another in a footnote in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, that the central figure was known.
11. Regulation XIII of the 1723 *Constitutions* stated that "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here (Grand Lodge) except by dispensation".
12. The minutes of the *Philo Musicae et Architecturae Societas* show that, in 1725, they had three degrees, making Master Mason despite Regulation XIII, then in force.
13. The *Graham MS.* of 1726 refers to three degrees, "entered passed and raised and Conformed by 3 severall Lodges", but with a different legend.
14. Drake's speech in the York Grand Lodge, 1726, is another reference to the tri-gradal system.

When we review this evidence, two problems appear to obtrude: (1) Did the F.P.O.F. and the legend come together; or (2) Did one precede the other? It appears fairly obvious that the points appeared before the legend, for there is, so far, little evidence that the latter appeared much before 1730, whereas the points are found as early as 1696, and in the third degree in 1711; further, the present legend was not always the common one, as witness the Noah story in the *Graham MS.* of 1726, which Bro Meekren dismisses as "aberrant".

That there were variants is only what can be expected, and there is, so far, no better dictum than that of Knoop and Jones (*E.M.C.*, p. 25) that "the transition from the Operative rite of c. 1685 to the accepted rites of c. 1735 was a gradual evolution". Even in the eighteenth century, ritual was in a constant state of evolution, and it was only settled by the Lodge of Reconciliation,

which took the old catechisms and re-cast them in narrative form, much as the Royal Arch ritual was dealt with in 1834. As Bro. Knoop remarked: "It would be very surprising if all Lodges at that period followed a uniform system of working" (*E.M.C.*, p. 20), and I would add, "even up to the Union of 1813". The reason is obviously attributable to provincialism and geographical difficulties.

I have only one slight criticism of Bro. Meekren's most interesting paper, namely, "Why does he bring in Finch, the Masonic charlatan, and John Yarker, who is somewhat distrusted as a historian?" Why not stick to Browne ("Moderns", 1802) and the Lancashire Ritual ("Antients", 1797)? They will settle his doubts (if any) as to the Christian character of eighteenth century Freemasonry in England.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Bro. Meekren for his paper, and particularly for his having given us the opportunity to correct erroneous statements for the benefit of future students.

Bro. BERNARD JONES said:—

I join with the W.M. and the S.W. in thanking Bro. Meekren for his learned paper, which is certainly provocative of much thought. If I say that, to an extent, the paper disappoints me, it is because in some matters I feel that the author could have been more informative.

If the paper is just an attempt to prove that the M.M. degree was known in some form or other before the Grand Lodge era we can readily accept his contention, but I feel that the author is out to prove ever so much more than that. He avows that his object is to prove that the "substance" of the Third Degree "has existed from the very beginning of Masonic ritual". We can well believe that the "substance" has so existed. The *substance*, as he notes or hints more than once in his paper, might well be ages old, but I take it his real object is to prove that some form of third degree ritual "has" (to quote his own words) "existed from the very beginning of Masonic ritual"; in other words, that our present three parts of the Craft ritual are more or less of the same age. This, I feel, is by no means proved in the paper, and I remain sceptical.

The "substance" of the third degree, it might be agreed (somewhat depending on the definition of "substance"), is thousands of years old, but in saying that we must avoid the danger of confusing "substance" and "ritual". Bro. the Rev. W. W. Covey Crump makes in his book, *The Hiramic Tradition*, one of a great number of suggestions when he asks whether we recognise, in the death of Hiram, an echo of the tragedy of Calvary, which is not, however, to suggest that the New Testament provides any basis for the Third Degree ritual! I wish I could feel that Bro. Meekren has solved any part of the problem confronting us when we seek to learn just how old any recognisable form of the Masonic Hiramic degree actually is.

I appreciate, of course, that there is much in this learned paper that is helpful. The author remarks that the Mason's myth might once have been told of "Nimrod, Noah and his sons, Charles Martel, etc., etc., and that Ritual Myths . . . readily attach themselves to any more or less appropriate personage or period". I am sure this is an acceptable modern view, and that we might well expect to see an early Hiramic story associated with an individual of different name and different period.

The author agrees that the earliest account of the Hiramic ritual story is in Prichard (1730). How, then, does he find it possible to state in precise terms that "We have a number of dated documents which show different stages of definite evolution or elaboration from the original rite of, let us say, 1700, to the Master's grade that we know today"? I suppose this can only mean that he is able to identify a pre-1717 M.M. rite. What a wonderful addition he would have made to his paper by describing that rite or telling us where we could see it.

I am rather surprised that the author, in passing straight from Prichard, 1730, to the *Secret des Francs-Maçons*, 1744, ignores the only authentic document of those days giving an account—a short one—of the actual Hiramic ritual—*The Trial of John Coustos by the Inquisition*, the original documents from the archives of the Inquisition at Lisbon, discovered and translated by a member of the Lisbon branch of the Historical Association; this is reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, vol. lxvi (pp. 107-123), by courtesy of that Association.

The John Coustos evidence describes in terms closely resembling today's the story of the death of Hiram following upon the three Officers' (Fellow Crafts') attempts to obtain improperly the M.M.'s secret sign. The interrogations by the Inquisition were in the years 1742 to 1744, but relate to Masonic ritual and ceremony worked in England during the 1730's, in which country John Coustos (a Swiss diamond-cutter) had lived for the greater part, perhaps the whole, of that decade, and had been a member of two London Lodges from as early as 1732.

We are told by the author that "a ritual is never founded upon a legend, but always it is the ritual that gives rise to the legend or myth". I am afraid I am out of my depth here and, indeed, seek enlightenment, for I should have thought that in the development, for example, of Royal Arch Masonry, there are at least two instances of the reverse order of formation—the

legend giving rise to the ritual. The first instance in my mind is that in which the Jews, having returned from Babylonish exile, set about restoring the walls of the city in face of the armed opposition of the Samaritans. On the text in Nehemiah, iv, 17-18: "They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded." On this text is founded part of the ritual of a Crusading Order of the early Middle Ages, as also of Royal Arch Masonry known since some time in the eighteenth century—fairly certainly, others as well.

In the second instance, Philostorgius, in the fourth or fifth century, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, tells a purely legendary story of a workman being let down into a cave and there finding a most significant book lying upon a column. This story underlies the essential ritual of the Royal Arch Degree, and one or other of the translations of Philostorgius was obviously resorted to in compiling or arranging the ritual in the eighteenth century. I would indeed appreciate the author's comments on these two instances.

With regard to Scotland, the author refers to a "complete and simple solution", this apparently being (to quote the paper) a "conclusion that while Scotland had as early as the sixteenth century divided the original single initiation into two, the primitive method was continued in England right up to the Grand Lodge era, except perhaps in London We can thus carry the essential nucleus of the third degree back to 1723 and, since the discovery of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, back to 1696, and who shall say how much earlier?" I have studied these words, but fear I do not properly understand them. Any implication (if any is intended) that Scottish Lodges practised the Hiram Degree in the sixteenth century is unacceptable on any existing evidence and is incompatible with what we instinctively recognise as fact or any rate reasonable assumption. Our earliest record of the Scottish working of the Third Degree is at Kirkcudbright in 1735, and it is a commonplace that in even much later years of the century the degree was not recognised in a number of Scottish Lodges, by whom it was regarded as an innovation.

The learned author strongly emphasises that "no one . . . is fully equipped to discuss the origins of Masonic ritual who has not a comprehensive knowledge of the facts collected under the heads of anthropology and folk-lore . . .", and he develops this when he states that the argument that has convinced him of the antiquity of the M.M. degree ritual "depends on the parallels between the Masonic ritual and a multitude of folk rituals that have been described as having existed, and in some instances still survive, in Europe".

I am disappointed that the author, in concluding his paper in this way, shares with us so little of his "convincing argument" and leaves us thirsting for, say, just two or three precise references to the "multitude of folk rituals" (*rituals*, please observe, not mere legends), comparison of which with the existing ritual has convinced him of the antiquity of the M.M. degree.

In spite of my criticisms, some of which, I suspect, arise from inability at times to understand the author's intentions, I offer Bro. Meekren my personal thanks for his paper, and I cordially support the vote of thanks.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

This brief but refreshing paper demonstrates the value of a periodical review of theories advanced by students of a former decade. In this particular instance, Bro. Meekren has shown that even such stalwarts in the field of Masonic research as the late Bro. Douglas Knoop are apt from time to time to overlook some slender thread which, in the light of subsequent discoveries, may assume considerable importance. For this reason we welcome the present paper, which has been rendered all the more fascinating by the manner in which it has been read on behalf of the absent author.

Bro. Meekren has reviewed the antiquity of what may perhaps be described as the kernel of the third degree, and towards the end of his paper he has emphasised that his present argument has been based upon documentary evidence. Bro. Meekren then indicates one other possible source of information—folk ritual—by which expression I assume he means the oral transmission of such ritual. But there appear to me to be three further fields of study in this connection—tapestry, statuary and stained-glass windows of the middle ages.

By way of illustration I would invite those interested in this matter to glance at a piece of tapestry now hanging at Freemasons' Hall in London, the details of which may be clearly seen in the reproduction facing page 253 of volume lxi of our *Transactions*. This piece of tapestry (Brussels—mid-seventeenth century) portrays a Temple-building scene, and in the middle distance a stonemason may be observed at work upon the construction of a coffin. A strikingly similar Temple-building scene is portrayed in another piece of tapestry (Brussels—mid-sixteenth century) now hanging in Rome at the Museo del Palazzo di Venezia; but in that piece of tapestry the coffin is missing. The later design is obviously an adaptation of the earlier, and the later

artist's deliberate introduction of a coffin into a Temple-building scene is not without significance.

Allusion has been made by Bro. Meekren to the brief period during which the name of Hiram, with its suffix Abif, appeared in full in the printed English versions of the Holy Bible—that is to say, between 1535 (the date of the publication of the Coverdale Bible) and 1560 (the date of the Geneva version). A copy of the Matthews version, which falls within that period, is amongst the exhibits which may be examined at the conclusion of this meeting. I share Bro. Meekren's view as to the importance to be attached to this period. But I am not altogether with him when he says that the Masonic legend in the form now universal could not have come into existence before the year 1535; because the name of Hiram Abif had, I believe, appeared in full in the written and printed Hebrew versions of the Old Testament long before that year—possibly even from time immemorial in the case of the written versions. It is, however, highly significant that from 1560 onwards, until the year 1723, the name of Hiram Abif appears not to have been printed in full anywhere in the English language, and that when the name did re-emerge from obscurity in English it re-appeared for the first time in the first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*, accompanied by an explanatory footnote. To my mind this suggests that the name had been transmitted orally in England throughout those intervening centuries. If so, that oral transmission must have been deliberate on the part of the members of some organisation and for a specific purpose—the preservation, I suggest, of a legend attaching to the name, a legend which may have been transmitted in secret, accompanied by suitable ceremonial.

I join wholeheartedly in this vote of thanks.

Bro. ERIC WARD said:—

I take it that the nucleus of Bro. Meekren's thesis is that an embryonic Hiram legend was already ancient custom before becoming the central feature of a third degree instituted after 1723. This is none too clear from his opening paragraphs, but it is my interpretation.

Since I know nothing of folk-lore, I accept Bro. Meekren's disqualification to follow the development of the legend, but feel that priority must be given to establishing the place of the subject Hiram Abif.

The author, although mentioning Shum Tuckett's contribution to *Somerset Masters' Transactions*, 1921, says nothing of his much more remarkable paper, entitled "The Old Charges and the Chief Master Mason", in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi. The arguments there are too extensive to warrant summary abbreviation, but the gist is that the name HIRAM ABIF, signifying "Hiram, the exalted Brother, Solomon's Master Mason", was deliberately concealed as a Masonic secret in all the Old Charges between the revised *Cooke MS.* (c. 1520) and those of the G.L. era. Tuckett referred to the consistency of an expression typified by

"and he had a sonne named [?] that was Master of Geometry",

and pointed out that whilst in the majority of cases the name was AMON, AYMOM, AYNOM or similar, in the *Stanley* and *Carson MSS.* (c. 1677) the name was entirely different, its derivation being אֶלִּי (see *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi, p. 183), PELI (PELEE), which occurs in *Judges*, xiii, 18, thus:—

"Why askest thou after my name seeing it is secret?"

and again in *Psalm cxxxix*, 6:—

"Such knowledge is too wonderful (secret) for me."

Tuckett's thesis was discussed by Covey-Crump, and also Poole on pp. 281-4, the latter pointing out that the *Stanley MS.* emanated from the Lancashire/Yorkshire border, and which suggested a possible connection with Ashmole.

So far I have brought forward nothing new, but some years ago discovered that this Hebrew word PELI was actually known to Alias Ashmole and used by him in a remarkably parallel context. It appears in his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, published in 1652. In explaining how the famous Master Thomas Norton had concealed his name in a work called the *Ordinall of Alchemy*, he said:—

"such like fancies . . . of the Auncient Philosophers (who when they intended not an absolute concealment of persons, names, misteries &c.) were wont to hide them by transpositions . . . and the lyke, (which the searching sons of Arte might possibly unriddle, but) with designe to continue them to others as concealed things: and that upon the question no other answer would be returned then the like of the Angell's to Manoah. (His name was PELI, to wit, admirable and secret.)"

In the *Theatrum*, Ashmole illustrates this sort of concealment by giving an enigmatic design

cloaking his own name and interests, which, by the way, includes the square and compasses. Underneath are the words:—

“These Hieroglyphics vaile the Vigorous Beames of an unbounded Soule : The Scrowle & Scheme's The full Interpreter : But how's concealed. Who through Enigmaes looks is so revealed.”

All this, no doubt, implies a chain reaction which has fascinating possibilities, and, but for the need to conserve space, would be worth pursuing. Which brings me in sympathy with Bro. Meekren's penultimate paragraph. Nevertheless, it is tantalising, for he tells us that the most massive argument in favour of his theory cannot be told, also for lack of space. I feel that having reopened a question which might well lead to an outstanding contribution to our knowledge, we should be given the opportunity to judge for ourselves whether this further evidence is so powerful as the author indicates.

Whilst one may disagree with some of the arguments, all must agree with the value of the paper as a stimulus.

Bro. JOHN RYLANDS said:—

May I first thank the W. Master for allowing me the privilege of reading Bro. Meekren's stimulating paper to the Lodge? I suspect I was chosen because of my known interest in the subject, and I trust that I presented Bro. Meekren's points as he would have wished me to do. His cadences are not mine; I do not fully share all his views, but I hope I put them fairly to the Lodge.

I am sure that Bro. Meekren has done us a great service in emphasising the importance, in our Masonic studies, of other disciplines. We may take and accept the point that a comprehensive acquaintance with those departments of archaeology and folk-lore which are related to myth, legend and ritual are essential to a proper study of Masonic ritual origins. No one will dispute this, nor, indeed, the corollary that there are other disciplines of importance to such study. We may derive guidance from a comprehensive knowledge of the background of philosophic thought and, indeed, of current theology and sociology in the periods under review. It will be no bad thing if we are well-informed, in addition, about the trends of art, of literature, of architecture, of music, and of all aspects of life. All these must be reckoned as strands in the pattern of the culture and mental climate of the times we are discussing.

How to weight the evidence derived from these strands is a matter for the individual historian and his informed critics. But if we are invited to believe in a development which is, as it were, out of phase with its background as depicted by one or another of these considerations, we are entitled to pause and examine more closely the bases of the arguments on which the suggestion is founded. We may well discover, as so often happens in historical study, that an argument is based on the dubious ground of analogy, than which there is no more unsafe logic.

It is with thoughts of this nature in mind that I find myself compelled to state that, despite the cogency of Bro. Meekren's arguments, I still find myself unconvinced that “invention” is not the keyword to be applied to the origins of the Master's Part. I concede fully Bro. Meekren's point about the relationship between ritual and myth; those who have sat, even vicariously, at the feet of Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison, will not need reminding in this matter. But neither will the informed student deny that, of the hundreds of Masonic grades which have been worked in one part of the world and another in the last two centuries and more, the vast majority were manufactured, and where they involve a myth or legend the ritual followed and did not precede that myth or legend.

In the narrow field of Masonic history, therefore, one may not predicate that, as a matter of course, ritual preceded legend. In most cases it did not do so, and where one wishes to prove that it did one must not reason by analogy. In the absence of certain knowledge we are here dealing with possibilities and probabilities. It is not even safe to assume that the earliest Masonic rites determined the earliest Masonic legends, and that thereafter the process may have been reversed. The manufacture of Masonic grades seems to have begun very early in the eighteenth century, and there is no *a priori* reason why the Master's Grade should not have been included in the process.

There is, I suggest, another approach, provided by the study on the one hand of contemporary philosophy, and on the other of modern psychology. There may or may not be absolute values; this is not the place to discuss the matter. But in ordinary life the question is not of major importance, because each age and place has its own emphasis. As Lecky pointed out long ago:—

Patriotism, chastity, charity and humility are examples of virtues, each of which has in some ages been brought forward as of the most supreme and transcendent importance.

and in other ages been thrown into the background, and reckoned among the minor graces of a noble life.

Such considerations often enable us to assign a period to a thought-form. The modern psychologist realises that the sense of right and wrong, the presence or absence of mental conflict, arise from thought or action in relation to the preconditioning of the individual. Thus, in any given code of ethics or conduct, the relative emphasis placed on this or that virtue is of invaluable assistance in enabling us to date the code. When we find, in our rituals, references to "moral truth" and "intellectual truth", and note the distinction drawn between them, we may with fair certainty place the date of the composition of these phrases in the early eighteenth century. They are quite out of place in the rituals of the building fraternities of the Middle Ages.

I am trying, without going to excessive lengths, to give the general drift of the considerations which prevent me from accepting Bro. Meekren's conclusions. The actual content of the rite of the Master's Part, the "thing done", seems to me to be of small importance. The resurrection theme is surely as old as agriculture and fertility rites. One could agree that the earliest myths would almost certainly follow the earliest rites, but I doubt if it could be established that thereafter every new variant of the fertility rites would necessarily precede the associated legend. It is far from established that so obvious a variant as the Masonic raising must follow the pattern of rite preceding myth.

Furthermore, we have in our study of the origin of the Master's Part to consider also the later elaboration of both ritual and of legend. In both cases I am persuaded that there was a continuing process of invention, and, despite Bro. Meekren's cogent and admirable arguments, I cannot feel that he has disposed of the invention theory. Admittedly, this requires some restatement, and I have no doubt that such restatement will be forthcoming in due course.

Bro. F. R. WORTS said:—

I can only briefly comment on two of Bro. Meekren's deductions: (i) That the Master's Part goes back a long way from 1717; (ii) that at first there was only one "admission ceremony", and in this the Master's Part was contained. I agree with (i); I dissent from (ii).

Despite the lack of evidence, I think the Master's Part has existed in some form immemorially; that the Masters throughout the ages successfully safeguarded it against prying eyes. Moreover, in any organisation of the Craft demanding "admission" to any branch or class, the Masters had their "Part" *first*, not last. The F.C.'s came next, but centuries later; the Apps. came last, towards the close of the Middle Ages. It can be safely assumed there was an "admission ceremony" for F.C.'s in mediaeval times; when the Apps. were deemed fit for an "admission", their "formula" was probably added as a beginning Part to that of the F.C.'s.

Bro. Meekren uses the facts of economic and political life to strengthen the deductions of Masonic value which he makes; he is prone to use Scottish history. He is right in so doing. But conditions in England ought to receive their full weight in a similar method of argument, when Masonry in the Middle Ages, and later, is being discussed. The English period runs from, say, 1200 to 1700. The Craft rose to its glory in the Middle Ages. What kind of a State then existed? *Feudal*! By the laws and customs of the Age, every man from king to villein was "bonded", *i.e.*, subjected to "fealty"; "fealty" was a sworn obligation; any formula sworn is an oath; and Holy Church, a mighty power in those days, was always at hand to make an oath sacred and a grim reality.

The crown, overlords and the Church had urgent need of the Craft. Feudal law and custom insisted that the "great ones", men of might and influence in affairs, were "oathed" *first*; all the subordinate classes followed. This must have applied to the Craft. The Masters were the "great ones"; they directed and probably controlled whatever organisation the masons had; they were therefore "oathed" *first*, not last; they were "bound" in economic and legal obligations to their employers. That was the *public* side of the business. But there was another side—their own *private* side; they knew much—the "last and highest things"—which made them powerful in the eyes of kings and priests. How best to defend this status and all it meant? There was only one way—the way well known, and taken immemorially by power-groups—to bind themselves together in a private organisation, and to allow none in save by their own consent. Only thus could they protect their economic competence and safeguard their "secrets" and "mysteries" from others. A formula of admission and membership of this "circle" was devised; a terse, but binding "ceremony" was undertaken by any new entrant privileged to join; the Holy Church, being at hand, and very interested, soon invested this "ceremony" with the essential religious "taboos"; the "oath" came; so did the "WORD" and the "Name" in course of time. The "Name" chosen embodied the ideals of the Master Builder; there were many such men on the roll of fame; perhaps the Name was changed from period to period; perhaps there was an overriding single Name; and also that every Master Builder in the circle had his own pseudonym, taken from the historic roll, as, *e.g.*, the Dominicans and the Popes took

theirs. At length, the name of Hiram Abiff was taken as the overriding Name ; it was a most excellent choice, embodying all the attributes that a Master Builder could wish to have. It remained the Name ; the Legend became an extension of the ritual of admission. Again, the "F.Pts of F." may well have been within this admission "ceremony": as a ritual-act it has the marks of very old age clear upon it. In thus acting to safeguard themselves and their economic interests, the Master Builders of the Middle Ages (and of antiquity) were directly influenced by the laws and customs of their own Age. They could not have done otherwise. The priests, the monks, the lawyers, the soldiers, the guildsmen, etc., all in their own way and for the same purposes devised similar protective organisations.

Were the Masters regarded with envious gaze ? Assuredly. Ambitious F.C.'s longed for their privileges. A few, deemed worthy, were from generation to generation admitted into the esoteric circle of the Masters. Thus the Master's Part was safeguarded and perpetuated. In feudal times there was nothing of chance about it ; the law and custom were of iron.

But feudalism weakened. It broke during the Renaissance, following the War of the Roses ; and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries society became more fluid, and tended to become even more so as time ran on. The Masters' circle became vulnerable ; it was attacked successfully. There were two attacks—one from the cultured, influential classes ; the other from below, from the F.C.'s. The former had for many centuries been interested in building science, and their association with the Masters during this long, long period ought to engage the attention of scholars. The latter, taking advantage of the disruption of the Craft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attained *partially* the privileges of the Masters, but never succeeded in learning the "Word" or the "Name".

To use Bro. Meekren's phrase, a "massive argument" could theoretically be drawn from these considerations ; an argument of what must have happened historically in the building industry. But this is not the place even to sketch its premisses.

That the cultured gentlemen ever succeeded in gaining the true "secrets" of the Masters is also most doubtful. During the seventeenth century they became very influential ; by 1717 their "speculative" Masonry was beginning to be dominant ; our Freemasonry began to be sharply divided from operative Masonry. The THIRD DEGREE, in the making during the seventeenth century at least, was becoming more fashioned ; it held the legend, and the name of H.A., but the "WORD" and the "SECRETS" were lost ! Thus the Third Degree, when officially imposed (1725-32), was an anti-climax ; and so it has remained ! Since the operatives had three well-defined classes, so our Freemasonry had to have three well-defined classes—E. Apps., F.C.'s and M.'s. The Third Degree was but a logical finish of the tri-gradal system, and its appearance can surprise no one ; that it was in the making for a long, long time prior to 1717 cannot be doubted.

Bro. FULKE RADICE writes :—

This very interesting paper should obviously have been longer ; this is clearly an occasion when the present-day restrictions should have been relaxed. Further exposition might have removed some serious doubts which I have about certain statements made by Bro. Meekren.

In the first place, one must make up one's mind as to what one means by the ceremony of the Third Degree. If one means the ceremony practised by us, but brought back to an early, even embryonic, form, at some time some men must have decided to adopt it and introduce it into our ritual. If, on the other hand, one refers to the elements which were eventually adopted and fused together so as to form the ceremony, these could go back in some cases to primordial time. To use a rather absurd comparison : I have before me a beautiful English silver snuff-box. I know that in 1787 certain people made it. It is equally clear that the silver was in the earth probably millions of years before 1787, but it would be straining both the English language and common-sense to pretend in the Biblical sense that my snuff-box is millions of years old.

What I take to be still the accepted theory about the origin of the Third Degree is that it was not included in our ritual in 1723, and therefore it must have been introduced some time between 1723 and 1730. I do not find it impossible to suppose that a group of men concocted a ceremony on the lines of our present Third Degree between those two dates. I do, however, think it impossible that they should have invented the elements fused in that ceremony. Most of them, I am convinced, did exist before—Bro. Meekren has given proof that they did—and if indeed the Third Degree was concocted soon after 1723, all that the concoctors did was to select, adapt, and possibly distort those elements and possibly add one or two inventions of their own.

Let me say, therefore, that I am convinced Bro. Meekren is right in contending that the elements of the Third Degree ceremony existed long before 1723, and I am prepared to go further and agree with him that we have enough indications to surmise that, apart from its elements, the ceremony itself in some form, however embryonic, existed some time before 1723 and was practised in independent Lodges. In this connection I do not understand why Bro. Meekren leaves out "the *Graham MS.* as aberrant", as it contains the important element of the

attempt of three persons to obtain secrets from someone who, in the *Graham M.S.*, is already dead, but in the ceremony was slain for refusing to divulge them. Further, the ceremony as practised by the Lodge "Zur Hoffnung", of Berne, includes some gruesome details contained in the *Graham MS.*

Another point on which I must join issue with Bro. Meekren is that of the *Deus ex machina* in Greek Tragedy, when he says that "the persons . . . died and in place of their resurrection a theophany . . . was introduced, the well-known God from the machine". I may have misunderstood the passage owing to its severe compression—if so, perhaps Bro. Meekren will forgive me—but the *Deus ex machina* had nothing to do with any idea of resurrection. What happened was that the action in most cases became so tangled as to come to an impasse, which the god came in to resolve by explanation or action. The Greeks and Romans did believe in a form of resurrection: the soul of the dead wandered over the earth until buried according to a certain form (Sophocles' *Antigone*, Horace's *Odes*), and when that was done it went to the abode of the dead (Homer, *Virgil*).

Lastly, as to the statement that ritual preceded myth, I am afraid I follow Goblet d'Alviella. I cannot conceive ritual arising *in vacuo*, as must be the case if it preceded myth. Myth surely arose in attempting to explain something observed, *e.g.*, the Man in the Moon, Persephone's Rape, Thor's Hammer. But my remarks have already been too long to embark on a discussion of this point. Perhaps owing to his succinctness I have misunderstood Bro. Meekren, whom I thank for his paper most provocative of thought.

Bro. G. S. DRAFFEN writes:—

I am a little at a loss to know just how to offer comments on this paper. I have read it with very great interest indeed, but somehow I have the feeling that no finality or conclusions have been propounded. Of course, this may well be the object of the paper, since any conclusions brought forward by one member of the Lodge are almost certainly to be strongly and severely criticised by other members.

Bro. Meekren assumes right throughout his paper that what we now know as the Third Degree always existed, though perhaps in very tenuous form and overlaid by two previous Degrees. At least, this is the conclusion I have come to, for he continually refers to those aspects of the Third Degree which were at one time contained in the Second Degree.

Is Bro. Meekren's assumption a sound one? If one examines the esoteric teaching of the Third Craft Degree, and if one compares those teachings with the generally accepted Canons of an Authentic Rite, one is forced to admit that in the Third Degrees, as we know them today, we have, in fact, two parallel initiatory ceremonies. In recent years I have been coming more and more to the conclusion that a theory, propounded to me originally by a Brother much more learned than myself, is a correct one. That theory is, that the First and Second Degrees are complete in themselves and form a rounded-off initiatory ceremony. The Third Degree is also complete in itself and could stand on its own as a completely rounded-off initiatory ceremony. As an elaboration of this theory, I am of the opinion that in the days of long ago our operative brethren had an initiatory system which consisted of two Degrees—those which we now know as the Entered Apprentice and the Fellow of Craft. At some later date and from some source as yet unknown (though see below), our present Third Degree was brought in, as it were, from a parallel working. In other words, a single and complete initiatory ceremony. For no reason which we now know of, the two distinct ceremonies were lumped together in a trigadal system, but the fact remains that, as we work our ceremonies today, we are in point of fact duplicating our initiatory ceremony. When the amalgamation of the two ceremonies was made, I think that certain parts of what we now know as the Third Degree were carried over from the original Second Degree in order to form an alleged link-up bond, but I do not think that this disguise has succeeded.

Bro. Meekren refers to the original of the legend. There is in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland a volume, in French, in which Georges de Norval recounts the tales and legends which were circulating in the Middle East when he made a tour of that part of the world in the Middle Ages. One of the tales, which the author alleges were in wide circulation in the Arab Coffee Houses, bears such a striking resemblance to the Hiram Legend that it cannot be discounted as a possible source of the legend of our present Third Degree.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes in reply:—

In replying to the comments and criticisms upon my paper, I feel that I should in the first place offer an apology to a group of historians—for that, I think, is what the members of the Lodge have always been—for worrying them with an argument that is not historical. The subject lies in the "no man's land" between history and anthropology. All that I can say for myself is

that it is far from easy for anyone who has specialised in a subject to know how much he can safely leave unexplained or undeveloped and yet be understood by his readers. I do not expect to make any converts, but I would rather like to make my argumentation understood.

In my own comments on the paper of our deeply-regretted Brother, Herbert Poole, on the "Substance of Pre-Grand Lodge Freemasonry" (*A.Q.C.*, lxi), I quoted G. L. Gomme as follows:—

"No doubt such conclusions may seem a little hard to digest by those whose studies have not allowed them to dwell upon 'the amazing toughness of tradition' and by those who have never wandered out of the paths laid down by the methods of chronological history."—(Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, p. 173.)

Gomme took the phrase "amazing toughness" from Kelly's *Curiosities of Indo-European Folklore*, a work I have never been able to get hold of. I recall this quotation because, little by little, nearly all investigators in the field of folklore are sooner or later impressed by the fact that tradition is tough and almost impossible to extirpate. And this should be borne in mind, though it is here impossible to give instances. Indeed, I cannot recall any such that would be at all suitable for impressing anyone new to such subjects. It is a case of gradual accumulation of small and often unnoticed indications which finally produce conviction. But tradition in a group or a community is closely analogous to habit in an individual, and as hard to change or get rid of. Reformers have often tried to abolish rites and ceremonies—this is historical—but their successes, when they did succeed, were almost always ephemeral. Witness the usages of the Church of England.

There is another point that should be taken into consideration, for I think it has led to misunderstanding in some of my critics. Probably I should have mentioned it when I spoke in the paper of the looseness of the usual terminology respecting ritual matters. In the prologue to my paper on the Lodge (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lxi, p. 6), I stated that my use of the word was a restricted one, and also explained why. I expect it may be well to repeat. I proposed a set of terms to distinguish the several elements, of different origins and dates, that are generally grouped together under the term "ritual". This comprises ritual proper, which is the nucleus about which the other elements develop, that is, "ceremonial", "explanation" and "instruction". Ritual, in the sense in which I use the word, is essential; it cannot be omitted or abridged. The rest can be omitted or abridged without affecting the validity of the proceeding. We may take the formula found in the English arrangement of the catechetical lectures, "Of or (Off) At and On", which cryptic phrase is in some versions explained as including the whole rite (ceremony) of Initiation. This might look like an early nineteenth century attempt at analysis, but if it was more than a division or classification I do not think it went very deep. Still, it could be, and has been, interpreted as referring to the preparation, the entrance into the Lodge and the due form of the obligation. Of these, the last is the nucleus, the absolutely essential point. The other two are subsidiary only, though they are, in some form or other, natural and inevitable concomitants. For the "due form" the "preparation" is necessary at some stage in the proceedings, and, of course, there must have been an entrance into the Lodge, whether formal or not.

But the forms of entrance include also two ritual elements of great and unknown age—the circumambulation (originally triple) and the (originally) three steps. These are very far from being peculiar to Freemasonry. It is hardly possible to say more here, especially as further information can easily be obtained from Simpson's *Buddhist Praying Wheel*, which is about turning movements of all kinds, including circumambulations, and has some incidental information about ritual steps. I may also refer to my paper on *The Lodge* (*A.Q.C.*, lxi), in the latter part of which some attempt is made—cautiously made—to reconstruct the original form of the out-of-doors ritual. I feel that many of my readers find it hard to realise the implications of an out-door performance of the ritual. Once they are realised it will become obvious how much in our modern ceremonies is adventitious, and this is equally true for all three types—English, European and American.

Another matter can here be dealt with collectively, for several of my critics seem to have found it very difficult to accept the statement that myth—ritual myth, that is—arises out of the ritual, and does not exist before the ritual. It might be better to say that the myth develops *pari passu* with the elaboration of the ritual. But, first, a most important proviso must be made; the statement does not refer to rites that are invented, or are imitations of traditional ritual. Nor is it always true of the elaborations and accretions which, under favouring circumstances, are added to some primitive form.

The idea was first advanced apparently not long before Simpson's *Jonah Legend* was published, that is, late in the nineteenth century, for "the dissent" of Count Goblet d'Alviella shows that the theory was still under discussion. But it has since been adopted by most authorities on anthropology and subjects connected therewith; by some explicitly, as Frazer, L. E. Farnell, R. Chambers, and by others it has been taken as a matter of course. Yet it does present difficulties at first sight. No one, as far as I know, has yet attempted to show the stages by which the myth arises; and I think that the idea itself has been so illuminating that its truth

has been made evident by its usefulness ; pragmatically true at least. And it would seem that students in anthropological fields have arrived at conviction by a gradual accumulation of instances of its usefulness, rather than by investigating the process itself. And here, parenthetically, I may say that no anthropologist or folklore collector, or other such student, has made the proviso that I have laid down above, for none of them seem to be aware that there are imitations and inventions. That there are is sufficiently manifest, as witness the multitude of fraternal societies, especially in America, which work what are called, in the common and colloquial sense, rituals. And in our own case there is the Fellow Craft degree, which is pure invention or imitation, not to speak of the Royal Arch, the *Elu* motif of the Vengeance grades, or the interpretations of the Third Degree, such as the Rose Croix. In none of these did the myth or legend spring out of the ritual, but is generally adapted from some legend of history, or it may be in some instance from history itself.

It would be possible to fall back on the consensus of authorities respecting the relation of myth to ritual, for we all, in a great many matters in which we are not specially conversant, have to, and do, accept the *dicta* of authorities as sufficient, but perhaps it will be more satisfactory to try and show some of the stages by which the rite evolves along with the myth. But when evolution or development is spoken of, it must be distinctly understood that the ritual (in the restricted sense) does not evolve ; the evolution lies in the accretion of ceremonial and the other adjuncts of a developed rite, although a simple ritual may be reinforced by other ritual elements. Or it may be modified by the introduction of equivalents or substitutions when circumstances have changed. As, for a parallel example, the substitution of budding willow sprigs for palm branches on Palm Sunday, or that of a wallaby for a kangaroo, because the necessary kangaroo was not available (Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, p. 635) ; taking thus examples from the two ends of the scale of culture.

Another point must also be made clear, and that is that ritual (always in the restricted sense) is as it were a receptacle or vehicle of prevailing ideas. As a cup or a bowl may be filled with water, let us say, and may then be filled with milk, or wine, or even beer, so ritual can easily be adapted to new ideas ; and, indeed, is often and even constantly being so adapted. And if we take a glass of wine and pour milk into it we will get a mixture of wine and milk. And if we continue to pour milk into it we at last have a cup of milk with a trace of wine in it, and finally, to all intents and purposes, a cup of pure milk. That is the process by which the content and meaning of ritual is changed and finally transformed. It is this characteristic of ritual which has caused it to be a constant mode of expressing the ideas current at all stages in the level of culture, from that of primitive man to our own ; from pure magic to religion and morality.

Or again, there is a Christian Cathedral at the top of Ludgate Hill. Long ago there was a temple of Diana on the same site, and before that it was a sacred place of the Ancient Britons. And before these Celts arrived it was very probably a taboo area of the still more primitive population who preceded them. A sacred place is, of course, not ritual, but it is an important adjunct, and for the more complex types of ritual it is an essential adjunct ; and tradition clings to the place as it does to the rites.

It would seem that ritual—always in the restricted sense that I have defined—gives rise to ceremonial almost inevitably as the number of participants and assistants increases, and the more frequently and regularly it is performed. It is the ceremonial that is developed and elaborated ; the ritual (in the restricted sense) remains always essentially the same, however completely concealed under the accumulation of ceremonies ; as, for example, it is in the Vedic rites of India, and very probably was in Egypt and Babylonia, about which less is known. And Masonic ceremonies have gone a long way in this direction.

All this, I fear, will seem as shocking and preposterous as Darwin's theory of the Descent of Man did to the theologians of his day. But as theologians have since reconciled themselves to the theory of the organic evolution, with undoubtedly a gain of a wider, and perhaps deeper, insight in their interpretations of the Scriptures, so perhaps in course of time Masonic historians may come to realise that there are other methods of arriving at truth than the strictly historical.

So far this has been preliminary only, a prolegomena. But it is, I believe, necessary to the full understanding of the evolution of ritual myth. It would seem that the difficulty so many see at first in supposing that the myth arises from the ritual, and not *vice versa*, is due to thinking only of the fully-developed myth that has taken on the aspect of history, in which the persons are named and the place and time assumed—as in the Legend of the Master. But before this stage has been reached there are earlier ones through which it has passed. And it must be remembered that the ritual consists of an action accompanied by a verbal formula which expresses the intention and purpose of the action. Both are necessary to the rite. But the formula may be developed, always within the limits of the action. A very common mode is to include some reference to the action, and a widespread method of doing this is to deny it in order to emphasise the purpose. As, for example, a formula from Malaya. This is from a magical way of injuring an enemy common the world over, that of making an image to represent him. It runs : "It is not wax I am scorching, but the liver, heart and spleen of so-and-so that I scorch." This

type of formula is quite frequently found, as, for instance, the following from Somersetshire: "It is not this heart I mean to burn, but the person's heart I mean to turn . . ." A sheep's heart was roasted before a fire. The performance was to discover a witch who was supposed to have "overlooked" a pig.

Another type of ritual myth is a narrative of origin. It is especially found in the folklore of Finland. By telling how a thing came into being, as, for instance, a disease, one obtains power over it, just as, according to other ideas, would be gained by knowing its true name. Though especially worked out by the Finns, it is almost equally characteristic of Malay magical formulas, and, indeed, is also found in some Anglo-Saxon healing spells, and also in the *Merseberg Rune*, discovered and published by Jacob Grimm. This latter has many derived variants which have been Christianised, and have been found in many countries in northern Europe, even in England as well as Scotland and Ireland. In an Estonian version the incipient narrative has been emended in a Christian sense by changing the Teutonic deities, Balder and Frigg, or Frúa, who, according to the northern mythology, was Balder's mother, into Jesus and the Virgin Mary. In other variants it is Jesus or "the Lord" who, in the embryo narrative, is the originator of the healing ritual. The operative part of the formula remains essentially the same in all the versions. The action is not referred to in this case, but it is known. It is the spinning or twisting a thread of black wool, tying nine knots in it and fastening it round the injured limb or joint.

The simple ritual, consisting of only one element, action and formula, does not lend itself very easily to the development of a narrative. More complex rites, in which two or more such elements are combined, show themselves much more prolific in stories. These budding narratives very frequently answer more or less directly the questions how, and when, and where, the rite was first performed. As, for example, the Greek *Pyanepsia*, a fertility observance, was in the time of Plutarch ascribed to the legendary expedition to Crete and the killing of the Minotaur. It was said that when Theseus and his companions returned and had landed, they cooked what was left of their provisions in a common pot and shared the mess between them. Or the myth told in the initiation rites of the Dieri, in Australia, about the discovery of the perfecting of men by circumcision. The story offers no explanation of how circumcision perfects a man, nor yet describes the actual mode of the operation in the initiatory ritual, but it tells how two young men, in the Alcheringa time, circumcised themselves by accident on a boomerang which had fallen into a pool and was sticking in the mud at the bottom.

As a rough generalisation we may say that simple rituals, of one action (dromenon) and one formula (legomenon) only, are largely healing spells, or else intended to injure or kill an enemy. They are also in most cases of purely individual concern. Complex rituals, consisting of two or more elements, on the other hand, are more often the affair of groups; communal, in other words; and they seem to be in their nature much more open to elaboration than the simple rites. It would be natural to suppose that the complex ritual in which there is necessarily a progression from one part to another would be the most open to develop a narrative formula capable of being elaborated into a myth. Yet there are a great many simple ritual formulas that exhibit an incipient narrative. For instance, there are many healing spells that begin with a germinal narrative. They are undoubtedly of pagan, that is, pre-Christian, origin, and have been "Christianised" by the simple expedient of substituting for the old heathen divinities the names of Biblical personages, or else those of Christian saints, who may seem to possess equivalent characteristics. A large number of these begin by saying that the person thus chosen met the evil spirit, or the hypostatised disease, and forbade it to injure mankind. Such openings as: "Christ, He crossed the land . . ."; "Job, he crossed the land, had his staff in his hand . . ."; "Lord Jesus rode over the heath, there met he the evil one . . ." Or another frequent opening: "Three Marys went over land . . .", or "Three virgins came from heaven . . ." or "Three brothers . . ." This last is hardly Christianised—it is only de-paganised; for it is most probable that these three brothers were originally Odin, Hoenir and Lodurr, who, in the *Voluspa*, created the first man and woman out of two trees.

It is obvious that all these beginnings are embryo or skeleton stories that could be easily developed by the addition of details of time and place and motive. These formulas all go on to speak of a meeting with some being, an evil spirit or a personified disease who is questioned in regard to his intentions, and then forbidden to carry them out. As when the Lord God met the seventy kinds of gout (which included rheumatism, arthritis and so on) and ordered them to enter a thorn bush and tear off its leaves. In another instance the evil is to go to a rock in the middle of the sea. And to this general prohibition the name of the particular patient for whom the rite is performed is added as the operative kernel of the incantation.

I should like to go on and say more about the development myth in complex rituals, but it would take altogether too much space. But it would seem fairly obvious that if a simple ritual can produce an incipient narrative, much more easily can a complex one do so, especially when it is dramatic in form, as a very great many are. There are tempting avenues on every side which one might take, but the purpose in view is to show that a story, a myth, can, and generally does, appear at the earliest and most primitive stages that have come down to us, and are

thereafter developed side by side with the action. I must note here, however, that the action itself does not develop ; it remains all through the process of evolution essentially the same as it was at the first. But it can be elaborated by accretions, by the formulation of the necessary conditions and preparations, and also very frequently by the addition of other ritual elements that seem to reinforce the original form. And, in addition, there is the growth of ceremonial, though this is always (or nearly so) detachable without invalidating the purpose of the performance.

After all, it has been impossible to do more than indicate some of the steps by which a full-blown myth may develop out of the original nucleus, the spoken formula of the ritual. It is to be hoped that no one will suppose that this hypothesis, or rather theory, is based only on the few examples I have given. These are only in illustration, samples merely, of a multitude more of the same kind, and it is the cumulative effect that carries conviction.

It would seem that some of my critics had credited me with the formulation of this theory. This is flattering, but I have to disclaim the honour ; I accepted it in the first place on the consensus of authorities. William Simpson says, in the second chapter of the *Jonah Legend*, that he had arrived at the conclusion independently, but later found that it had been adumbrated by earlier writers, and had been more fully formulated by his contemporaries. He cites K. O. Muller and J. G. Frazer in the heading of the chapter. These quotations are very explicit. Incidentally, I see nothing in the comments upon the paper to indicate that any of my critics looked up this reference. The book, though apparently little known to the present generation, is not inaccessible. Simpson, as I said in the paper, does give reasons for accepting the view, though the only writer I know who has offered a discussion of the theory by itself, and not allusively or parenthetically, is Salomon Reinach in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*. All the other authorities I have read seem to accept it on account of its usefulness as a key to many problems that face the anthropologist, or else simply take it for granted as too obvious to need argument in view of the mass of the facts that lead to it. For this is the difference between strictly historical investigation and that by means of the comparative method. A historical event is unique ; it happened at such a time and in such a place, and such and such individuals were concerned in it. But the comparative method as applied in anthropological and archaeological subjects deals with instances from all over the world at all periods which possess such characteristics in common that they form a species. That some of these should prove dubious or defective does not invalidate the conclusions that may be drawn, for the remainder may be sufficient for this. Whereas it could easily happen in a historical argument that the rejection of one item of evidence would lead to its total collapse.

But it must always be remembered in our present case that ritual consists of *dromena* and *legomena*, action and spoken formula. And also, of equal importance, that ritual is a vehicle, a container, so to speak. It can be entirely emptied of its original purpose and intent, and a new one supplied by interpretation and symbolism.

Having more or less satisfactorily (or unsatisfactorily) dealt with the question of how myth arises from the ritual, the other questions that have been raised can be dealt with. The first will be those of the Wor. Master, Bro. Carr. I am glad that he, as also several others of those who have commented on the paper, expresses his agreement with the main conclusion of the argument, that the substance or essentials of the existing forms of the Third Degree were not invented or introduced at some time between 1723 and 1730, as is still being repeated in books and articles published in North America. I purposely used the phrase "the Master's Part" to distinguish these essentials from the complex of ritual, ceremonial and moralisation, of which the three types of the Third Degree, the European, English and American, are made up in different ways. With Bro. Carr's own argument for the existence of a rite in the seventeenth century which may be fairly supposed to underlay the more modern forms, I would for the most part fully concur. But I must remark that valuable as the old Catechisms are, they are not, as they have often been called, formularies, that is, what in Masonic colloquialism are usually called rituals. The Catechisms are now often referred to as *aides-mémoires*, and this is a good characterisation so long as they are not supposed to be *aides* for those who "worked" the entering and passing of "new men". In order to determine their real character we must ask who would need them. Not the operative masons, one would think. But consider the case of "such gentlemen who cannot be present at a second diet", whom the Dunblane rules excepted from the prohibition of entering and passing a candidate on the same occasion. Such men would certainly need an *aide-mémoire* if they were thereafter to be able to prove that they were brother masons. A good many students also, in adducing matter from these catechisms, seem to assume implicitly, and perhaps unconsciously, that they are exhaustive in their content. This I consider a very grave error, and almost certain to lead to erroneous conclusions. If, however, they are taken as memoranda for strictly personal use, either noted down while it was all fresh in mind or copied from an already existing document of the kind, it is plain that so long as they embodied sufficient information to enable the owner to prove himself they would be quite sufficient.

As for d'Alviella's dissent from Simpson's suggested interpretation of the story of Jonah, i.e., that it was in effect the legend or myth of a priestly or prophetic initiation, it is quite

possible that he would have dissented from the same rule being applied to the legend of the Master. But the general idea that myth arises from the ritual was new when Simpson wrote, and when such a new idea is first advanced it is seldom accepted by everyone all at once, and this would be especially true of the elder authorities at the time. But I have already said enough about this.

I do not see why Bro. Carr should be convinced that the F.P.O.F. could not have been included in the ritual "without a legend of some sort to support them". Perhaps I have not taken his meaning. If he includes the whole action indicated by the phrase it might be accepted. But this is itself the essential kernel of the ritual, round which all the rest revolves and on which these details depend. For it is by these points, and all that they imply, that the communication of the Mason's Word is made. If this is his meaning I quite agree with him. But this, the nucleus and culmination of the whole rite, would require of necessity some previous action, and the two together would inevitably produce something in the way of a narrative to answer the questions that would arise from it. There must have been a first time it was performed, and some reason for the performance. Such a reason would be one that was sufficiently plausible to those concerned; though, of course, what would have been plausible in the thirteenth or fourteenth century might not seem plausible today — might, indeed, appear fantastic and impossible. But professional jealousy, for instance, might have been assigned as a motive for the action that preceded the culmination. Somewhat a less sordid one than that which is told now, and one which various local traditions actually do assign; or equally it could have been a quarrel and a fight, as in the Mummer's Play. Even in rituals that have sunk to the level of children's games, the characters are often named, as in the round dances described by P. Saintyves in *Rondes Enfantine*, and the narrative then would be no more than a description of the rite itself. Such a narrative, embodied in a song sung during the dance, is that of the *Pont du Nord*, and the heroine's name is Adele, or Aline, or Annette. This puts it into the class of Myth, according to the usual distinction that in Myth the persons are named, while in Märchen they are not.

In the passage referring to Prichard and *L'Ordre Trahi*, I should perhaps have said that they together give a picture, probable enough, of what the pre-1717 ritual was like. The one is a reproduction of a catechism, while the other is a description written by a practised author. Taking them simply as literary documents, Bro. Carr is quite correct in saying they cannot be classed together, but if we were to be restricted by such classification our researches could not be carried very far.

In regard to the phrase "from the S. to the C.", I am not sure that I understand just what Bro. Carr means by a "simple test question". That in Prichard and Wilkinson it is a test question is obvious. That is what most of the questions are in all the catechisms. But it might seem, by the context, that, in his view, thus to describe it is to evacuate all significance it could be supposed to have. But test questions usually have some significance, some reference. Even such a question, "How did the White Rabbit know the time?" or "What did the Mome Raths do?" would test one's knowledge of Lewis Carroll. And we see, from the use of the formula in question in the minutes of Dunblane, that it there referred to something in the form of passing an Entered Prentice to a Fellow of Craft, and that it had the same reference in *Le Catechisme* seems quite certain. I assuredly do infer that it is significant in these cases, and if in these, then everywhere else that it occurs. But how a "simple test question" that had no reference to anything, no meaning that is, could have been worked up into ritual, I really cannot imagine. It looks to me literally preposterous, that is, "hind end before".

It would seem that Bro. Carr has not taken into account the cumulative effect of scattered items of evidence. An argument that is a series of deductions, each based on the preceding one, like the demonstrations in Euclid, is no stronger than the weakest of its links. If any one of them is fallacious the whole argument is without effect. But a collection of facts which all point to a certain conclusion support each other, and the conclusion is not invalidated if one or more of these facts is shown to be erroneous or irrelevant. And I must say that the reason given for doubting the relevance of the Dunblane evidence (if this be his meaning) is, to say the least, very slight. The "elaborate 'layout' of the lodge" that is usual at the present day is really a substitute. For Freemasonry did not begin "with the advantage of such regular, well-formed Lodges as we now enjoy", but, according to the well-known tradition, Lodges were held "on high hills and low vales". The implements depicted on our modern floor-cloths, as those drawn in chalk on the floor of a room in some tavern a hundred and fifty years ago, are equally substitutes for the real working tools laid on the ground. That some preparation of the "lodge" was made seems to be quite certain.

Bro. Carr's personal remarks at the beginning of his comments rather amused me. We have had at various times a considerable correspondence since we first came in contact with each other through our late Bro. Poole, and I did have some hope that he might be interested in the anthropological aspect of Masonic research on account of his interest in the old ritual documents, and notably his translation of *L'Ordre Trahi*. But his bent was evidently for history proper, as he has shown by the work he has since done, and I would not wish any man to take up work to

which he has not drawn by his own interest. And there is a great deal waiting to be done upon the trends and developments of Masonic rites and ceremonies since the early eighteenth century, which is very nearly (if not quite) purely historical.

If I understand what Bro. Draffen says in his comments, I must say that he appears to have quite misunderstood what I tried to say in my paper. He says that my assumption all through is "that what we now know as the third degree" always existed. This seems to be rather indefinitely put. It ignores the fact that the title itself indicates that the subject was not the third degree of the last hundred and fifty years or so, but the Master's Part (by whatever name called) of Freemasonry prior to the Grand Lodge era. This may seem at first sight to be a distinction based on very little difference, but this is not really so, for it rules out all the ceremonial, moralities and other elaborations of the third degree as we know it. The form of the third degree that I know best is very different in many respects from that with which I presume Bro. Draffen to be familiar; and, besides this, I do not think that I *assumed* the conclusion that my argument was designed to prove. But if I did, then Bro. Draffen's opinion that no conclusion was reached is correct.

Another thing which I certainly think he has misunderstood. This is when he says that I continually refer to aspects of the third degree at one time contained in the second—at least if he means the present Fellow Craft degree by the second. If he had said "a second degree", or "the second Degree of 1723", I should have no quarrel with the statement. But in 1723 the second degree *was* the Master's Part and there was no third degree, and, further, there was nothing corresponding to our present-day second or Fellow Craft's degree. But, and this is the cause of the confusion, the Master's Part was called indifferently "the Fellow Craft and/or Master".

I must also confess that I get no clear idea of what he means in the second sentence of his third paragraph. What are "the accepted Canons", and what precisely is an "Authentic Rite"? This I hazily take to be equivalent to a *recognised* rite. But in this field of research we have to take evidence where it can be found, or we equip ourselves with a set of fetters to run our race. But, in any case, the moralities of the third degree in all rites, "authentic" or not, are all later than 1750 so far as the evidence goes. Even in T.D.K., in 1760, the only morality is in the brief interpretation of the F.P.O.F., which inculcates the elementary moralities of a fraternity, or rather the elementary duties and obligations of a Master Mason towards his Brethren.

The theory that the E.A.P. and the F.C. were the two original degrees is very far from new. It has, indeed, been the prevailing one since Findel published his history until comparatively recent years. It was held by our late Bros. Vibert and Poole. And that there is a duplication, or rather triplication, in our present system is obvious enough. For the first degree consists of the formalities of entrance to the lodge, the due form of the obligation and the communication of the secrets through which the entered apprentice may make himself known. The second degree is a duplication of this with such small changes as necessary to make it a second grade, and up to 1735, or thereabouts, contained nothing more. And the third degree also reproduces the forms of entering the lodge and of the obligation, but following this an additional part which I hold to be the real Masonic initiation, all that comes before being only preliminaries. If preferred, however, the E.A. might be called "initiation", that is, "beginning", while the third we might distinguish by the Greek term "Telos", usually translated in such connection as "initiation", but which means "finished", "complete" or "perfect". It was the term used for initiation into the Eleusinian, and also other of the Mysteries, so well known in the Greek world.

If Bro. Draffen is interested he could make a search in the archives of the Library of the G.L. of Scotland and see if the file of *The Builder* is still extant; it was regularly sent in exchange for the G.L. Proceedings. In the volumes for 1928 and 1929 a series of articles on the *Degrees of Masonry* was published, in which the authors undertook to examine all theories that had then been advanced. It would seem that every possible hypothesis to account for the existence of degrees in Freemasonry has at one time or another been broached, and in the articles referred to a résumé of the arguments in their favour will be found and references to the evidence adduced compendiously given.

There seems to be very little for me to say respecting Bro. Grantham's comments. I stressed the documentary aspect of the argument because this is generally taken to be finally convincing. For many take strictly historical research to be the only method to arrive at the truth; whether consciously or not this seems at least to be very often implicitly assumed. But in this no-man's-land of research the investigator must gather evidence from every possible source. The historian may be likened to the lawyer who presents his case in court. The anthropological student is like the detective who proceeds on clues and odds and ends of information, however come by.

I agree entirely that tapestry, statuary and window designs must be included in the sources, and I would add miniatures and other designs, painted or engraved. I do not know that there is very much to be gleaned from such sources, but they do at times help to fill in details. The instance referred to by Bro. Grantham is very interesting. It would be, I think, still more so if

the earlier design could also be reproduced for comparison. I would not, however, put the transmission of ritual, or rather describe it, as oral merely. There is really no great difference between oral and written in principle, though, of course, there is a great practical difference, in that what is written may continue to exist indefinitely, while the spoken word dies as it is uttered and remains only in the memory of the hearer—if it remains at all. It would be more accurate to say that ritual is transmitted by its performance. This is certainly true of group rituals. The group must continue, though the individuals who form it change. But there must always be some in the group who have been present at a previous performance; otherwise it is not an organic transmission. But these “folk-rituals”, or some of them, in some instances, are intimately connected with the religious rites of ancient Greece and Rome, and elsewhere, as India, Babylonia and Egypt. I may cite for this the authority of Lewis E. Farnell, who in his great work, *Cults of the Greek States*, refers in several places to this connection. He says explicitly in one place (iv, 131) that the “naïve ritual of the peasant grows into, or is artificially combined with, a stately pageantry dedicated to the gods”. And this evolution of a “naïve” ritual, and its artificial combination with ceremony and morality, is precisely the same kind of thing that I suppose to have happened in the case of our third degree.

Possibly Bro. Grantham is right in questioning my bare statement that the transliterated title of Hiram Abif could not have been adopted before 1535. I should have been more guarded and said “most probably” or some such phrase. For, of course, it was to be found in all Hebrew Bibles, whether printed or in manuscript. But what make it most probably correct is that there seems very little chance of any mason learning about it from a Jew in the Middle Ages, and when very few, if any, but the Jews knew anything of Hebrew. On the other hand, the Coverdale—or rather the Matthews—Bible (which was practically a reissue of Coverdale’s work) was exceedingly popular; of which it is said that people flocked to the churches to hear it read. If one mason had been told by chance about Hiram by some scholar, it would most likely have been still-born; whereas when numbers of masons, among the church-going flocks, heard the detailed accounts of the building of Solomon’s Temple, it could well have led—in some places—to adopting Jerusalem as the place, and the reign of Solomon as the time, when the events related in the Legend were supposed to have happened.

I regret that Bro. Jones should have been disappointed; but while perhaps I could have been more informative, it would have involved more work than I was at the time able to do, and besides it would have taken a great deal more space. In the second paragraph the immediate, or detonating, motive for writing is indicated. Two instances of the repetition of the old error about the origin of the third degree, that is, of its invention at some time between 1723 and 1730, had come to my attention. The good Brethren who wrote the respective articles (otherwise of no general interest) had evidently taken their information from some of the sources I earlier referred to. I do not hope very much from the paper, for it is more than forty years ago since I first took up the cudgels in defence of the antiquity of the Master’s grade, and have done likewise many times since as opportunity served, but it has been like sowing seed on a paved highway for all the effect it has apparently had. But, as Bro. Jones has seen, I did have a vague hope of creating some interest in the anthropological approach to the study of the problems arising from the ritual, or rituals; for there are many, differing widely in externals. Yet this field should have some attractions and is an ample one, and, further, has so far scarcely even been surveyed. I have been able to do something in the way of pioneering work, but it will take many workers to cultivate it. One might suppose that an almost untouched field of research would have attractions on that account alone.

It is the conclusion that I have long since reached that the substance of the Master’s Part as a ritual performance is ages old, but as a Masonic ritual it cannot be older than the beginnings of the mason’s craft in England, or rather Great Britain. Unless it be supposed that it had also existed among the masons of older cultures, in France, Italy, Greece, and so back into the past. This is an enticing supposition, but about it I have an entirely open mind. All I am sure of is that no proof has yet been offered by those who have made it, but no evidence to show it to be impossible has yet come to light.

I would like to correct Bro. Jones’ interpretation of what he supposes to have been my object. In the main it is sufficiently correct, but I did not wish to say that “our present three parts of the Craft ritual are more or less of the same age”, and Bro. Jones’ scepticism is fully warranted. The Fellow Craft degree, for instance, came into existence, in skeleton form apparently, *circa* 1717, and was gradually amplified in the first half of the century, and it was elaborated on the model of the first degree. This is evident from the notices of it in Prichard and *L’Ordre Trahi*. What in our present-day forms in all three degrees I hold to be really ancient are the due form of the obligation in the first, and the mode of communicating the Mason Word in the third. The duplication of the obligation in the third degree arose of necessity when the original single rite was divided (presumably first in Scotland), not on any esoteric grounds, but in the material interests of the master class. This division was made in the simple and obvious way of deferring the second and most essential part of the rite to “a future occasion”. The interval to be, according to the Schaw Statutes, seven years.

The suggestion made by the late Bro. Covey-Crump, to which Bro. Jones refers, emerged as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, for the Rose Croix grade is obviously an interpretation of the third degree in this sense.

I am not able to identify a "pre-1717 M.M. rite", though I might be able, privately, or in a Lodge of Master Masons, to describe, tentatively of course, a reconstruction of what it might have been, put together out of such indications as have come down to us, and interpreted in the light of such other rituals as might seem to bear upon it. That is, in the same way that Mr. Wace, now a good many years ago, reconstructed a Dionysiac ritual, a complex and dramatic ritual, out of the surviving remnants that he found in various villages in modern Thrace. I mention this particular instance, which is probably quite unknown to most, if not all, of my critics, because it is an example of a method accepted as valid by authorities in these subjects.¹

The reason I did not mention the confession of John Coustos was that it contained nothing to my purpose, and for the same reason I did not cite other documents, such as *Le Sceau Rompu* and *Le Recueil Precieux*. My purpose was simply to show stages of the elaboration of the original rite and particularly to show that it was many years before any moralities were added to it; long after the E.A., and even the F.C., had been so elaborated; from which the conclusion seems obvious that the Master's Part was always part of the original initiation, and that for a long time it did not seem susceptible of being transformed into a vehicle of moralities. Perhaps my geometrical figure of speech was not very well chosen. What I wanted to do was to emphasise the fact that so late as 1760 the only significant addition to the Legend, as it was given by Prichard, was the account of the capture and punishment of certain criminals, and that not until the end of the century does any moralising appear; and I quoted *L'Ordre Trahi*, or more accurately *Le Secret* therein reproduced, on account of the repeated statement that the degree of Master was only "a singular ceremony", which seems to show emphatically in what light it appeared to Masons at that time.

It would seem also that I should have more definitely limited the rule that myth arises from ritual, and that ritual is not founded on a legend, historical or mythical. This rule applies only to the "genuine article" and not to imitations and inventions, and, in my opinion, the F.C. and the R.A. and all the rest of the "higher" or "advanced" grades are, in the sense required here, only imitative.

Under the head of the "Proper Points", Bro. Jones fairly and considerably admits that he is not sure that he may not have misunderstood what I said. I might counter by saying that I am not sure what he means by "Hiramic Degree" in this place. Elsewhere it could be taken as classificatory, as representing all rituals with the same nucleus or skeleton. But here it would seem that it must be understood as designatory, referring to all forms of the drama in which the principal character or personage is named Hiram or Hiram Abif, or the variant perhaps of Adoniram. On this supposition I, of course, quite agree with what he says, but I must add that this implies that he *did not* understand what I was trying to convey. I admit that the argument is condensed, too much so apparently. I will therefore try to elucidate it as much as possible in view of the necessary precautions I am bound to observe. This implies that I cannot say clearly here what I mean, and that what I write is to be understood as intentionally obscure. In the first place the passage Bro. Jones cites is to be taken as the concluding step in the argument, and not as an argument in itself alone. Secondly, it is also the solution of the puzzle that some of the Old Catechisms include matter which can only be understood as belonging to the Master's Part while yet are run together with what seems obviously to be the groundwork of the later instructions found in the E.A. lecture. What I say is that the conclusion that the original single initiatory rite was divided in Scotland for economic and monopolistic reasons (not ritualistic or symbolic reasons) affords a satisfying explanation. For the theory implies that this single initiation included two elements, the obligation and its forms, obviously necessary to a fraternity possessing secrets, and the communication of the culminating secret, the Mason Word. The division of this rite into two separate grades was in the first place made quite simply by deferring the second part to a later occasion. But this necessitated first that some secrets—means of proving the individual's status as an "entered" mason—had to be communicated, possibly invented, though I do not think so. And in the deferred part a duplication of the obligation, with undoubtedly special reference to the secrets that had been reserved, before the second element in the undivided rite was performed, that is, all that is implied by the F.P.O.F.; for of necessity there had to be some preliminaries before these.

I reaffirm what I said about the equipment necessary for exploring the origins of Masonic ritual; but it must be noted that I say the origins. There is a great deal of work that could be done—is waiting to be done—on the developments subsequent to 1717—for which the desiderated equipment would not be necessary, for the methods of pure history would be sufficient for the greater part of it. But for origins we must go to anthropology and folk-lore, for the germinal

¹ For anyone who desires to know more about this the following references may be of assistance: A. J. B. Wace, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1909-10, xvi, 250; also R. M. Dawkins, *The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysos*; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1906, xxvi, 191. I take these references from A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. i, 694, where Mr. Wace's summary is quoted.

nucleus embedded in our present-day ceremonies are, as I have said elsewhere, nothing but folk-lore, the folk-lore of a segregated group.

I am sorry that I could not say more about the "massive" argument. The inability was real. The mass is like a mountain of the ore of a precious metal, but several tons of it have to be mined and crushed and chemically treated to obtain an ounce or two of the pure metal. As I have already intimated, the subject, as a field of research in itself, has hardly yet been touched. What I have done is only a pioneering survey. One of the chief attractions that Freemasonry had for me was its ritual, but my interest in ritual is by no means confined entirely to Masonic ritual. The material has to be collected piece by piece out of a multitude of books, papers and articles. I gave the titles of several works in the paper which I think are reasonably accessible, and which also I think would give a fair introduction to the general subject. There is no doubt but that to go into the matter at all thoroughly would involve a good deal of work—but so does any research.

Bro. Radice is, I think, on the right track when he says in the second paragraph of his comments that "one must make up one's mind as to what one means by the ceremony of the Third Degree". But it is also necessary to understand what others mean if discussion is to be more than "shadow boxing". What I mean by the word "ceremony" in this connection is the whole of what is said and done in the different countries where Freemasonry exists when a F.C. is raised as a M.M. But I was not treating of this ceremony, save so far as to intimate that a great deal of it is not ancient, nor is essential to the validity of the rite. My subject was the ritual, in the restricted sense that I have defined. I must repeat this again, as most of my critics seem to find it difficult to keep it in mind, or perhaps have not fully grasped it. Bro. Radice's illustration of the silver snuff box is an imperfect analogy, and by following it out he has achieved in the third paragraph of his comments a condensed counter-hypothesis which is diametrically opposed to my position. This is within his right as a critic and I cannot object to it. But I would give an illustration of my own in the place of his artifact of silver. A grain of sand, which is as geologically ancient as silver, gets by chance into the shell of an oyster, and round it, by continual secretions, a pearl is formed. The grain of sand is not changed in any way; it is still in every respect what it was at the first. So the ritual (again in the restricted sense of the word) remains what it was before its accompaniments and concomitants of ceremonial and explanation were gradually evolved. It was not put together, concocted by anyone or at any time, whether in 1723 or before or later, out of a selection of elements that were ancient. I will not ask where the postulated concoctors found these elements, or how they had been transmitted for unknown periods of time, for it is all pure supposition, which Bro. Radice admits when he says that he does not find it impossible to suppose it. Possibility, however, may exist without probability; but Bro. Radice is in very good company in the formulation of his version of the old hypothesis of conscious and deliberate invention, for this is evidently the first idea of everyone, when facing the problem of how a ritual comes into being, to assume that it was due to conscious invention on someone's part. And, as Gomme says in the passage quoted at the beginning of this reply, it is difficult for those "who have never wandered out of the paths laid down by the methods of chronological history" to accept such conclusions as were offered in my paper; but I think Gomme was minimising, for it would seem rather to be not a little difficult but very hard for them to do so. Which, I suppose, is natural enough.

In regard to the *Graham MS.*, I called it aberrant because it is. We cannot, of course, avoid regarding it as part of the whole Masonic tradition, but it differs so widely from anything else that has come down to us that it stands quite by itself. We can say that it is in the same class as the variant Hiram legends, and we may take these as in a sub-class. But the *Graham* account must then be put in another sub-class, of which it is, so far, the sole representative. That there were variant traditions seems most probable, indeed that there were a number of them in different places throughout the Middle Ages, and Anderson's reference to Noah and Noahchidae might tend to indicate that a Noah legend was known in London; which is only what one might expect if, as I argued in my paper on the Grand Lodge, there were masons from all over Great Britain collected in London during the rebuilding of the city after the Great Fire. But, however this may be, I suspect that a good deal in the *Graham MS.* represents the personal ideas and interpretations of Thomas Graham himself, which may have gained a certain vogue in the craft in a limited area until it was swamped by the more popular, and perhaps more consistent, Hiram legend. There is no indication in the *MS.* that Noah was killed, for any motive whatever. And there is a distinct reference to Scripture which would lead us to suppose that the account of Noah's death in Genesis was in the author's mind; and this account, though not very definite, except in regard to his age, certainly does not favour the idea that there was any tragedy involved. Certainly, Noah's three sons are said to have looked for a secret in their father's grave. But they evidently knew where the grave was and no search was necessary. There is nothing in Prichard or in *Le Secret* about seeking the Word in the grave of H.A.B.; on the other hand, it is said in Prichard that the Word was lost, and it is also said that it "is now found". In the versions current in France—and which almost certainly reflect the forms then favoured in Grand Lodge circles in England—the Word is not lost at all. Those who were sent

to search for H.A.B. knew what it was, but agreed to change it for reasons given. The only form of the Hiram legend in which the Word is said to be sought for is that of the York rite in America, which descends from the ritual of the "Ancients". In this the searchers are charged to "observe whether the Master's Word or a key to it was to be found on or about the body". This appears to me to be a survival from a still earlier tradition, as the account in Prichard would indicate, for nothing whatever is made of it, nor is it indeed mentioned again. I think that the French version may well have been one of the things that the "Ancients" objected to in the ritual of the self-styled "Moderns".

But I did not leave out the *Graham MS.* merely because of its exceptional character, but because it contained nothing to the purpose I had in view. If Bro. Radice will read the passage again—it is under the sub-heading, "Elaboration of the Third Degree"—he will see what I was trying to show: that is, that it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that any symbolic or moral interpretation was attached to the Hiram legend. And I cited *L'Ordre Trahi* to show how the story (and ritual) appeared to a Frenchman in the middle of the century. Comparing this degree with that of the Apprentice, it seemed to him to be very defective in regard to moral teaching. If then this rite continued without any attempt at interpretation for sixty or seventy years it seems hardly likely that it was an invention of *circa* 1723, for anyone inventing a ritual then would certainly know what he meant by it and would have indicated his meaning. Gould made this point somewhere, but I cannot find the reference, for owing to the lack of adequate indexing, and the exceedingly discursive nature of his style, it is generally impossible to find anything wanted in his work without a long and extensive search.

There must have been incipient attempts to remedy the apparent defect before, perhaps long before, anything of the kind was included in a catechism, and I think it quite likely that Hutchinson, in the *Spirit of Masonry*, may have had considerable influence here, and no doubt there were other attempts at moralisation made here and there in the Lodges of which we have no record.

The reference to Greek tragedy and the *deus ex machina* was simply in illustration of the process of rationalisation of ancient ritual myths in which a deity or hero died and revived again. I plead guilty to condensation, and freely admit that the appearance of a god upon the stage has in itself nothing to do with any idea of resurrection. It was introduced to replace the resurrection of the hero, treated as merely a human being, in the drama. If Bro. Radice will refer to Miss Harrison's *Themis*, and read Prof. Gilbert Murray's *Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy* (p. 341), he will find much information on the subject in Prof. Murray's sixty-odd pages—much more than I can compress into a paragraph. But if this is not convenient or possible, I will say that in this *Excursus* Prof. Murray shows that the great Greek tragedians retained in their plays the essential forms of the ancient Dionysiac ritual—the Dithyramb—very much as any poet, whatever the subject of his verse, retains and keeps to the form of the metre he has adopted. And the climax of this ritual was the god's return to life. The Heroes celebrated in Greek Tragedy were not characters invented by the poets, but were the tutelary *genii* of definite localities, where each had a home, a local myth and a periodical sacrifice. The dramatists treated them as men, and so could not "rationally" bring them to life again after having killed them. But each in his own place was at least semi-divine, so that the substitution of a full deity in place of the resurrection was a quite natural expedient for turning the lamentations into the rejoicing which the ritual form required.

Bro. Rogers gives a list of the principal sources of information respecting the Masonic rites prior to 1717 and immediately after that year. Most of these were known to both Mackey and Gould, and, of course, to Hughan also and to other members of the Lodge. But I must make one protest—I did not say in the introduction to the paper that Gould came to the same conclusion as Mackey did from the fact that each of them had discovered that the first edition of the *Constitutions* referred only to two degrees, while the second requires three. Their conclusions from this discovery were, actually, diametrically opposite. Mackey, following Findel, supposed that the new degree added was our M.M., and that it then became the third. Gould, on the other hand, decided that the addition was that of what is now our F.C. and that it was inserted between the old Apprentice and Master or Fellow, and that the names or designations were re-distributed in part, so that the old second step became the third and received the title Master Mason, while the new and invented degree retained that of Fellow, or Fellow Craft.

I do not quite see why my references to Finch and Yarker should be objected to. The former's *Masonic Treatise* is dated 1802, and is dedicated "by permission" to Wm. Perfect, the then Prov. G.M. of Kent. This was the same year in which the second edition of Browne's *Master Key* was published. The first appeared in 1798, but it contains only the questions of the catechism. The number of the questions and answers was increased in the second edition and some minor alterations appear, but nothing of any moment. Finch's work preceded the second edition of Browne by some nine months, so that no question of copying can arise, yet the two works are very much alike in their content and in many places are practically identical. Why Finch should still be called a charlatan after Bro. Rickard's paper about him appeared I fail to see. In my opinion he has been most unjustly treated.

Yarker is, of course, unreliable ; that is, in accordance with common fame among Masonic students. And his conclusions often seem unwarranted, but personally I never found him guilty of misrepresenting facts, though my knowledge of his work is not very extensive. But there seems no reason at all to suppose that his transcripts of the Lodge of Lights catechisms are not accurate. From his prefatory notes in the two copies he made in 1888, for Quatuor Coronati and Grand Lodge Library respectively, it appears that the original came from the Lodge of St. John, Manchester, which Lodge later removed to Warrington and later amalgamated with the Lodge of Lights. In the Q.C. copy a letter from him to Speth was pasted, from which it appeared that "these Lectures were never printed", and adds that he thinks they are very scarce, "as I have never seen but one copy". This letter was dated November 5th, 1888. In 1924 I compared the two copies and found them identical save for a few very trifling variations, such as could easily have arisen in the copying. In the introductory notes, Yarker states that the original MS. was on paper with the watermark "Durham & Co., 1799". From this it is obvious that it could not have been earlier, but might have been even a good deal later. From the contents of the Lectures it would not surprise me if they were written after 1813. They are, however, very like the *Treatise* and the *Master Key*, but contain a good deal of additional material.

In his introduction, Yarker says "that this system of Lectures is apparently the version of the sect called 'Ancient' or York Masons". And this judgment of his is the only ground I have been able to discover for the supposition. In point of fact they are of the "Modern" type and much resemble the post-Union catechisms. The "Ancient" lectures were very different, both in phraseology and arrangement.

With much that Bro. Rylands says I am in complete accord. For following the evolution of the ceremonies that have developed about the original ritual (in my restricted sense of the word) a knowledge of contemporary thought of the time when it is to be supposed that this development began is very necessary, including ideas of art and architecture, and current philosophical ideas, and even political thought and conceptions. This is to be attained not only from the literature of the period, but also from periodicals, newspapers and the like. Psychology is also necessary, especially group psychology. That such knowledge is required I have always insisted. I have found, too, that such matters as the technique of building—in all materials—is also useful. In the explanations that are given a great lack of such knowledge is very evident, and this has led to serious misunderstanding of the old catechisms at times. I agree in all this so well with what Bro. Rylands has said, or with what I take him to mean, that it is not easy to see why he should disagree with me, except that I have not made my meaning clear.

It is true that I have long since accepted the view held generally by the authorities that myth arises from ritual, with the most important proviso that it is traditional ritual that is spoken of, and not imitative or invented. But I think I have said enough about this in the earlier part of my reply, and have acknowledged the defect in the paper on this point ; for in respect of invented rites and ceremonies it is patently not true.

I think that I have found the key to this subsidiary mystery, of his disagreement with me, in a sentence in the next to the last paragraph of his comments, where he says: "The actual content of the rite of the Master's Part, the thing done, seems to me to be of small importance."

But, is not its importance a relative matter ? It may not have any importance at all in the general moral tendency of the whole ceremony and yet be of very great importance in the evolution and development of the rite, or rites, from what they originally were to what they are as they exist today. And I do not agree with his conclusion that it is doubtful "that every new variant of the fertility rites would necessarily precede the associated legend". The ritual, in its earliest state, had its legend or myth, and the skeleton of this myth remains recognisably the same whatever the developments, just as in my illustration of the formation of a pearl. The grain of sand remains identical all through the process of secretion by which the pearl is formed, and remains in the pearl whatever happens to it later on. But I prefer the illustration of the necklace ; without the thread on which the gems are strung there would be no necklace—only a loose, unarranged handful of jewels.

Neither illustration is a perfect analogy, and perfect analogies are exceedingly rare outside of mathematics. Bro. Rylands deprecates the argument, and this raises two questions in my mind. I do not know, in the first place, just what he has in mind. Dr. Mercier, in his *New Logic*, a most amusing and at the same time penetrating work, says (p. 345):—

"At the present time Analogy is used in the writings of logicians, sometimes though rarely, in its original and proper meaning [*i.e.*, the comparison of relations] ; sometimes to mean Imperfect Induction of low validity ; and sometimes in a slipshod way to mean any kind of resemblance between any two things."

I imagine that it may be "Imperfect Induction of low validity" that Bro. Rylands had in mind, and, if so, I am in entire agreement with him that there is no more unsafe logic. But this raises the second question: in what way does this apply to my argument ? In what manner does my main thesis depend on analogical reasoning ? In analysing the three main types of the ceremonial

of the third degree, I have distinguished in each a number of points that are also to be found in the earlier forms and find that they are identical with those ritual forms that Prof. Murray has found in the Greek tragedies. These are: a contest, a *pathos*, suffering or death, lamentation, a search and a recognition, and a revival or some substitute there for, with a reversal of emotion. All these are likewise to be found in the Mummer's Play, and with varying completeness in many of the spring and summer dramatic representations from all over Europe. Do not these agreements indicate a family resemblance and suggest a common descent from still more primitive forms? Dr. Tylor would say that they form a species and are to be considered as such. This is the gist of my argument, and except in the sense Dr. Mercier mentioned, that analogy is any kind of resemblance between any two things, I cannot see that my argument is analogical.

Bro. Rylands seems to have made a profound impression on those who heard him in his reading of my paper. Several of its critics have spoken of it, and I have heard of it also through other channels. I am very grateful to him for his care in presenting it, and I quite believe that he did it much better than I could have done myself.

Bro. Ward appears to think that my thesis is "that an embryonic Hiram legend was already ancient custom before becoming the central feature of a third degree instituted after 1723", but adds that he is not sure that this is my meaning. To begin with, I certainly did not mean that a third degree was instituted after 1723, or, for that matter, instituted at all. What I tried to convey was that the Master's Part, which was included in the Masonry taken over by the new organisation, the Grand Lodge, became the third degree after the invention of our Fellow Craft degree, which was *inserted* between the Apprentice and Master degrees at some time between 1717 and 1730, thereby causing what seems to be inextricable confusion about the designations and numbers of the degrees in the then new arrangement, which is, of course, the arrangement we have today. Further, I am not sure what is meant by "Hiram legend". Is it to be taken as a type of such legends, or is it to be taken in a particular sense? While not impossible, I think it highly improbable that a legend that spoke of Hiram could have come into existence before the publication of the Matthews Bible. Yet in view of the paper by Bro. Tuckett in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi, to which Bro. Ward draws attention, I would grant the possibility of the adoption of Hiram, with the whole scenery of Solomon's Temple, in 1520 or even earlier. But, taking into account all the circumstances, I believe it is most probable that it was after 1537, the year the Matthews Bible was published, for, through that, the account of the building of the Temple could have become widely known, and would especially impress the masons who read it or who heard it read. However, my reason for not referring to this paper was that it contained nothing relevant to my argument. I referred to his paper, submitted to the Somerset Master's Lodge, because, as I said, his argument was in part parallel to mine, and also because he referred to a word that is to be found in the *Mason's Examination*, and which appears in that part of the *Essex MS.* which was omitted by Knoop and Jones in *Early Masonic Catechisms*.

As I have already intimated earlier in my reply, my interjected remark about the full equipment required to investigate the origins of ritual does not disqualify anyone from work on its development or to grasp the main argument in the paper, for this lies within the boundaries of history, being as it is based on documents. This argument concludes in the paragraph under the heading "Proper Points". The remainder of the paper is, I suppose, a kind of prospectus, or brief description, of the nature of the ritual element now embodied in the third or Master Mason degree, in each of the three main types or forms of that degree, in Europe, the British Isles and America. And this embodied element is the same, I believe, as that alluded to in the C.C. Group of the old catechisms, of which group the *E.R.H. MS.* is important as bearing its date. But if tradition has clung faithfully to these essentials for more than 250 years it would seem that it must have been equally faithful going back into the past from 1696, when *E.R.H.* was copied. But perhaps I am getting out of bounds here and am straying from the well-paved paths of strict history into the wilderness of the comparative method. But the last part of my paper is not so much an argument as a statement of the results gathered from the whole mass of the evidence, historical and anthropological. I called the latter "massive" from its sheer bulk. It would take a treatise of considerable length to set it out in coherent form. I have been working on a preliminary sketch of such a treatise for twenty years and more, but do not think I shall be able to complete it. I should like to pass on the work done and the materials collected to others, if any there be who would be interested.

I was very interested in Bro. Ward's discovery that Ashmole had tried his hand at concealing his name in one of these enigmas—anagrams and rebuses—that seem to have been quite the fashion in the seventeenth century, especially in hermetic and alchemical works. A collection of these might prove instructive if anyone should undertake the task.

Bro. Worts has presented in his comments an attractive hypothesis of his own in which he has put together a number of facts, well known, I suppose, to us all, but which have not been distinguished or arranged in this way before, by which he has presented them in a new light. It is somewhat like coming on a well-known landscape from a new point of view. The familiar features have a look of strangeness about them. I think that this hypothesis might be carried further.

However, I must take exception to a few points. For one thing, he seems to think that the "formula of admission" was devised, and this for a practical purpose. In the context this appears to be the same, in principle, as that proposed by Knoop and Jones in the *Scottish Mason*. It is one with which I am quite unable to agree, as, indeed, I have been trying to show all through my paper and this reply.

Again, he appears to suppose that in the Middle Ages the vogue of swearing, of taking oaths, derives from the Church. In primitive times the Church remembered the words of our Lord: "Swear not at all", but as it became powerful it forgot this and other things, and permitted or adopted many usages that were originally of pagan origin. There is no doubt that the taking of oaths on all sorts of occasions, either of gravity and moment or not so serious, and even frivolous, was a general custom in the Roman Empire, and equally so among the Teutonic and Celtic races of the north of Europe. I think that the adoption and sacralisation of some oaths by the Church was itself derived from paganism and pagan ways of thought. This I feel obliged to point out because I hold that the swearing of an oath of secrecy was the first element in the original ritual of admission into the earliest organisation of the masons. And the actual form of the oath, though Christianised by the use of a holy book as an additional sanction, is quite obviously (to the folklorist and anthropologist) of non-Christian origin.

I am not at all sure how Bro. Worts regards the F.P.O.F. He says that they "may well have been within this 'admission' ceremony", the one he has before spoken of as "devised". Where I have mentioned these points it was as conveniently representing the final ritual action in the original single initiation rite, which by 1730 had become the Master's Part. The use of the phrase as a *schema* for inculcating the essential moralities of a fraternity—the duties of the members towards each other—is a derived and secondary one. In the culmination of the initiation they are, in fact, inseparable from the final action, and they obviously arose from that action. This I regard as very important. They are not part of the *legomena*, the things said, but of the *dromena*, the things done. Of course, they are later "said" in an instruction, but this is not part of the ritual (in my restricted sense) but one of its accretions and concomitants that turn the whole complex into a ceremony or a rite.

With Bro. Worts, and with our late Bro. Knoop, I quite agree that this initiation was used later for purely practical purposes, that of separating the sheep from the goats—those who belonged and those who did not; but instead of supposing that this initiation was devised or concocted for the purpose, I maintain that an indefinitely old ritual—handed down quite probably, in the first place, for superstitious reasons—was at some time, perhaps in the sixteenth century, adapted and utilised, not only to keep the cowans and losses out, but also to increase the interval of time during which the neophyte was kept out of the full privileges of the society. And one of these adaptations was precisely for this purpose, that is, the separation of the original single rite into two steps. And, incidentally, though Bro. Carr has shown from the Edinburgh records that the apprentice bound was "entered" generally at some time about the middle of his seven years of servitude, the Schaw Statutes distinctly envisage a second period of seven years after the expiration of the first, during which period the ex-apprentice was only an entered apprentice, according to Scottish terminology. In England we know nothing about this; the division, when it first appears, seems to be of purely Scottish origin, while from what evidence, or rather indications, remain to us, the ritual throughout the country remained generally undivided up to the eighteenth century. Thus, becoming a Fellow meant belonging to the Society in its fullest sense and as having all its rights and privileges—that is, all we understand as being a Master Mason. The change or re-distribution of titles following the invention or fabrication of our second or Fellowcrafts degree (*circa* 1725 apparently) and its insertion, as Gould says (*Hist.*, 1st edn., vol. iv, pp. 362 and 365), between the E.A. and the old Master and Fellow, the two separated parts of the original single initiation, is what has caused all the confusion.

But I do not think that the reason given by Bro. Worts for dissenting from the second of the two points he selected for criticism is really valid from his point of view, for it is based on a misconception of what I tried to make clear. According to his hypothetical reconstruction of the early organisation of the Craft, the Masters kept their organisation apart from the Journeymen and, of course, from the Apprentices. Journeymen he must mean, for at the time he supposes there was no Fellow Craft degree. But this is exactly what I say—the earliest organisation was one of Masters and Fellows—not Fellow Crafts—though I do not suppose that we would wholly agree on who and what the Masters were. But we cannot safely argue from the present series of degrees; Fellow Craft is now explained as Journeyman, but originally the Fellows of the Society came after the Masters, for before a mason could become a Fellow he had to be qualified as a Master, and being made a Fellow was an acknowledgment that he was so qualified. Really the terms were synonymous, and this presumably is one of the roots of the persistent confusions of thought about this matter.

In replying to the objections and questions that have been made and asked, I have not confined myself so much to specific answers or explanations, but have endeavoured to expand and elucidate to some extent the compression of the paper. My critics have shown where this

was specially needed, for it seems safe to suppose that they have offered the same kind of objection that will rise in the minds of the general reader. And to be frank, I think if I had written more at length I would only have given occasion for still more questions and objections. As it is, I have had a guide given in the various comments, and I hope that in some measure it has been possible to explain and fortify the positions attacked.

One thing has very definitely emerged, and that is that for Masons it is most difficult to remember, and keep in mind, the fact that I use the term "ritual" in a very restricted sense. I do not think that this difficulty would be nearly as great for the general, non-Masonic, reader. But to Masons the word is so familiar, so frequently used, and has so many associations, and means so many different things, that perhaps it is almost impossible for them to keep the restricted and definite meaning in view. In what I have said in this reply I have harped on this—probably *ad nauseam*—because unless the defined meaning is kept in mind what I say must inevitably appear preposterous and absurd.



NOTES



CORRECTION.—In Bro. T. M. Carter's *Provincial Warrants* (A.Q.C., xlii, p. 13) the Warrant of the Corinthian Lodge, No. 561, is stated to have been lost; in fact, it is still extant, in the safe keeping of the Newark Masonic Hall.

The Warrant was issued by Thomas Boothby Parkyns (afterwards Lord Ranciffe), Prov. Grand Master, on 5th June, 1790, in favour of "Sherbrooke Lowe Esquire, Reverend Charles Feroler Clerk, William Gibson, John Flewker, John Strong senior, John Strong junior, John Newgam, James Wallis, George Baxter, Thomas Hall and James Clerk and several other Brethren residing at Newark upon Trent", to be held at the Wing Tavern, Gibson to be Master, and Flewker and Strong junior to be Wardens.

Lane shows that the Lodge bore the numbers 470, 524 and 347, made its last payment in 1833 and was erased in 1851.

The Dep. Prov. Grand Master, Bro. H. B. E. Stevens, P.G.D., informs me that Prov. G.L. Minutes of 28th November, 1849, show that "The Prov. Grand Master reported that the Warrant of the Corinthian Lodge, No. 561, had been handed to him by the relatives of the last surviving member, and he stated it to be his intention to transfer such Warrant for the purpose of establishing a Lodge at Mansfield". This course, however, could not be carried out.

A final reference is in the Minute Book of the Newton Lodge, No. 1661, under date 14th April, 1882:—

Bro. W. Newton communicated to the Lodge that the Ancient Charter of the Corinthian Lodge of Newark had been entrusted to him for presentation to the Lodge, having been in the possession of W.Bro. Edw. Percy, P.D.P.G.M. Notts.; after some interesting remarks he made the following proposition, which was seconded by Bro. W. N. Nicholson M.P., who remarked that one of the Founders of the Corinthian Lodge, whose name appears in the Charter, Bro. Wm. Newgam, was his grandfather: "That a hearty vote of thanks be given to W.Bro. Edw. Percy, P.D.P.G.M. Notts for having kindly restored (through Bro. W. Newton P.P.G.S.W.) the Ancient Charter of the Corinthian Lodge of Newark."

H. W. MACE.

Sunday Meetings.—Noting the "heading" of Sunday Meetings in the Synopsis of the paper to be read by Bro. Norman Rogers, I remembered that All Souls' Lodge, when meeting at Tiverton, held its R.A. Meetings on Sundays. The old Minute Book, which runs from April, 1773 to March, 1792, bears this out.

In two definite instances the Minutes state:—

- (a) St. John's Hall, Tiverton, October 13th, 1782 *2nd Sunday*

"This night was hold a Most Excellent Sacred Holy and Sublime R.A. Chapter".

- (b) St. John's Hall, Tiverton, Janry. 12th, 1783 *2nd Sunday*

The last part of the Minutes of this meeting read:—

"Ordered the Chapter be hold for the future the Sunday that W.W.Br. Wm Wood preaches in the new Church".

It may here be mentioned that Bro. Rev. Wm. Wood was the brother of Beavis Wood, who was the first Master of All Souls' Lodge, founded in October, 1767. He played a very active part in the Lodge affairs, even when he became Provincial Grand Secretary for Devonshire, and finally arranged for the transfer of the Lodge to Weymouth in 1804.

The book records that some evenings candidates took the degree of Excellent Mason and then that of the R.A.

Nov. 16th, 1781

This night was hold a Sacred Solemn Just and Perfect Chapter of Free & Accepted Excellent Masons.

Then follows the names of those present.

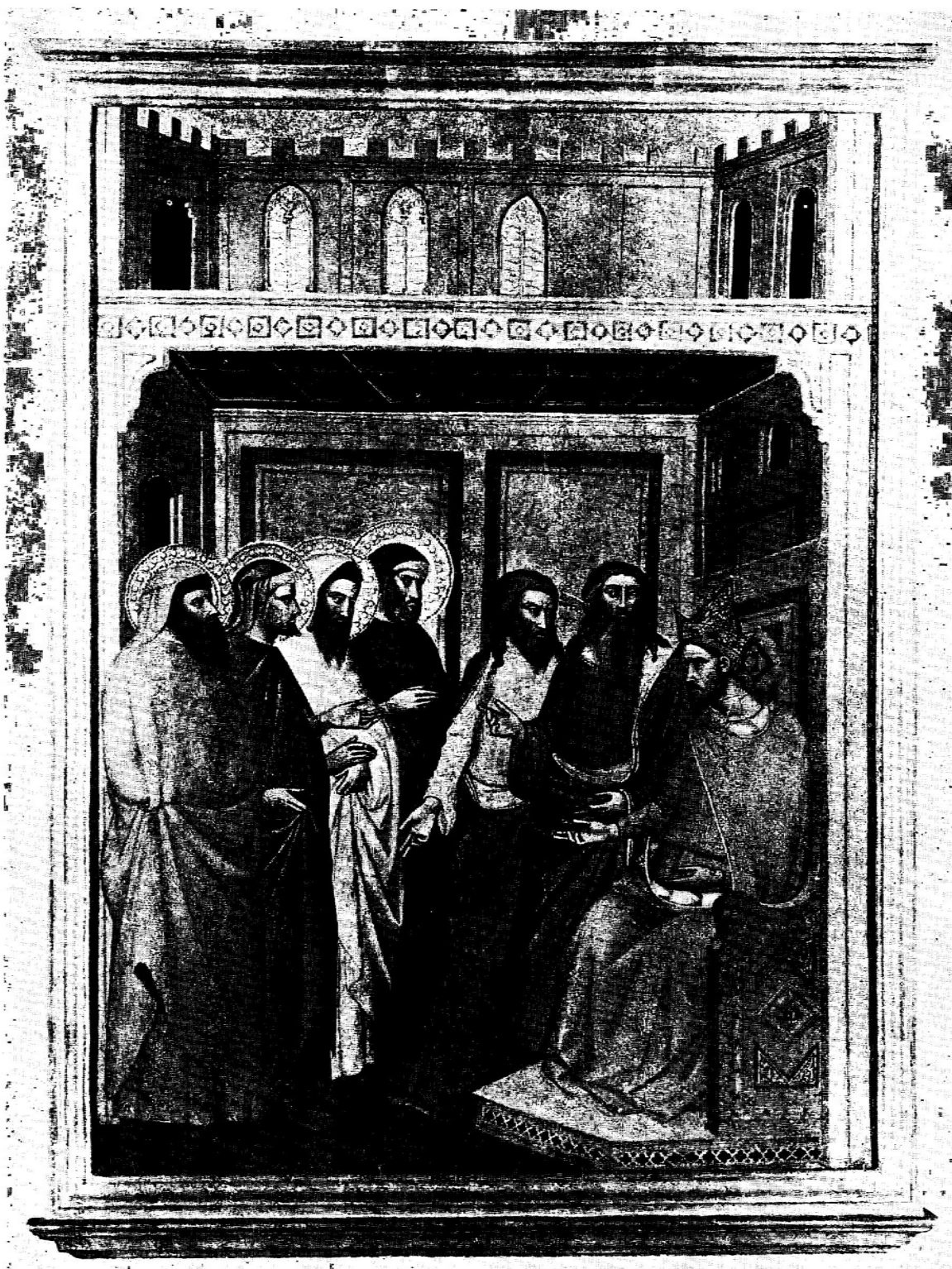
Niccolo di Pietro Gerini



The Quatuor Coronati

by courtesy of the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Birmingham Museum of Art

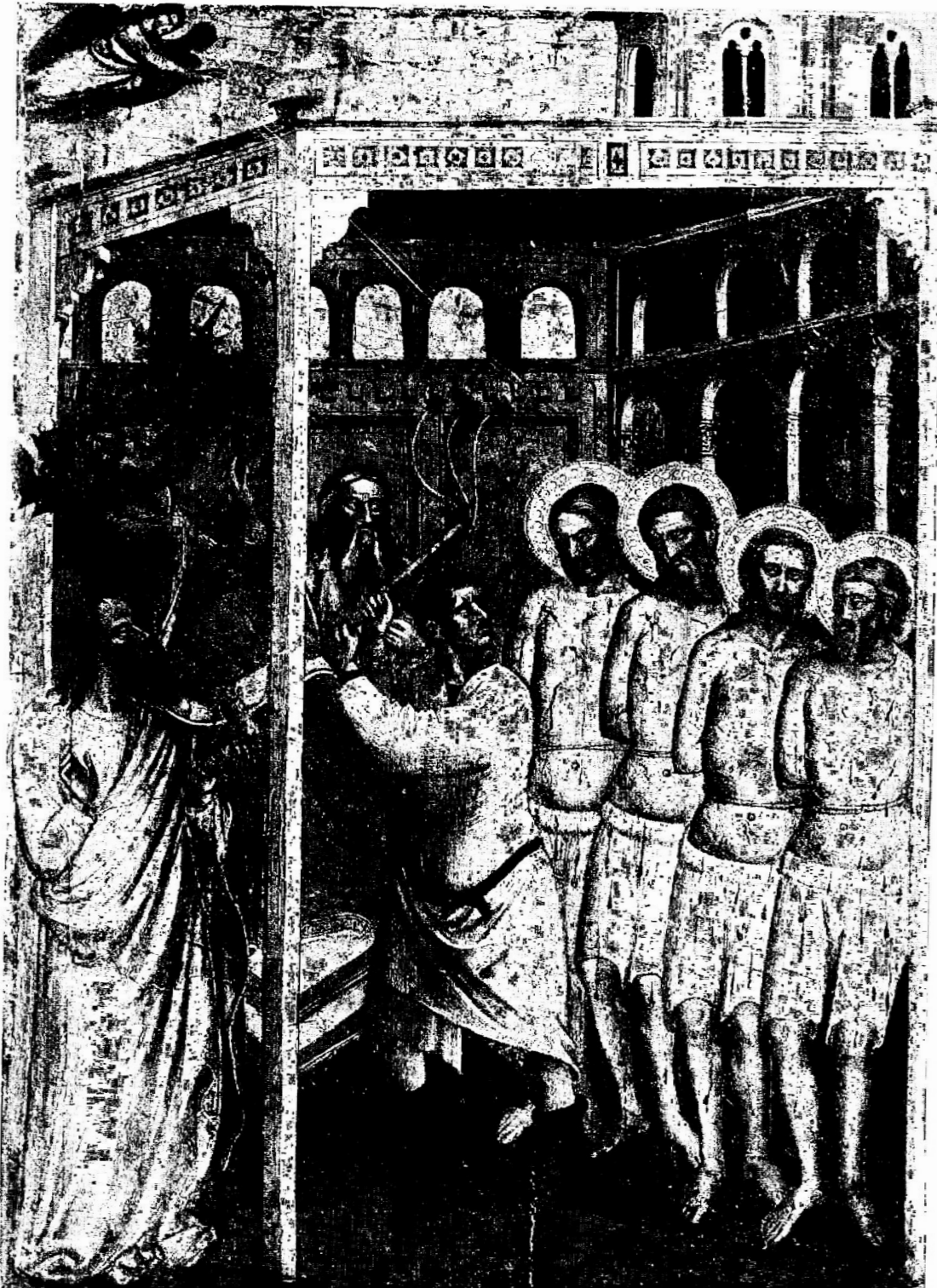
Niccolo di Pietro Gerini



The Quatuor Coronati before Diocletian

by courtesy of the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Denver Art Museum

Niccolo di Pietro Gerini



The Quatuor Coronati before Lampadius

by courtesy of the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia

"Br. John Cruys, Br. Henry Cruys, & T. Enchmarch were *admitted* to the Sacred Solemn Just and Perfect Degree of Excellent Masons."

Nov. 16th, 1781

This night was hold A Most Excellent Sacred Holy and Sublime R.A. Chapter.

Then follows the names of those present.

"Br. John Cruys, Br. Henry Cruys, and T. Enchmarch were *exalted* to the Most Excellent, Sacred Holy and Sublime Degree of R.A. Masons."

H. CRUMBLEHOLME.

The Quatuor Coronati.—The existence of the three paintings of the Quatuor Coronati which are reproduced in these *Transactions* has apparently escaped the notice hitherto of members of the Craft. Two of them are owned by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the third is the property of the John G. Johnson Collection.

The three paintings are undoubtedly the work of the same artist and are attributed by B. Berenson, the author of *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (1932), to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. Two of them are approximately the same size, and are believed to be panels from the same predella or altarpiece.

Niccolo di Pietro Gerini was a Florentine and a pupil of Taddeo Gaddi. He became a member of the gild Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1368. His earliest recognised work is "The Coronation of the Virgin Mary", an altarpiece painted for the Church of S. Pietro Maggiore, and now in the National Gallery, London. From 1370 to 1373 he collaborated with Jacopo di Cioni, and Berenson is of opinion that this collaboration is evident in one at least of these three pictures. Later Gerini collaborated with Agnolo Gaddi, the son of his master. He himself painted the frescoes in Pisa which he signed in 1392, but later, from 1399 to 1401, he was again collaborating with other artists, among them his son Lorenzo di Niccolo and Spinello Aretino. To judge from the orders he received for frescoes and altarpieces, his atelier must have been a very busy one, and in some of the works attributed to him the work of his helpers is more prominent than his own. He died in 1415 or 1416.

Dr. William E. Suida, the Curator of Research of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, in his description of the first picture on exhibition at the Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, writes that the "Emperor Diocletian, accompanied by two of his counsellors, is giving orders to five workmen. The scene evidently refers to the legend of the Quatuor Coronati who were natives of the Roman Province of Pannonia (Hungary) and suffered martyrdom for their refusal to work on the building of a pagan temple. . . . It is not easy to determine which incident of the legend is the subject of our painting. It may be that the five assistants are covering the tomb of their four masters who were put to death before them." This suggestion is not supported by the versions of the legend as we have it in the *Arundel MS.* and the accounts written by Porphyrius and Petrus, for, after the workmen had appeared before the tribune, Diocletian ordered "that coffins of lead be made, and let them be shut up alive therein and cast into the river". This was done, and later, when Nichodemus raised the coffins, he placed them in his own house. Nor is it supported by the same versions of the death of the four soldiers who were beaten to death with leaden clubs and their bodies thrown to the dogs in the streets. After five days, "the blessed Sebastien, along with the Saintly Miltiades, pontiff of the See of Rome, collected them by night and buried them in the Lavican Way". In either case there was no burial at which Diocletian was present. It is possible, of course, that the artist had access to a version of the legend which has not survived, or is at present unknown to us.

It is curious that the artist depicts the workmen laying a very large stone without the use of any mechanical contrivance, or even wooden wedges.

This picture, which measures 16in. x 18in., was originally part of a predella, and was purchased by the Kress Foundation in 1950. Dr. Suida says that as the border decoration is lacking at the left side it is possible that the panel was originally a little wider, and that a portion has been cut off.

Dr. Suida also states that in addition to the attribution of this picture by Berenson to Gerini, Professor Roberto Longhi, of the University of Florence, has also endorsed Gerini's authorship.

The second picture, which is on exhibition at the Denver Art Museum at Denver, Colorado, is also the property of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, who acquired it in 1928. It represents the interrogation of the Quatuor Coronati by Diocletian. It is 24½in. x 17½in. and is one of the panels of the same predella as the third picture. Diocletian is enthroned, and the two counsellors, or "philosophers", as they are called in the Legend, are pleading their case against the four workmen who are shown with haloes.

G. Fiocco, F. F. Mason Perkins and William Suida, in addition to Berenson, have given written attributions of this work to Gerini, but R. Longhi and A. Venturi attribute it to Spinello Aretino.

The third picture, 24in. x 17½in., on exhibition at Philadelphia, is owned by the John G. Johnson Collection, and is believed to be another panel of the same predella as the second picture. It is the most interesting of the three pictures and faithfully follows the legendary story. The artist has attempted to depict three phases of the trial of the workmen. Lampadius, the tribune, is seated on the judgment seat. Greatly angered by the firm replies of the workmen—"We are not afraid of your threats, nor do we, in deference to you, make any compromise: we fear rather eternal punishment"—Lampadius ordered them to be stripped and beaten with scorpions. "But in that very hour, Lampadius the tribune, as he sat on the tribunal, was gripped by a demon, and rending himself asunder, he breathed his last." A second figure of Lampadius is shown on the left, seized by two demons who are throttling him. At the extreme top left is a haloed figure, probably intended to represent an angel.

Oswald Siren notes a close connection between this picture, especially in the types and folds, with the "Crucifixion" in the National Gallery, London (No. 1468), attributed to Spinello Aretino, but evidently, in his opinion, one of Jacopo di Cione's best works.

Who painted these pictures is a matter for the experts to decide, but it is clear that, whatever difference of opinion there exists among them, there is general agreement that the artist was one of the group with which Gerini was closely associated. A full biography of Gerini and an appreciation of his work and that of his helpers and associates may be found in Vol. xiii of Thieme und Becker's *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Kunstler*.

The *Arundel MS.* will be found in *A.Q.C.*, i, and the translations of the Porphyrius and Petrus versions in *A.Q.C.*, xxvii. Those members of the Lodge who do not have access to the earlier volumes of our *Transactions* will find a short, but most complete, Note on the legends written by Bro. G. W. Speth in *A.Q.C.*, lxvi.

The memorial niche to the Quatuor Coronati executed by Nanni di Banco on the instructions of the Gild of Smiths, Carpenters and Masons at Or San Michele, Florence, reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xii, 198, and their statues on the capitals of the columns of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice and upon the arca di San Agostino in Pavia, are all chronologically close to Gerini's work.

I wish to express my thanks to Bro. B. V. Atkinson, a member of the Correspondence Circle, for drawing my attention to these pictures; to the Kress Foundation and the Trustees of the Johnson Collection for permission to reproduce the paintings; to Dr. Suida for his great assistance; to Bro. Gerard Brett and Bro. Ronald E. Heaton, of Philadelphia, for their help; and to our Secretary, Bro. J. R. Dashwood, for the many inquiries he made at the British Museum and elsewhere.

A. J. B. MILBORNE.

An Unknown Edition.—For a number of years I have had in my Library the first and second editions of *Solomon in All His Glory*, together with another edition dated 1766, the same date as the generally recognised first edition. This latter one was sold to me as an early issue of the first edition. This was obviously incorrect, as apart from the title pages being different the two books have not been printed from the same type, nor do the pages of the two editions correspond with each other. As I can find no record anywhere of another copy of this edition, which I think the evidence shows is an earlier edition than the generally recognised first edition, I am setting out herein a comparison of the two editions. For the sake of brevity I will refer to the generally recognised first edition as "The first edition", and to the other as "The earlier edition".

Solomon in All His Glory is a translation of the French exposure, "Le Macon Démasqué, ou Le Vrai Secret des Francs Maçons, mis au Jour dans toutes ses parties avec sincerite et sans deguisement", the imprint of which is as follows: "A. Londres Chez Owen Temple Bar, 1751. Le Prix est un shelling."

It is obvious from an examination of the various editions of *Solomon in All His Glory* that there has been one English translation only which has been used in all the editions. Whether they all copied from the original translation or from each other it is impossible to tell. I rather think they copied from each other. The translation itself is a fairly good free translation, rather verbose and at times stilted. There are several obvious mistakes which should have been picked up, but only one has been and that in Wilkinson's Irish edition of 1777. It is such an obvious mistake that it would not need much intelligence to correct it without needing to go to the original French. In the Catechism we find the following question and answer:—

M. What do you mean by the immoveable Jewels?

W. I understand by them the Board which the Masters draw their designs upon, the Cubical pointed stone upon which the Brother-Craft wet their tools, and the rough stone used by the Apprentices.

The word "wet" is an obvious mistake for "whet" and is corrected in the Irish edition, though the mistake persists in the three English editions.

There are two other mistakes of the translator which should have been picked up by anybody reading it through without necessarily going back to the French. The following questions and answers appear in the Catechism:—

- M. What road did you take to become a Warden ?
 W. I advanced from the rule to the compass.
 M. How were you received ?
 W. By three Knocks.
 M. What do these three knocks signify ?
 W. The Word Adoniram, our respectable Master.
 M. How was he assassinated ?
 W. By three fellowcraft, etc.

The word "Warden" in the first line should be the Master. The French phrase used is "pour parvenir au Venerable". The word "Venerable" is used throughout to designate the Worshipful Master. When reference is made to being made a Master Mason the word "Maitre" is used, and the word for Warden is "surveillant". The line should read as follows: "How did you advance to the Worshipful Master ?"

The answer to the third question should start: "The Death of Adoniram." The original French is "Le Mort D'Adoniram". The translator obviously mistook "Le Mort" for "Le Mot".

The imprint on the first edition is as follows: "London — Printed for G. Robinson and J. Roberts in Pater-Noster-Row MDCCLXVI Price 2s.", while the imprint on the earlier edition is merely "Printed in the year MDCCLXVI".

The rest of the two title pages is the same, with the exception of the reference in that of the first edition to the illustrations and the list of Lodges which is missing in the earlier edition, as it has neither illustrations nor list of Lodges.

Both editions consist of Title Page, Dedication and Preface ; then follows the main part, consisting of a narrative and description of the Lodge and its furnishings and the working of the three degrees, taking up 37 pages in the earlier one and 42 in the first edition. Then follows the Freemason's Catechism, which takes up approximately 10½ pages in each edition, after which there are five pages in the earlier edition and six in the first edition taken up with the Constitutions and the explanation of the furniture and jewels. Then follow in the first edition three illustrations with explanations and a list of the Lodges, ending with No. 357. The first edition also has on the back of the preface an advertisement by the translator.

The two editions have obviously used the same translation, the main difference between them being that the editor of the earlier one has tried to cut out anything in any way derogatory to the craft or its members or the ceremonies themselves, while the editor of the first edition has omitted nothing which is in the French. The original narrator, Thomas Wilson, includes in his narrative many rather sarcastic and derogatory remarks regarding the craft and its members and the ceremonies. He is continually bemoaning the fact that his initiation has cost him "Twelve shining Guineas". All these references have been cut out in the earlier edition. The editor has cut out words alone or sentences and, in some cases, whole paragraphs. In the preface he has cut out a whole page-and-a-half on end. There are probably five or six pages all told cut out. He even cuts out the penalty from the obligation. In every case, with the exception of the obligation, what has been cut is the comment and criticism of the narrator. The Catechism has not been touched ; it is word for word in both editions, with the exception of some typographical errors in the earlier edition which have been corrected in the first edition. For example, in the earlier edition the word "designs" in the first quotation above is given as "signs" and corrected in the first edition. In the earlier edition, "Eclaircissements" is spelt with one "s". This has been corrected in the first edition.

The following are examples of the type of sentence which has been cut in the earlier edition. The first paragraph in the narrative portion of the first edition finished up as follows: "At present it consists of a confused jumble of obscure and distinguished people indiscriminately drawn from almost every station, uniting in only one opinion, The Love of Gormandising."

In the earlier edition the last four words have been eliminated, leaving the reader to wonder what the one opinion was.

Just before the obligation the first edition has the following: "Then holding up the mallet, he made me pronounce this shocking oath ; which I call to mind with horror, and which made me tremble to repeat."

This is rendered as follows in the earlier edition: "Then holding up the mallet he made me pronounce this Oath."

For the penalty in the obligation which embodies the penalties of all three degrees in a rather more vivid form than the modern, the earlier edition has the following: "And in case of being guilty of any infraction I consent to have the most exemplary punishment."

The question I would like to solve is which of the two editions was published first.

I would think that the one I have called the earlier was the first published. I cannot see Robinson and Roberts' edition being published first. If theirs had been the first, the publisher of the other one, a cut-down, emasculated edition without illustrations and without list of Lodges, would be taking a big risk in publishing it against an already existing larger edition just published by a well-known firm of booksellers. I would think it more probable that Robinson and Roberts' edition put the other earlier one off the market.

By a strange coincidence, two years later, in 1768, a pamphlet or sermon was published called *Freemasonry, the Highway to Hell*, the whole printing, type and set-up very much like the earlier edition of *Solomon in All His Glory*, and the imprint was: "London. printed in the year MDCCLXVIII". In the same year another edition almost identical with this was published, and the imprint was: "London Printed for Robinson and Roberts No 25 Pater-Noster-Row MDCCLXVIII".

N. B. SPENCER.

The Interpretation of Dassigny.—Further to the Note under this heading in *A.Q.C.*, lxx, pp. 116-7, the following extracts from Bro. R. F. Gould's writings are of interest:—

Military Lodges, p. 155: There can hardly be a doubt . . . that the communication of the secrets of the Royal Arch, was the earliest form in which any mystical teaching was associated with the incident of a Master being placed in the chair of his Lodge. Out of this was ultimately evolved the degree of Installed Master.

History of Freemasonry, vol. ii (1885 ed.), p. 458: An Arch-Mason, therefore, was one who received a Degree or step beyond the recognised and legitimate *three*. Out of this was ultimately evolved the degree of Installed Master, a ceremony unknown, in the older system, until the second decade of the present century, and of which I can find no trace among the "Ancients", until the growing practice of conferring the "Arch" upon brethren not legally qualified to receive it, brought about a *constructive passing through the Chair*.

It is also of interest to remember that in the Youghal Procession of 1743 it is in connection with the *Master* of Lodge No. 21 that the Royal Arch is carried. And in the Coleraine Minute of 1752, the wording is "Samson Moore, a *Master* [italics mine] and Royal Arch Mason". It may be claimed that "Master" should be equated with Master Mason; but surely it is equally simple to believe that it says exactly what it means?

J.R.D.

A Masonic Candle-Box.—R.W.Bro. Percy Still, P.G.W., writes: I understand that "Candle-Boxes" were in fairly general use as part of the ordinary house furniture up to about the middle of the nineteenth century. The candles in use then were the old "dip" tallow candles. The ordinary household candle-box was not so large as this Masonic specimen; those that I have seen are about 14in. x 9in., whereas the front of this box measures 16in. x 11in. The back is extended a further five inches for hanging on the wall. The front always opens horizontally on a pair of hinges at about the middle.

I am told that a very usual position for the candle-box in a house was in the entrance hall, often near the foot of the staircase.

I have no information as to candle-boxes having been in use in Masonic Lodges, and the antique-dealer from whom this was bought can give no information of its former possessor or from what quarter it came.

Among other emblems in the inlaid design on the front of the box are the two pens in saltire, which would indicate the Secretary of the Lodge as its owner. My suggestion is that the Secretary of a Lodge had the box made for the storage of a reserve of tallow candles for the Lodge, and that it was possibly fixed in position on the wall behind or near his table. It might, of course, have been fixed in the ante-room, but it would appear to have definitely been in the care of the Lodge Secretary. It is possible that this particular box, with its masonic inlay work, may be the production of an enthusiastic amateur who made it for his own particular use at the Lodge. It does not look like the work of a cabinet-maker, although the inlay work is quite good.

It would be interesting to hear if any Brother has ever heard of any such candle-box having been in use in an old Lodge.
