

St. John's Day in Harvest

FRIDAY, 24th JUNE, 1960



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

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. L. Thompson, A. J. Thurnell, W. F. Barrell, T. H. Clarke, G. S. M. Peall, A. F. Mills, W. J. Netherton, F. H. Anderson, G. P. Smith, S. Elwis, A. L. Blank, B. Foskett, A. R. Hewitt, H. E. Cohen, D. F. Logsdon, J. M. Nicholson, E. Winterburgh, K. H. Phillips, R. Holland, P. J. K. Webster and two illegible.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. M. A. Dunaway, Lodge 2756; H. O. Twitchen, Lodge 2987; J. H. Cotton, Lodge 7017; R. T. C. Castell, Lodge 4615; and W. S. Sanak, Lodge 3574.

Letters of apology for absence were recorded from Bros. Ivor Grantham, O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.; 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.; J. R. Rylands, M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Waples, P.G.St.B.; A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; N. B. Spencer, B.A., LL.B., O.S.M., W.M.; G. Brett, P.M. Lodge 1494; G. S. Draffen, M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, P.M.; and F. R. Worts, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., I.G.

One District Grand Lodge, three Lodges, two Study Circles, one Library and twenty-five Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. A. R. Hewitt, Assistant Librarian to Grand Lodge, called attention to the following

EXHIBITS

From the Grand Lodge Library and Museum:—

List of Members, Royal York Lodge, 1792 (?).

Letter from the Provincial Grand Secretary to the Grand Secretary, 8th August, 1792, in which mention is made of the removal of the Royal York Lodge from the "White Lion" to the "Bush Tavern", and of the intended visit by Thomas Dunckerley, the Provincial Grand Master, to the city.

Letter from the Provincial Grand Secretary to the Grand Secretary, 13th June, 1795, forwarding a list of members of four Lodges, and stating that "the Royal York Lodge does not meet during the summer so that I cannot obtain their list".

Letter from J. G. Powell, dated Bristol, 15th February, 1815, to Edwards Harper, Joint Grand Secretary, seeking "information on the newly arranged style of procedure", i.e., that recommended by the Lodge of Reconciliation.

Collar Jewel of Frederick Charles Husenbeth, Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Bristol, 1825.

Cross of the Order of Knights Templar (Baldwyn Pattern).

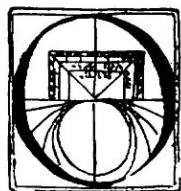
Star of the Order of Knights Templar (Baldwyn Pattern).

Bro. E. WARD read an interesting paper, entitled *Richard Blake and the York Lodge of Bristol*, as follows:—

RICHARD BLAKE, THE ROYAL YORK LODGE OF BRISTOL AND ITS R.A. AND K.T. APPENDAGES

BY BRO. E. WARD, P.M. Lodge 5386

INTRODUCTION



ON 16th August, 1789, a Provincial Warrant was granted by Thos. Dunckerley to Richard Blake, the Rev. J. A. Small, D.D., and the Rev. Wm. Blake to form the Royal York Lodge, No. 546, to be held at the White Lyon, Bristol. The life of the Lodge was extremely short, but during its brief existence it brought together the most colourful and eminent group of personalities who have yet held the Masonic stage in the City. It contained the first Bristolian ever to become a P.G.M., it produced the R.A. Chapter of Liberty and Sincerity, which at one period was the only Bristol "Moderns" Chapter in being, and it gave birth to one of the first three K.T. Conclaves, the "Eminent Chapter of Antiquity", to be granted Patents of Constitution by Dunckerley. Furthermore, the Lodge Warrant had the unusual distinction of serving two Lodges of the same name, at the same time, but thousands of miles apart.

The central figure in all these activities was Lt.-Col. Richard Blake, merchant and opportunist of no mean order. This is mainly the story of the work of that remarkable and mercurial character.

PART I—THE ROYAL YORK LODGE

The meagre records that exist show the Lodge to have been a live entity between August, 1789, and December, 1792, and why it failed is uncertain, though the reason given by Henry Smith that it was ruined by extravagance is unlikely to be the whole story. More probable is that as the period immediately following formation, when war broke out with France, was one of the most commercially disastrous in the City's history, the Lodge ceased to attract the type of man necessary to maintain the standard of elegance and affluence which had been established.

There are now no minute books or cash accounts, these passing into the hands of a Bro. Richard Huggins, member of Hospitality Lodge c. 1809, since when none have come to light. But the original warrant still exists, together with a most valuable complete list of members and some correspondence, which collectively provide enough basic facts to make possible a story of perhaps unusual interest.

Almost every member of the Lodge seems to have played a prominent part in the life of the city, and some, indeed, became national figures. The total membership was 59 (a very large number for those days), biographical details being given later.

In 1802, *i.e.*, within the era when no new warrants were issued, a new Lodge at Minchinhampton, Glos., took the same name and number, and deludedly thought it was working under the old warrant of the Bristol Lodge. None of these members can be recognised as having had any connection with the previous Lodge and, therefore, are ignored for the purposes of this paper.

In May, 1809, Thos. Southey, then living at Taunton, wrote to Richard Blake at Hayne House, Cullompton:—

"The furniture of the Royal York Lodge I do not know what is become of it. There was a Lodge called by some Masons to sell it some years since, for the purpose of paying some of the debts. I heard of the circumstance by accident and attended the meeting, claimed the furniture and ornaments of the Lodge as vested in me as Treasurer & Secretary and prevented the sale at that time, but, being displeased with the conduct of some Masons, I withdrew myself from the Lodges some years before I quitted Bristol and soon after I left the City I suppose Weeks disposed of it."

The person last named was the famous Bro. Jack Weeks, landlord of the Bush Tavern, where the Lodge latterly met.

The V.S.L. is now possessed by St. Mary's Lodge, Bridport.¹

RICHARD BLAKE (1760-1829)

Blake, City Councillor, was the elder son of Wm. Blake, Merchant, Sheriff of Bristol 1782-1783, and W.M. in 1761 of the "Moderns" Lodge constituted 1735 and latterly held at the Fountain Tavern, Bristol. This branch of the Blake family, for long associated with the corporate and business life of the city, shared with the famous Admiral William Blake, of Bridgwater, Som., a common ancestor in Robert Blake, of Calne, c. 1500, and thence back to Robert Le Blake, Bailiff to the Bishop of Wells in 1254.

Richard Blake, educated at Blundell's School, Tiverton, 1771-1775, evidently had some early connection with Bridgwater, for on 14th March, 1788, he was initiated in the Lodge of Liberty & Sincerity, No. 369, held at the Crown Inn there. On 4th February, 1789, he joined the Lodge of Hospitality, No. 296, at Bristol, and on the 18th of the same month a M.S. certificate of his making, passing and raising was issued by his mother Lodge, possibly used to support the application for the Warrant of Royal York Lodge, whose date is 16th August, 1789. After the Royal York ceased to work in 1793, Blake continued in Hospitality (he was S.W. in 1790 and again in 1791), and in 1798 was elected W.M. of the Beaufort Lodge.

In 1799 Blake left for South Africa, arriving at Cape Town on the 9th December, to become Private Secretary to Sir Geo. Yonge, the Governor of Cape Colony and uncle to Blake's wife. Yonge, who was dismissed from office in 1801, only 16 months after his induction, is described as "the most incompetent man who has ever been at the head of affairs in the Colony, though he possessed an amazing amount of self assurance and pertinacity. The long despatches which he wrote . . . prove him to have been a man entirely wanting in sound judgement".²

Yonge also appointed Richard Blake as Winetaster at a salary of £500 per annum (additional to his £1,500 as Private Secretary), with the power to enter and search any premises where wine was sold, to open casks and to destroy at once all wine of unacceptable quality. The Commission which sat to investigate charges brought against the Governor found, amongst other things, that Richard Blake had made a proposal to one merchant that he should be given a monopoly, when he would approve any quality provided they shared the profit.

Numerous kinds of unorthodox contracts were transacted through the Governor's Private Secretary and his principal A.D.C., a Lt.-Col. Cockburn, in one instance it being proved that each received £1,500 for obtaining the permission of the Governor to import slaves from the East Coast of Africa, although the traffic there was illegal. The historian of the era comments:—

"It is unnecessary to relate other matters that were brought to light, which showed the men in whom the governor placed his confidence, and in whose advice he acted, to have been utterly without moral principle."

Although no doubt a just assessment by Victorian standards or even those of today, it was not necessarily so in Blake's time. The high esteem in which he was held by the then G.S. (quoted later) suggests that he was a typical product of his day, which in fairness, it must be recalled, was one in which so many Bristol merchants suffered staggering losses. He probably shared in these misfortunes and, when fated to work for a chief who was both weak and incompetent, could not resist the temptation to recoup.

Richard Blake, together with a number of senior officers of the Cape garrison, including Lt.-Col. James Cockburn, the A.D.C. mentioned above, formed and opened the Royal York on 24th June, 1800, under the Warrant belonging to the Lodge of the same name at Bristol.³ In September of that year the new Lodge purchased for £1,075 a house and store in Plein Street from the Lodge De Goede Hoop (constituted 1772 under the G.L. of the Netherlands), and this property was later taken over by a daughter Lodge of the latter, De Goede Trouw, when Royal York collapsed.

When the Cape Royal York Lodge came into being as the sole representative of the "Moderns" G.L. of England, if such an irregularity can be so described, in addition to De Goede Hoop, a further Lodge, Africa No. 1, on the Atholl register No. 321, was in the process of being formed. Possibly it was because of Blake's opposition effort that he was later appointed P.G.M., South Africa, the first Englishman so honoured. He was present at a G.L. meeting on 12th May, 1802, and was so described in the Quarterly Communication. In the issue of 24th November, 1802, he is recorded as donating £10 10s. to Charity, probably his fee of honour. He held office until 1826.

On 17th July, 1811, Blake, then living at Cullompton, received the following letter:—

¹ A. M. Broadley, *Hist. St. Mary's Lodge*.

² Geo. M. Theal, *Hist. South Africa*, vol. i.

³ T. N. Cranstoun-Day, *Hist. British Lodge*, No. 334.



Dunckerley's Provincial Warrant of Royal York Lodge



Richard Blake

I am instructed by Mr. White, Secretary to the Grand Lodge of England, to inform you, as Provincial Grand Master for South Africa that a Petition (of which I send you enclosed a copy) has been presented to him from seven Gentlemen Resident at the Cape of Good Hope soliciting a Warrant to hold a Lodge there under the Constitution of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to which your assent is officially and most earnestly requested, by a line to Mr. White at Free Masons' Tavern, or to 16 Princes Row Pimlico, which will confer an Honor on Sir,

Your very Humble Servt,
James Harris
P.M. Lodge No. 325.

The above would seem to be the only occasion when Blake was called to act in his P.G.M. capacity, and no doubt he reported favourably, because the British Lodge now No. 334 came into being, although its sponsor could never have seen it.

In a letter of 1809 from Thos. Southey addressed to Lt.-Col. Richard Blake, the latter is congratulated on his holding "the high rank in the Army". Amongst the Blake relics were "Rules for a Lodge of Instruction", of which Blake was an ardent advocate and pioneer.

Whatever shortcomings he may have possessed, Richard Blake was undoubtedly a man of considerable influence. The Lodge at Bristol was regal from the beginning and the patronage of the Duke of York was most likely obtained by its principal founder. Furthermore, it is unlikely that any other Bristol Mason of the 1790 period (and the leaders are all known) could have brought together so distinguished a body of men as comprised the Royal York Lodge. But Blake's persuasiveness and ambitions did not end with Craft Masonry, for he started an R.A. Chapter from some of the more prominent members of Charity Chapter, and then, encouraged by Thos. Dunckerley, instituted a Knight Templar camp in competition with that which had been formed only a few years previously out of Charity Chapter. These were achievements by any standard, but for a man who until then had never been a member of Bristol or any other P.G.L. they are even more noteworthy.

THE ROYAL YORK WARRANT

The illustration shows the actual warrant, typical of those provided by Thos. Dunckerley, of which a description was given by the late Bro. Carter in 1929.¹ A very unusual feature was the appendage to the P.G.M.'s signature of "T.E" which Dunckerley indicated was the monogram of the K.T. order and represented "Templum Hierosolyma Eques".²

After the Lodge lapsed in 1793, Richard Blake retained this warrant and, on being appointed Private Secretary to the Governor, took it with him to the Cape Colony in December, 1799, and used it to constitute Royal York Lodge the second, as stated previously.

By January, 1802, which was about the time that the Cape Town Lodge was expiring, and after Blake had returned to England, a new group had formed at Minchinhampton, Glos., and presumably because of the Act of Parliament (Suppression of Seditious Societies, 39 Geo. III, Cap. 79, of July, 1799) was given the title of the lapsed Bristol Lodge. The Brethren applied for a Warrant of Confirmation on the grounds that the original had been lost, and according to the records of the G. Sec., Wm. White, this was granted under the new number 455 to "Philip Sheppard and others to hold the said L. at the Salutation Inn Minchin Hampton". This Lodge, according to Lane, continued to work until c. 1820.

In the meantime, Joshua Springer, who had been the first D.P.G.M. of Bristol, proceeded to open another version of the Royal York again at Bristol, and apparently some meetings were held, under the aegis of the old warrant, which almost certainly he did not possess. This came to the knowledge of the G. Secretary, who on 26th February, 1808, wrote to Springer, pointing out the existence of the bona fide Lodge at Minchinhampton and, referring to the original warrant, said:—

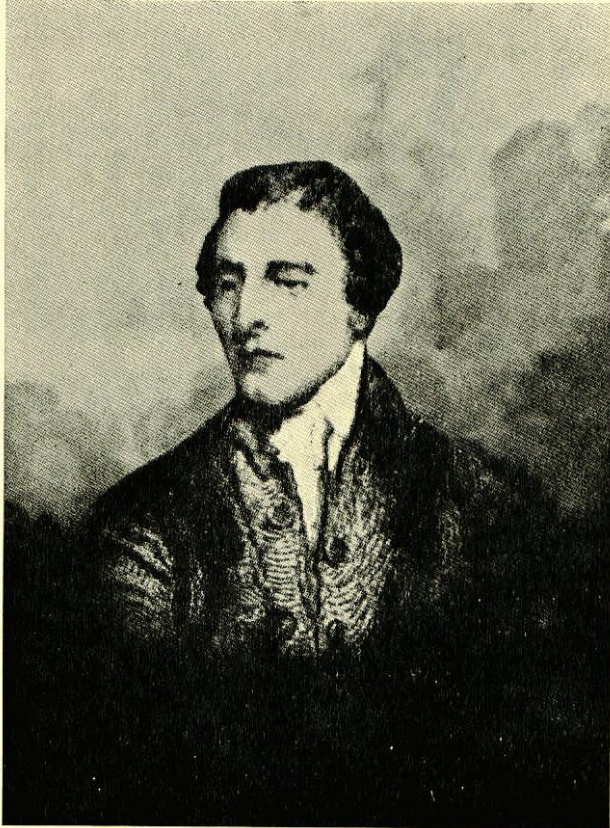
"... Now it appears that the statement of the Petition of the Minchinhampton brethren was correct as to the original warrant being lost or mislaid, as it was carried to Africa. Whereas it ought not to have been taken out of Bristol, where the L. was first opened, without being regularly removed by the Permission of the D.G.M. and in fact could be of no use out of Bristol, as a L. could not be opened anywhere else under it..."

Evidently with misplaced confidence, he added:—

"I have the honour to be acquainted with Richard Blake Esq. and I am certain that there is not a Gentleman in the society would be more averse to doing anything

¹ A.Q.C., xlii, pp. 22-34.

² H. Sadler, *Thomas Dunckerley*, p. 270.



Richard Blake

improper or contrary to the regulations of Grand Lodge than he would, and his taking the Warrant to Africa was beyond doubt, done inadvertently for it could be of no manner of use there."

Springer's Lodge thus quickly disappeared, but its promoter immediately set to work to form what became the Moira Lodge, now No. 326, still very much alive.

Reverting to Richard Blake's tenure at Cape Town, it should be noted that although the Royal York there was founded about the beginning of the year 1800, and he was not actually appointed P.G.M. until 1802, it may be that before leaving for South Africa he was informed that he would be made P.G.M., as it is difficult to imagine the first thought of such an appointment coming after return to England with no possibility of going back. Should he have gone to South Africa thus armed he would no doubt have felt of the same authority as Dunckerley to constitute new Lodges, and the fact that the only one was called Royal York may well have been out of pride for his Bristol Lodge, just as for his Chapter Liberty and Sincerity he took the name of the craft Lodge in which he had been initiated.

Whatever the explanation of its uses, the Warrant appears to have been cherished by Blake and never left his hands during life. In 1927 it was presented to the late Bro. Geo. Norman by a Mr. T. R. Marsh, of Bath, whose paternal great-grandmother was a daughter of Richard Blake, and Norman, with the fraternal kindness so characteristic of him, restored it to its original home, whose appreciation of it may be gauged by the fact that the present writer rescued it from a box of rubbish about to be destroyed.

PART 2—THE R.A. CHAPTER OF LIBERTY AND SINCERITY, No. 75

On 21st December, 1790, a dispensation was granted by Thos. Dunckerley to Richard Blake, Z., Rev. Joseph A. Small, H., and Rev. Ben Spry, J., to form the Chapter at the White Lyon Inn, Bristol, and a copy of the document was transcribed in the minute book which still survives. Blake had been exalted 6th March, 1789; Small, 3rd April, 1789; and Spry, 1st January, 1790—so they had not wasted much time. The actual Warrant is lost, but there is a record of the payment of three guineas for it to Dunckerley.

All the founders and most of those exalted or admitted in the early days were, of course, drawn from the Royal York Lodge, but the Chapter did not attract so many of the elite as did the Lodge. After giving the by-laws, which were those of Grand Chapter, 1782, the minute book records the first meeting as on 14th January, 1791, followed by four meetings, after which the Chapter ceased work on 13th May, 1791, having exalted only two companions, both R. York men.

Blake, Small and Spry, together with seven others, were all originally members of Charity Chapter, and it is interesting to note that in the 1790 list of members in Charity's minute book the majority of these companions are shown as having resigned. The significance of this is brought home by the fact that the 1791 list is left completely blank, as are the remaining 55 pages after the meeting of 4th June, 1790, which suggests that for a time the secession of members to L. & S. broke the older Chapter. As no Charity minutes between 1790 and 1807 are known it is difficult to determine when this Chapter revived, but the L. & S. minutes record the occasion on 2nd August, 1803, when Comp. Jenner was invested as P.G. Supt. of Bristol "Chapter of Charity of the Hospitality Lodge lying dormant no appointments were made". It was dormant in November, 1799, as is noted in the records of G.C. when Joshua Springer wrote from No. 75 giving that information. It is therefore clear that during the quiescence of Charity, L. & S. was the only R.A. Chapter working in Bristol. Yet even the latter was discontinuous, for between 1791 and 1797 L. & S. was not working, which fact determines that there was a short period when R.A. Masonry in Bristol (amongst the "Moderns") suffered temporary extinction.

In a letter dated 30th March, 1792, from Thos. Southey, uncle of the poet Robert Southey and secretary as well as treasurer of the Royal York Lodge, to the W.M., Richard Blake, Southey resigned from the Lodge and Chapters, requesting repayment of the moneys advanced by him to the three kindred bodies. The significance here is that the W.M. of the Craft Lodge was held responsible for all, which indicates the very close identity of interest between Craft, R.A. and K.T. at the time.

On 20th April, 1797, Richard Blake, as Z., and the only representative of the earlier period, reopened the Chapter, giving way immediately to Joshua Springer, who, although a member of Royal York, had not joined the Chapter in its early years. Springer remained Z. continuously until 1806, when the Chapter lapsed. Another new member was John Sanders, ex-Charity and perhaps then the leading Bristol exponent of the Templar degree.

The new era is interesting as the first occasion in the city when an R.A. Chapter was entirely independent of a Lodge, since the Royal York no longer existed, and as Hospitality was also in abeyance it is surprising that there was sufficient demand. However, there was a strong element from the oldest of Bristol's Lodges, the Beaufort, one of the revivers, Joseph Sanders, being its W.M., and on many occasions later Beaufort brethren were exalted, including F. C. Husenbeth on 8th August, 1799, later to become D.P.G.M., John Whittingham, John Lane and Job Harril,



The White Lyon Hotel, Bristol

all of whom became eminent Bristol Masons. Both Richard Blake and Joshua Springer were W.M.'s of Beaufort in 1799, and the meeting places were also those of Beaufort.

It is, therefore, tempting to regard Liberty & Sincerity in its revived form as the precursor of Beaufort Chapter, which latter was not actually formed until 1846.

On the night that Husenbeth was exalted, Henry Jenner, of Berkeley, Glos. (P.G.M., Bristol, 1799-1807), joined the Chapter, and the friendship which ensued between Jenner and Springer was to have considerable repercussions in the years that followed. The story of that partnership is outside the scope of this paper, but it is striking how, after Jenner joined, the Chapter catered for so many Gloucestershire brethren. On 5th September, 1799, described in the minutes as a "fatiguing night", no less than nine of them were exalted.

The influence of Jenner, who in October, 1800, formed at Berkeley the Lodge of Faith & Friendship, later to add "Royal" to its title, is indicated by the further Gloucestershire brethren who were exalted in L. & S. Amongst those from Faith & Friendship were Wm. Fisher Sprapnell, whilst some came from Jehosaphat Lodge at Wotton-Under-Edge and others from the Royal Gloucester Lodge.

Jenner was elected M.E.Z. and installed on 10th February, 1803, but to judge by the minutes Springer carried on as usual. This was only a few months before the former was appointed P.G. Supt. for Bristol.

On 11th November, 1802, W. H. Goldwyer, later to become one of the most distinguished of Bristol's P.G.M.'s, joined the Chapter. Goldwyer was very much of Hospitality Lodge and it must have been with a touch of sadness at the temporary demise of its Charity Chapter that he joined L. & S.

The minutes of the Chapter are mostly bare records of exaltations, and yield little of interest concerning the ritual of the period. The accounts include references to the purchase of robes and other necessities, but nothing to suggest that veils were used. Neither, for that matter, are there any such clues in the contemporary minute book of Charity Chapter, and, although we cannot be certain, it seems unlikely that veils formed part of Bristol R.A. working of the period.

An unusual entry occurs early in 1798, when a Samuel Jones

"was proposed and exalted, for being an Ancient Royal Arch Mason, his fee was considered 10/6 and 5/- registering".

This Companion, when actually W.M. of the "Antients'" Lodge No. 162, was re-made (1° & 2°) in the "Moderns'" Jehosaphat Lodge on 4th January, 1797, continuing his full period of service in the Chair of his "Antients'" Lodge whilst regularly attending as a junior member of the other. Jehosaphat catered for a number of such brethren, but this is the only instance known in Bristol of re-exaltation of an "Antient".

PART 3—THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR CHAPTER OF ANTIQUITY—Const. 1st JAN., 1791

In a previous paper it was pointed out how the leading lights of the Sea Captains' Lodge went over *en bloc* to Hospitality, became the mainstays of Charity R.A. Chapter and promoted the third branch which later took the title of the Baldwyn K.T. encampment.¹ Only about four years after this event Richard Blake started a similar revolutionary movement by forming the Royal York-Liberty & Sincerity and Antiquity group. The R.A. element discussed in Part 2 shows the effect which Liberty & Sincerity had upon Charity. The present part indicates not only the influence which the Antiquity K.T. Camp had on the existing one, but also suggests the relationship of the two Bristol Templar bodies to the Grand Conclave formed in 1791. Until about 30 years ago only one pre-1800 K.T. camp was known to have existed, with the result that every scrap of evidence was pressed into service to support that one. In consequence, its early history, confused by numerous anomalies and contradictions in any case, presented some curious paradoxes for which no rational explanation seemed feasible. It is now possible to construct a rather more satisfactory hypothesis.

Probably the title "Antiquity" was suggested to the Bristol brethren by Dunckerley, this being the name adopted only two years before by his mother Lodge at Portsmouth.

In passing, it should be noted that this K.T. Camp of Antiquity had no connection whatever with that of the same name at Bath.

THE WARRANT

Amongst the documents which Richard Blake handed down to his descendants, and which came to light in 1927, were two of special importance. Having been presented by Bro. Norman to the Bristol Masonic Society, they later disappeared, but fortunately Bro. Cecil Powell made copies, and it is these that are now quoted. They are:—

¹ A.Q.C., lxxi, pp. 28-46.

- (a) A Patent of Constitution granted by Thomas Dunckerley, and
- (b) A Receipt.

The first reads thus:—

Initium Sapientiae Amor Domini
In the name of the Grand Architect of the Universe.
(Seal) In the East of London: A Place full of Light:
Where reigneth Silence and Peace: but the darkness
comprehendeth it not:—

To those whom it may concern Greeting:

Know ye, that we Thomas Dunckerley of Hampton Court Palace, in the County of Middlesex, most Eminent & Supreme Grand Master of the Royal Exalted, Religious & Military Order of H.R.D.M.-K.O.D.H. Grand Elected Knight Templars of St. John of Jerusalem &c. Under the Patronage of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, having received a Petition from Sir Richard Blake and several noble Knights residing at and near the City of Bristol Humbly requesting a Patent of Constitution to Open a Conclave or Chapter of Encampment under our Sanction at Bristol aforesaid we do hereby Constitute & appoint the said Sir Richard Blake our Deputy for opening & Conducting the said Conclave or Chapter of Encampment at the City of Bristol of the Seven degrees of time immemorial. And do hereby grant to the said Sir Richard Blake and the other noble Knights Petitioners and their Successors full power & Authority to assemble on the 11th. March to Install Knights Templars &c. at their field of Encampment aforesaid; or at such other time & place as they and their successors with the consent of us & our Successors for the time being shall appoint; with such Powers, Privileges, Prerogatives & Immunities as do from Ancient Usage & of Right belong to Regular established Conclaves or Chapters; and to Noble Knights of the Order. Subject nevertheless to the Antient Statutes, & Ordinances of our Predecessors, or that may hereafter be enacted by us, or our successors in a Grand and Royal Conclave. Given at London aforesaid in our Grand Field of Encampment this 1st Day of January Anno Lucis 5795 Anno Domini 1791 Anno Ordinis 673 Anno Caedis 477.

W. Hannam Acting Grand Master
Richd. Walker Whalley Grand Chancellor
Wm. Earle Principal Grand Scribe.

It will be noticed that the Chapter is not named in the Warrant, but the information is supplied in the cash account (b), which reads:—

The Eminent Chapter of Antiquity
To the estate of T. Southey

Dec. 28	1790	To Cash pr. Tavern Bill	£1 : 3 : 0
		Paid the Centinel	7 : 6
Feb. 26	1791	Pd. G. Routh printing Circular Letter	18 : 0
		Pd. Tavern Bill	16 : 0
		Pd. Centinel	2 : 6

Recd 30 March 1792 of the Royal York Lodge Three Pounds seven Shillings being the Amnt. of Debt due from The Eminent Chapter of Antiquity to the Estate of Thos. Southey.

(signed) Thos Southey.

This receipt by Thomas Southey, who was treasurer of the Royal York Lodge, the R.A. Chapter of L. & S. and the K.T. Chapter of Antiquity, proves not only that the latter met, but gives the date of the first meeting, a date of the greatest significance.

EXAMINATION OF THE WARRANT

Thos. Dunckerley, when writing on 27th January, 1792,¹ gave a list of Conclaves which he stated he had constituted. This, of course, is not the same as promoting them, as some had been in existence for a number of years on a free-lance basis. The following is his list in the order given, but Dunckerley's numbering from an earlier letter is put alongside:—

¹ H. Sadler, *Thomas Dunckerley*, p. 268.

Dunckerley's original numbering	Conclave	Location	Date of Constitution
1	Observance of the Seven Degrees	London	
5	Redemption	York	? March, 1791
2	Royal Cumberland	Bath	11 March, 1791
3	Fortitude	1st Regt. Dragoon Guards	
7	Trine	Bideford	
	Naval	Portsmouth	11 March, 1791
6	Durnovarian	Dorchester	
	Harmony	Salisbury	
	Royal Edward	Hereford	
	St. John of Jerusalem	Redruth	October, 1791

Dunckerley did not mention the Antiquity Conclave of Bristol, a peculiarity which will be alluded to later, but he did say that he was "selected G.M. to revive the Order . . . in February 1791". As he had stated in his letter dated 22nd March, 1791,¹ that no Dispensations or Warrants were then made out, we must assume that he meant "officially", for the dates of both Royal Cumberland and Naval are a few days earlier, and this would seem to apply to York and almost certainly to London as No. 1 preceding Bath. But all these dates must have been after Dunckerley became G.M. in February, if we are to take his own statements literally, which point to the "Patent" granted to Antiquity of Bristol under the date 1st January, 1791, as being the first and prototype of the Dunckerley K.T. Warrants.

Comparing the Antiquity Warrant with those of Royal Cumberland² and Naval,³ the following differences appear:—

1. "Antiquity's" did not have the seal of the Grand Conclave, which is on both Royal Cumberland and Naval, although it had Dunckerley's own seal. This confirms the G.M.'s inference that the Grand Conclave was also in the embryo stage at the date of Antiquity's warrant, thereby supporting the possibility that it was the first to be issued.
2. The Bristol body is described as "of the seven degrees of time immemorial". Royal Cumberland is described as "at the City of Bath of time immemorial", and Naval merely as "at the town of Portsmouth". Thus, to take these at their face value only, Antiquity was a new conclave to practise a 7-degrees rite, Royal Cumberland was an already existing conclave practising a single Templar rite, and Naval a new conclave similarly with a single rite. There would appear to be at least some substance in this. The specific mention of the 7° rite in the case of Antiquity may have a significance, but this is dealt with later.
3. The Antiquity Knights were to meet on 11th March, but those of both Royal Cumberland and Naval on 12th August. So that whilst Antiquity was to meet on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Jacques de Molay, R.C. and Naval were officially constituted on that date. This suggests that the constitution dates of all the early conclaves was not necessarily related to their actual formation.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE R.A. CHAPTERS

The rules in what is known as the Baldwyn Charter of Compact laid down that none should be admitted to the Templar order but those who were R.A. Masons, and in the survey of the Baldwyn Rite it was shown that in many cases it was almost routine to exalt brethren one night in Charity Chapter and within a week or so install them as K.T.'s. Thus not only was there a very close relationship between the R.A. and K.T. Chapters, but it follows that if at any given period there were no brethren exalted, neither would there be any candidates for the Templar degree (except from an outside source). Now, it so happens that in the earliest list of brethren of Baldwyn, given in order of seniority, there is a significant gap from the time Liberty & Sincerity cum Antiquity started to the turn of the century, *i.e.*, 1790 to *c.* 1802. The relevant part of the list is as follows:—

¹ H. Sadler, *Thomas Dunckerley*, p. 262.

² P. R. James, *The Camp of Antiquity No. 1, Bath*, p. 9.

³ A. Howell, *Hist. Phoenix L.*, etc., p. 242.

		Notes	
James Bonbonous	Installed K.T. 8 Jan., 1790	Resigned Charity	Founder L. & S.
Rev. Ben Spry	" "	Resigned Charity	Founder L. & S.
Geo. W. Hall	" "	No trace after 1790	
Saml. Hall	" "	" "	
Saml. Johnson	" "	" "	
Wm. Goldwyer	Undated	Not member of Charity	Joined L. & S.
F. C. Husenbeth	Undated	Not member of Charity	Exalted L. & S.

But although the K.T. joining dates of the last two are not known, they could not be earlier than those of their exaltation, and Husenbeth was exalted, not in Charity Chapter, but Liberty & Sincerity on 8th August, 1799, Goldwyer joining the same in 1802, there being no record of his exaltation in any Bristol R.A. Chapter. He joined Hospitality Lodge in 1791. In Smith's history of the Baldwyn encampment we are told that it was these two brethren (the P.G.M. and D.P.G.M. of Bristol), together with Smith himself, who were responsible for "reviving the Royal Orders in Bristol". These circumstances thus suggest that between c. 1790 and 1802 the original Bristol K.T. Camp was temporarily out of business. There are some significant facts in support of this to be found in the state of R.A. Masonry in Bristol during the period.

No doubt it will be generally agreed that every age there are individuals who stand out, whose names and activities appearing so frequently and with prominence in the records makes self-evident the fact of their leadership. Hence, consideration of the qualities and movements of these dominating personalities provides a key to interpretation of the events which they obviously created. In this case it is particularly appropriate, because the Chapter of Liberty & Sincerity was formed out of the Chapter of Charity at a period fortunately well documented both in respect of the R.A. and the principal figures concerned.

THE TWO BRISTOL ENCAMPMENTS

In Dunckerley's list, quoted previously, not only is no mention made of Antiquity, but neither is there reference to the other Camp, that founded c. 1785 in association with Charity R.A. Chapter, and which later became known as Baldwyn. The genesis of the latter, based upon analysis of original documents of the period, has already been discussed in *A.Q.C.*, lxxi, and it now remains to consider the influence which Antiquity brought to bear upon the scene.

When Dunckerley wrote to the Encampment of Redemption at York on 22nd March, 1791, he told them that, being G.S. of R.A. Masons at Bristol, he "was requested by the Knights Templar in that City (who have had an Encampment time immemorial) to accept the office of Grand Master". Who, then, made this request—was it the Knights of the existing encampment or those of the new? Powell, commenting upon Dunckerley's later letter of 27th January, 1792, said: "But he of course does not include Bristol amongst those *constituted* by him because the Bristol encampment had in virtue of its position as the Grand Encampment made him Grand Master of the Order." Powell, however, then knew of only one camp, the first, whose Charter of Compact, as well as membership list, does not include the name of Dunckerley at all. Yet if he had been *invited* by that body to become G.M. and had accepted, as he tells us, it seems incredible that so great a personality would go unmentioned in its records. Nevertheless, reverting again to Dunckerley's 22nd March, 1791, letter, he said he had eight encampments under his care, *i.e.*, "London 1, Bath 2, the first Regiment of Dragoon Guards 3, Colchester 4, York 5, Dorchester 6 and Biddeford 7", with presumably Bristol making up the eight, as is obvious from the context.

At one time these problems seemed insoluble. On the one hand, the earlier K.T. camp did not seem ever to have owned the G.M. it is supposed to have sponsored, and, on the other, Dunckerley did not seem to have owned to the later camp which *he* sponsored. The solution (as I see it) now seems clear. When the Grand Conclave was formed, the original Bristol K.T. Camp did not join because it was in no position to join anything. It had been denuded to the point of extinction as the result of some of its most powerful personalities forming the new Camp of Antiquity ready to acknowledge the G. Mastership of Dunckerley. But they were the same people, the same "Knights Templar in that City", the same city claiming to have had an Encampment time immemorial. They had merely regrouped to get matters their own way. It could have been that they wished to work the 7° rite (see comments apropos of Warrant), whereas only the Templar Degree was worked in the existing encampment.¹ The circumstantial evidence for regrouping can be seen from what follows.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, lxxi, p. 34.

THE K.T. RELATIONSHIP WITH CHARITY R.A. CHAPTER

Prior to 1790 Charity was the only R.A. Chapter in Bristol and, therefore, the only channel for potential K.T.'s. Bristol "Antients" do not appear to have worked the degree until c. 1810.

The earliest surviving minute book of Charity Chapter starts in 1784 and ends on 4th June, 1790, beyond that date having a succession of blank pages. In the quarterage accounts the last date is also 4th June, all the remaining columns in 1790 being blank, as were those ruled ready for 1791.

In the list of 32 members whose subscriptions were due, only 19 paid. Of this number, two died shortly afterwards and eight resigned, all the latter, eminent Masons and K.T.'s, seceding to form Liberty & Sincerity Chapter, whose warrant was dated 21st December, 1790. There were, therefore, only nine members left, and everything points to Charity thereafter ceasing to work until about 1806.

The following was the grouping immediately after the secession in 1790 of all known K.T.'s active at that time. They were all originally members of Charity and of the encampment attached to it:—

Those who did not
immediately join L. &
S. R.A. Chapter

*Joshua Springer
*Henry Heath
Wm. Trotman
*John Sanders

* They joined later.

Founders and joining
members of Liberty &
Sincerity Chapter

Richard Blake
Rev. J. A. Small
Rev. Ben Spry
Thos. Southey
James Bonbonous
John Franklyn
Sir Stephen Nash
Jacob Davis

THE K.T. RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERTY & SINCERITY R.A. CHAPTER

Summarising the previous observations on the Chapter: After a good start, meetings ceased in 1791 and were not held again until 1797, after which they were continuous until 1806, when Charity Chapter revived and L. & S. then itself became defunct.

Hence there was a period (1791-1797) when no R.A. ("Moderns") Chapter existed in Bristol, and therefore no new K.T.'s could be made except by prior exaltation in a "foreign" Chapter, a procedure no instance of which has come to light or is likely to.

The second phase of L. & S. is interesting in that the great Joshua Springer, Henry Heath and John Sanders, all of whom stayed out originally, now joined with Richard Blake in reviving this Chapter. Wm. Trotman having died in 1794, thus every active K.T. originally belonging to Charity Chapter had before the turn of the century joined the newer Chapter.

Springer and Henry Jenner (P.G.M.), who joined in December, 1799, together founded an R.A. Chapter at Berkeley, Glos., in 1804, and later a K.T. Camp attached to it. Jenner does not appear to have ever been a member of a Bristol K.T. Camp.

The above observations contribute to the evidence that after Antiquity K.T. Camp ceased to work, the Templar movement in Bristol was in abeyance.

THE BRISTOL K.T. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GRAND CONCLAVE

8th January, 1790.

The last date of a series of K.T. installations in the first Bristol Camp (later called Baldwyn). The next could not have been until 1797.

4th June, 1790.

Exodus from Chapter of Charity, the most likely cause of its temporary demise.

21st December, 1790.

Grant of Dispensation for holding Liberty & Sincerity Chapter, of which eight out of the ten original members seceded from Charity.

28th December, 1790.

The first recorded meeting of Antiquity K.T. Conclave.

1st January, 1791.

Patent of Constitution by Dunckerley to form Antiquity, *i.e.*, the second Bristol K.T. Camp, with the probability that the latter comprised the same members as belonged to L. & S. R.A. Chapter, all of whom originally were members of the first camp.

— February, 1791.

Dunckerley's appointment as G.M. of the Templar Order, from which may be inferred that the Grand Conclave was then being formed.

27th January, 1792.

Dunckerley's letter concerning the encampments he had constituted, which did not mention either Bristol Camp, although in his earlier letter of 22nd March, 1791, he said he was requested by the K.T.'s of Bristol to accept the office of G.M. Yet he did mention London and York, both of which had been in existence before 1791.

March, 1809.

Baldwyn joined Grand Encampment.

SUMMARY

Dunckerley's classic expression, "I was requested by the Knights Templar in that city (who have an encampment time immemorial) to accept the Office of Grand Master", has hitherto been taken to refer to the Baldwyn Camp, for the simple reason that the existence of a rival body being for a long time unknown there seemed no alternative. Yet the Baldwyn Charter did not acknowledge Dunckerley as G.M., nor did the Camp join the G. Conclave until 1809 (*i.e.*, after it had been given new life by Husenbeth, Goldwyer and Smith), both facts irreconcilable with Dunckerley's statement. It is now apparent what really happened.

The Charity-cum-Baldwyn components of the Hospitality group suffered temporary eclipse when Richard Blake and Co. started their own Royal York/Liberty & Sincerity/Antiquity combination by denuding the older bodies of their most prominent people. That Charity Chapter ceased working is beyond doubt (as did Hospitality Lodge in 1798), and that this applied also to Baldwyn seems inevitable from the facts.

Antiquity, on the other hand, applied to Dunckerley and received a patent from him just one month before he became G.M., *i.e.*, they acknowledged in advance the jurisdiction of the Grand Conclave to be. But since everything points to the new Conclave having been formed by men who but a few months previously had belonged to their defunct Baldwyn, it seems quite natural why Dunckerley did not define which camp he was speaking of. For the new camp would properly represent the Templar movement in Bristol, but on a regular basis for the first time. Had the original body continued to work without Dunckerley's approval, *i.e.*, as a sovereign body as some have claimed, it seems impossible to imagine his not saying anything about it.

After a short life Antiquity disappeared, and not long after Dunckerley died, his death precipitating the lapse until 1804 of the Grand Conclave itself. With this event the stage was set for revival of Baldwyn, which could rightly claim to have worked before 1791 without a warrant. And if in the meantime it had lapsed—well, so had the Grand Conclave. Hence the logical step by Baldwyn of joining the Grand Conclave in 1809, it no doubt being unable, willing or otherwise, to have done so between 1791 and 1804 by reason of non-existence either of itself or the Grand Body.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LODGE, 1789-1792

ALLARD, Robert Jones	Surgeon	1765-1832
Initiated Royal York L., 5th January, 1790. Elected Surgeon, Bristol Royal Infirmary, 1791 (<i>Hist. B.R.I.</i> , pp. 185-6). Took the name Kemys and was Knighted, 1817.		
ANDREWS, Robert	Gent.	1768- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 5th December, 1792.		
BAIN, Andrew, M.D.	Surgeon	1756- ?
Initiated Hospitality L., 22nd July, 1789. Joined R. York, 5th January, 1790.		
BATCHELOR, Thomas	Silk Mercer	1756- ?
Initiated Sea Captains' L., 15th June, 1786. Joined R. York L., 16th November, 1790. D.P.G.M., Bristol (Powell & Littleton, p. 138). Deputy Governor, Incorporation of the Poor, 1798-1801 and 1806-1807.		
BLAKE, Richard	Merchant	1760-1829
First Master of the Royal York Lodge (see text). First P.G.M. of South Africa.		
BLAKE, Rev. Wm.		? -1796
Brother of Richard and founder J.W. of Royal York L. Chaplain to Mayor of Bristol, 1785. Rector of Bampton, Devon, and of Stockland, Bristol, Somerset.		

- BLOMBERG, Rev. Frederick Wm., D.D.** 1761-1847
Initiated Royal York, 19th June, 1791. Said to have been natural son of Geo. III (Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, 19th C.*, pp. 92-3). Rector of Shepton Mallet, 1787-1833. Vicar of Bradford, Wilts., 1793-9. Vicar, Banwell, Som., 1799-1808. Chaplain to Prince of Wales, 1793. Prebendary, Bristol Cathedral, 1793. Doctor of Divinity, 1822. Preb., Westminster, 1808-22. Preb., St. Paul's Cathedral, 1822-47. Vicar, St. Giles, Cripplegate, 1833-47. Prebendary, Bath and Wells, until 1833. Canon Residentiary, St. Paul's, and Chaplain to Queen Victoria, 1833-47.
- BONBONOUS, Joseph** Shipowner and Broker 1768-1822
Initiated Hospitality, August, 1789. Joined Royal York, November, 1789. Prov. G. Sec., 1792. Master, Merchant Venturers' Society, 1802. Master, St. Stephen's Ringers, 1815.
- BRICKENDEN, Rev. Richard, D.D.** 1778- ?
Initiated Royal York, 17th October, 1792. Archdeacon of Wiltshire, 1799.
- CAVE, John, jun.** Merchant 1765-1842
Initiated Royal York L., 17th February, 1790. Sheriff of Bristol, 1822. Mayor, 1828. Master, Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1814. See also *Hist. Banking in Bristol*, Cave.
- CAVE, Stephen** Banker 1764-1838
Initiated Hospitality L., August, 1789. Joined Royal York, September, 1789. City Councillor, 1822-27. Master, Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1817. J.P. and Dep. Lieut., Gloucestershire. Portrait in *Hist. Banking in Bristol*, Cave.
- CHARLETON, Rev. Robert John, D.D.** 1768- ?
Initiated Royal York. M.A., Queen's Coll., Oxford, 1791. D.D., 1810. President, Gloucestershire Society, 1829.
- COX, Joseph Mason, M.D.** Physician 1757-1818
Joined Royal York L., 27th December, 1791. Physician to Lunatic Asylum, Fishponds, Bristol (*Hist. Bristol Royal Infirmary*). President, Anchor Society, 1803. Author of *Practical Observations on Insanity*, 1814.
- CROSS, Thomas** Merchant 1769-1833
Initiated Royal York L., 4th May, 1792. President, Grateful Society, 1805.
- DANIEL, Edward** Gent. 1764- ?
Initiated Royal York, 21st December, 1791.
- DAVIS, Richard Hart** Banker 1766-1842
Initiated Royal York, 2nd May, 1792. President, Dolphin Soc., 1809. M.P., Bristol, 1812-31. M.P., Colchester, 1807-12. Pres., Gloucestershire Soc., 1810. Portrait by Lawrence reproduced in *Hist. Banking in Bristol*, Cave. Details of political career in *Bristol, Past and Present*, Nicholls and Taylor.
- DURBIN, Rev. Drax, M.A.** 1764-1824
Initiated Royal York L., 2nd March, 1791. Son of Sir John Durbin, notable Mayor of Bristol. Rector of Walton-in-Gordano, near Bristol, 1810-24.
- FALLOWFIELD, Rev. John, M.A.** 1758- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 19th January, 1790. Vicar of Great Gransden, Beds., 1795.
- FOSTER, Rev. Robert, M.A.** 1766-1836
Initiated Royal York L., 26th October, 1789. Chaplain to Mayor of Bristol, 1801 and 1806. Rector, Sutton Bonnington, Notts., 1810. Precentor, Bristol Cathedral, 1799-1810. Prebendary, Wells Cathedral, 1820-36.
- FRAMPTON, Thomas** Gent. 1769- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 5th January, 1791.
- FRY, William** Distiller and Wine Merchant ? -1812
Joined Royal York. Treasurer, Colston (Parent) Soc., 1790-93. Trustee, Royal York Crescent Building Scheme (*Georgian Buildings of Bristol*, Ison). Possibly the same Wm. Fry of the Society of Friends, who was benefactor of Fry's House of Mercy (*Hist. of Bristol*, Pryce).

- GABRIEL, Rev. Robert Burd, D.D. 1750- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 2nd May, 1792. Doctor of Divinity, 1784. Associated with the Octagon Chapel, Bath, and remembered chiefly for his controversial contributions to the Press.
- GORDON, John Merchant 1758-1839
Initiated Royal York L., 3rd February, 1790. Member, Bristol City Council, 1789-1825. Sheriff of Bristol, 1789-90. Master of Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1804-5. Collector of Customs, 1813-32. President, Gloucestershire Soc., 1798.
- GORDON, John, jun. Gent. 1764- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 18th April, 1792.
- HALL, George Webb Attorney 1765-1824
Initiated Hospitality L., 26th August, 1789. Joined Royal York L., 10th November, 1789. City Solicitor, Bristol, 1801-12. Registrar, Court of Conscience, 1818-24.
- HALL, Samuel Woollen Draper 1767- ?
Initiated Hospitality, 26th August, 1789. Joined Royal York L., 22nd December, 1789. City Councillor, 1818.
- HARFORD, Charles Joseph Gent. 1765-1830
Son of J. Harford, below. Initiated Royal York L., 5th January, 1790. President, Anchor Soc., 1792. Master, Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1806-7. President, Gloucestershire Soc., 1808.
- HARFORD, Joseph Gent. 1741-1802
Joined Royal York L., 24th June, 1790. Alderman, Bristol, 1797-1802. Sheriff, 1779-80, 1785-86, 1791-92. Master, Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1796-97. President, Anchor Soc., 1777. Treasurer, Bristol Royal Infirmary, 1778-91. Harford, bred a Quaker, was a great friend of Edmund Burke. He was renowned as a linguist and calculator (see *Hist. Bristol Royal Infirmary* and *Hist. Banking in Bristol* for biographical details and portrait). Harford was also for some years partner with Richard Champion (another famous Quaker) in the manufacture of now-celebrated Chinaware.
- HILL, Thomas Merchant ? -1808
Initiated Royal York L., 3rd February, 1790. Master, Merchant Venturers' Soc., 1803-4.
- HOWLEY, Rev. William, D.D., F.R.S. 1766-1848
Initiated Royal York L., 21st December, 1791. Vicar of Bishops Sutton, Som., 1796. Reg. Prof. of Divinity, Oxford, 1809. Vicar of Andover, 1802. Rector, Bradford Peverell, 1811. Member, Privy Council, 1813. Bishop of London, 1813. Archbishop of Canterbury, 1828 (Crowned Queen Victoria). Portrait reproduced in *G.L. of England*, Calvert (with error in caption).
- HUME, Rev. Thomas Henry 1766-1834
Initiated Royal York L., 4th May, 1792. Son of Bishop Hume. Prebendary of Yatesbury, Glos., 1795. Prebendary of Bitton, Glos., 1799. Canon, Salisbury Cathedral, 1803. Vicar, Kewstoke, Som., ? Treasurer, Salisbury Cathedral, 1806.
- JOHNES, Rev. Thomas, M.A.
Initiated Royal York L., 19th January, 1790. Bristol City Librarian. Rector of St. John's, Bristol, and Chaplain to Bristol Royal Infirmary. Archdeacon of Barnstaple, 1807. Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral and Preb. of Exeter, 1816.
- LANGTON, George Gent. 1771- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 27th August, 1792.
- LEWIS, Rev. Israel 1762-1841
Initiated Royal York L., 17th February, 1790. Vicar of Long Ashton, Som., 1794-1841.
- MOGG, Jacob Attorney 1764- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 21st November, 1792.
- NASH, Sir Stephen Doctor of Laws 1764-1792
Initiated Royal York L., 19th January, 1790. Sheriff of Bristol, 1785, and Knighted in that year. Councillor, 1785-92. President, Anchor Soc., 1786.

- NOTT, John, M.D. Physician 1751-1825
Joined Royal York L., 24th June, 1790. Classical Scholar and Author of various works listed in *D.N.B.* Further particulars in *Bristol Memorialist*, Tyson.
- OTTLEY, Thomas Gent. 1772- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 24th April, 1792.
- PATY, William Architect 1758-1800
Initiated Royal York L., 16th November, 1789. Member of famous family of masons and statuary. District Surveyor, 1789-1800. Associated with John Nash in designing Harford Mansion at Blaise Castle, 1795-8. Carved the reredos in Christ Church, Bristol, and many other accomplished works. Designed No. 7 Great George Street (now the Georgian House Museum). See *Georgian Buildings of Bristol*, Ison; *Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bristol*, Denning; *English Architects, 1660-1840*, Colvin.
- PEACH, Samuel Peach Gent. 1767-1845
Initiated Royal York L., 3rd February, 1790. President, Gloucestershire Society, 1797.
- PENNINGTON, William Gent.
Initiated Royal York L., 17th October, 1792. Master of Ceremonies at the Hotwells, Clifton, 1785-92. See Matthew's *Bristol Directory*, 1793-4, for Pennington's regulations and biographical matter.
- RANDOLPH, James Attorney 1768- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 21st November, 1792.
- ROGERS, Joseph Attorney (of Uphill, Som.)
Initiated Royal York L., 2nd February, 1791.
- SADLER, James Esq. 1768- ?
Joined Royal York Lodge, Mayor of Gloucester,
- SHEFFIELD, Lord (John Baker Holroyd) 1740-1821
Joined Royal York L., 7th July, 1790. M.P., Coventry, 1780, 1781-4. M.P., Bristol, 1790-1802. Created Irish Peer, 1780. Created English Peer, 1802. Created Irish Earl, 1816. Commissioner of Trade, 1809-21.
- SHIPTON, Rev. John, D.D. 1759-1838
Initiated Royal York L., 3rd February, 1790. B.A., 1779. M.A., 1783. B.D. and D.D., 1810. Rector of Portishead, Som., 1791. Vicar of Stantonbury, Bucks., until 1838.
- SHULDHAM, Thomas Gent. 1762- ?
Initiated Royal York L., 18th April, 1792.
- SKINNER, John Gent. 1764- ?
Initiated Royal York, 18th April, 1792. A "Captain John Skynner" was commander of the "Sir Alexander Bell" (Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*, 16th July, 1814).
- SMALL, Rev. Joseph Atwell, D.D. 1749(?) - 1814
Founder S.W., Royal York L., 29th September, 1789. First Prov. G. Chaplain, Bristol, 1786- ? D.P.G.M., Bristol, 1789-92 (precise dates uncertain). Vicar, St. James', Bristol, 1781. First Vicar and joint Architect, St. Paul's, Bristol, 1789. Noted pluralist (Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, 18th C.*, p. 519). Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King, 1792. Prebendary, Gloucester Cathedral, 1794-1814.
- SOMERSET, Henry Charles 1766-1835
Marquess of Worcester, 6th Duke of Beaufort, 1803. Joined Royal York L., 7th July, 1790. Son of Henry, 5th Duke of Beaufort, G. Master, 1767-72. P.G.M., Gloucestershire, 1795-1835. Lord Lieutenant, Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire, from 1803, and of Gloucestershire from 1810 until his death. Father of the 7th Duke, P.G.M., Gloucestershire (1845-53).
- SOUTHEY, Thomas Linen Draper 1749- ?
Initiated Hospitality L., February, 1798. Joined Royal York, September, 1789, and was its first Secretary. As P.G. Sec. he witnessed the Warrant of the Lodge. Uncle of the poet Robert Southey. W.M., Hospitality L., 28th December, 1795.

- On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Ward on the proposition of the acting W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Arthur Sharp, Norman Rogers, the Hon. W. R. S. Bathurst and E. Winterburgh.

But Bro. Ward fails to give any *real* evidence for his secession theory. The note that several men had resigned is not adequate for this purpose. Charity apparently closed down in June, 1790. Liberty & Sincerity was warranted (in December, 1790, *i.e.*) six months later, and did not begin to work until January, 1791. The act of secession normally implies the existence of a

particular motive and it is very difficult to imagine a group of Masons breaking up their own Chapter in order to form another which only lasted five months!

In the absence of evidence it seems to me that we must consider an alternative possibility that the Chapter of Charity failed for internal reasons, and that Liberty & Sincerity was a simple attempt to replace it.

Another implication of Bro. Ward's essay is that all the distinguished Masons who went into Royal York with Blake went into the Liberty & Sincerity Chapter with him—and later he says that “the Chapter did not attract so many of the elite . . .” Is it not possible that Liberty & Sincerity failed after five months because these big men refused to join it?

Bro. Ward has been singularly kind to Richard Blake in describing him as an “opportunist”, for he seems to have been a financial scoundrel, ready to engage in any kind of shady business for the purpose of lining his own pockets, but I am not entirely sure that Bro. Ward has made good his theory that Blake was indeed the ringleader of a group of “colourful and eminent” personalities.

Seven years later the Liberty & Sincerity Chapter was revived for a brief spell of nine years from 1797 to 1806, and in that period it did enjoy support from a number of prominent men, but it disappeared completely in 1806, and when Bro. Ward says that “it is tempting to regard it as the precursor of the Beaufort Chapter”, which was not founded until *forty years* later, surely that is—to say the least of it—a little far-fetched!

Once again we have to thank Bro. Ward for an interesting paper illustrating the development of R.A. and K.T. in Bristol. We may perhaps be critical occasionally of the exuberance with which he serves up his material, but he is finding the material and making it available for study; and even when occasionally we challenge his conclusions we have to admit that it is good exercise and well worth while.

Bro. BERNARD JONES said:—

I know too little of Bristol Masonry to allow of my commenting at length on Bro. Eric Ward's informative and closely-detailed paper. He has addressed himself to his task so conscientiously and frankly as to have succeeded in adding very considerably to our knowledge of some aspects of Bristol Masonry, and particularly of an able but unprincipled Mason who did not scruple to make an illegal proposal to a wine merchant, and whose conscience could stretch to the extent of his inaugurating a Lodge at the Cape in 1800 on the strength of a warrant granted eleven years earlier and used for founding a Lodge at Bristol! Bro. Ward gives us a very charitable view of this curious, colourful and quite unreliable character.

Later in his paper the author tells us that in the records of neither the Chapter of Liberty & Sincerity nor those of Charity Chapter is there anything to suggest that veils—actual veils—were used in the early British Royal Arch ceremonies, although veils were mentioned in the ritual, and that it seems unlikely that veils formed part of the British R.A. working at the end of the eighteenth century. I am sure that our Brother is fully aware of the extensive inquiries made in the 1900 period by Sir Ernest Cook, Grand Superintendent, and published in his pamphlet many years later, his inquiries showing that while Bristol had worked a verbal ceremony of the veils it did not appear to have used the veils themselves. At his instance, three coloured veils came into the British R.A. ceremonies not earlier than 1902, a fourth, a white one, being added in 1929.

It gives me great pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Ward.

Bro. ARTHUR SHARP said:—

In Part II of his paper, Bro. Ward reports that the R.A. Chapter of Liberty and Sincerity in Bristol was not working between 1791 and 1797. Chapters elsewhere in England at this period seem likewise to have been quiescent. Bro. Worts finds no record of the Leeds Chapter of Unity, No. 72, having met between 1790 and 1796; and Wakefield's Chapter, R.A., did not meet between 8th August, 1790, and 17th February, 1793. On the other hand, the two oldest warranted Chapters (described by Bro. Norman Rogers), namely, Nativity at Burnley and Cana at Colne, continued to meet on Sundays, but both places were then mere villages. He tells us that as late as 1796 more than 25 per cent. of the Chapters on the List met on Sundays.

It would be possible to suggest a variety of reasons which might have induced the cessation of working of the Chapters in the larger centres mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Could it have been primarily that the meetings held on a Sunday in certain localities attracted the unfavourable attention of the local authorities and it was deemed prudent to cease for a time?

We cannot altogether disregard contemporary events. In glancing at the effect the French Revolution produced upon the policy of the English Government of the day, we must take note of the bitter war the latter carried on against every kind of free discussion.

"It is no exaggeration to say that for some years England was ruled by a system of absolute terror", writes Buckle in his *History of Civilization in England* in dealing with this period. He continues:—

"Indeed, whoever opposed the government was proclaimed an enemy to his country. Political associations and public meetings were strictly forbidden. Every popular leader was in personal danger; and every popular assemblage was dispersed, either by threats or by military execution. That hateful machinery, familiar to the worst days of the seventeenth century, was put into motion. Spies were paid; witnesses were suborned; juries were packed. The coffee-houses, the inns, and the clubs, were filled with emissaries of the government, who reported the most hasty expressions of common conversation." He adds that the Habeas Corpus Act was constantly suspended.

Somehow this state of affairs in the country seems to have escaped record in the Lodge and Chapter minutes of the period; and if we are near the truth in conjecturing that certain Chapters which held their meetings on a Sunday felt it politic to cease working for a time, it is unlikely that we shall find the reason recorded.

But Lodges continued to meet on their usual week-day, and what can be more comforting than the song included in Preston's *Illustrations* of 1788 which just antedates the period? The first verse reads:—

"While princes and heroes promiscuously fight,
And for the world's empire exert all their might,
We sit in the Lodges from danger secure,
No hardships we meet with, no pains we endure,
But each brother cheerfully joins in a song:
Our rites we renew, Our pleasures pursue;
Thus we waft time along."

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

Bro. Ward says in his most interesting paper that there is a 1790 list of 32 members in Charity minute book, followed by blank pages, and he appears to assert that from 1791 to 1807 the Chapter was dormant.

Powell and Littleton, in *Freemasonry in Bristol* (page 647), state that the minutes of Charity Chapter between 1790 and 1827 are missing, with the exception of seven loose leaves covering the period from February, 1807, to February, 1808, and also that there are no minutes prior to 1784. From this one concludes that there are gaps in the records from 1769 to 1784, from 1790 to 1807, and again from 1809 to 1827. Yet we know from this "History" that the By-laws were revised in 1810, that it acted as a Provincial Grand Chapter between 1808 and 1817, and that it registered 75 members in February, 1822.

Are we certain at this distance in time of 160 years that there was a complete break in meetings? A contrary case I should like to quote is that of St. John's Chapter, No. 221, the last of the pre-Union Chapters to be granted a Centenary Warrant in 1956, but dated back to 1800. The minute books of this Chapter provided proof that from 1819, at least, four meetings per year were held, save for certain breaks which apparently precluded the grant of the Warrant. One of the most important of these was from 1839 to 1843, when only one meeting was minuted. Yet an examination of the Cash Account showed "To subscriptions collected" and payments "By Liquor" (generally about 8s. 9d.). Every missing date for which there was no minute was filled in, proving that there were meetings without minutes or candidates, for who would expend 8s. 9d. at a time when ale was 2d. to 3d. a quart but the members, who were allowed 6d. to 9d. per head between 1820 and 1852? The breaks are doubtful, even if the Chapter was reported as "dormant".

There is a point here I should like to raise. Grand Chapter resolved on 1st February, 1882, following Grand Lodge, that Chapters which had enjoyed an uninterrupted existence for 100 years could be granted a Centenary Warrant. The Petition for this was signed in Charity Chapter in September, 1882, and proof must then have been provided of continuity from at least 1782. There are five Chapters due to celebrate their Bicentenaries in 1969—three in East Lancashire, one in Portsmouth, and the fifth the one in question in Bristol. I only hope Charity gets its Bicentenary Warrant, for I know one of the five which has lost all its records prior to 1891 and yet it obtained its Warrant.

My remarks are not meant as a criticism, but rather as a commendation of a most readable and thoroughly enjoyable contribution to Freemasonry in Bristol. I support the resolution with pleasure.

R.W.Bro. the Hon. W. R. S. BATHURST writes:—

Bro. Eric Ward has given us interesting evidence of the extent to which, at the date in question, Knight Templar Encampments were regarded as "appendages" to Royal Arch Chapters. And that while a Chapter could exist without a Lodge, a K.T. Camp could not exist without its parent Chapter.

The present Baldwyn ritual is redolent of this period and strongly suggests that the Infidel against whom the Sir Knights are to draw their swords is not in Palestine but in the Place de la Concorde.

With regard to some of the Craft Lodges mentioned in the paper, it may be of interest to note three stages in the evasion of the Act of 1799:—

1. The Lodge of Faith and Friendship was formed by Henry Jenner at Berkeley in October, 1800. He was apparently unaware that, as Prov. Grand Master of Bristol, he was not entitled to issue warrants of his own volition, or that such a proceeding was at that time contrary not only to the Laws of Masonry, but to the Law of the Land. After two years this Lodge was legitimised by acquisition of the warrant of an extinct Lodge—the Country Stewards' Lodge, No. 449. In this case there was a physical transfer of the document. The new Lodge received the number of the old, but not the name.

2. The new Lodge formed at Minchinhampton, Glos., in 1801, was awarded the name and number of the Royal York Lodge, No. 455 (originally 546—renumbered 1792), but not the original Charter. This was presumed lost—though, as we now know, Blake had taken it with him to South Africa.

3. The new Lodge formed in Bristol in 1809 received neither the name, number nor charter of a lapsed Lodge. The warrant of the new Lodge blandly recites that whereas the Royal Mecklenburgh Lodge, which after various changes of number and meeting place was finally numbered 170 and meeting at Croydon, had forfeited its charter, the new founders are authorised to open and hold *the said Lodge* at Bristol under the denomination of the Moira Lodge and to be numbered 606.

Legal fiction could hardly, one would think, be more thoroughly reduced *ad absurdum*!

Bro. E. WINTERBURGH said:—

May I thank Bro. Ward most heartily for his very instructive and interesting paper? It brings two points to my mind. The first is a rather personal one, but perhaps worth to be mentioned. On page two, at the end of the paragraph headed "The Royal York Warrant", Bro. Ward is telling us that he rescued the precious document from a box of rubbish about to be destroyed. I had a similar luck many years ago to pick up in one of Count Thurr castles near Prague, from a heap of rubbish which a charwoman was just about to tackle, a handwritten ritual for apprentices of the Lodge Sincerité in Klattan, near Pilsen, in Bohemia (1770). This ritual was reprinted by the Quatuor Coronati Coetus Pragenois in 1930, and a copy of this reprint is in the library here.

The second point. On page three, in the paragraph headed "Examination of the Warrant", a Naval Conclave is mentioned. Bro. Thomas Dunckerley, this outstanding figure in the ranks of the "Moderns", was also a founder of the so-called "sea lodges" which were established by warrants of the Grand Lodge on the men-of-war of the English Navy, three of them in the eighteenth century. Dunckerley, as commonly known a natural son of King George II, was a gunnery officer on the Vanguard and founded in 1760 the first sea lodge on this ship; later on, in 1762, another one on the battleship Prince, which was then transferred to the battleship Gouadeloupe. The third sea lodge was established on the Canceaux, based on Quebec from 1768-1792. I think the "Naval Conclave" has some connection with the sea lodges and would be very much obliged to hear if it is so.

Bro. ERIC WARD replies:—

When presenting the paper I was not conscious of its being controversial, although aware that much had been left out. One of the peculiar difficulties of writing about provincial matters is how to avoid serving up *ad nauseam* the same old background material with every paper.

The Masonic situation in Bristol between 1790 and 1806 was quite extraordinary. The nation-wide dislocation brought about by the threat of invasion and the Napoleonic War itself both contributed, but that period also coincided with clashes between strong and sometimes dubious personalities, one of whom, Joshua Springer, D.P.G.M.,¹ was latterly at his most

¹ Initiated 1762 at a Lodge held at the Bush Inn, Bristol, on the same night as Bartholomew Ruspini.

cantankerous. The era which Arthur Bryant calls the years of endurance was indeed doubly trying for Bristol Masonry.

In such circumstances we cannot expect to find logical and readily explainable conduct with each move precisely documented. Yet the pattern of events seems clear enough.

First, we have a new Lodge formed almost exclusively of eminent men, the majority of whom were newly initiated for the purpose. It at once sets out to cater only for the upper stratum and acquires a social status beyond that of any previous Lodge. It is impossible to believe that it failed initially for lack of cash, since many of its members were extremely wealthy men despite the slump, *e.g.*, James Tobin, partner of a firm which amassed a fortune of £340,000. Nevertheless, after only three years it disappeared, and masonically so do most of these men, never to appear again in Bristol Lodges. I can think of only one possible explanation: it languished when its members found Springer's brand of Masonry too much to stomach, and it could not replace its lost membership with men of the same or indeed any calibre, because Masonry itself was in decline in Bristol at that time. The death of Dunckerley in 1795 made matters worse, and by 1798 things had reached such a pass that meetings were held to consider amalgamating the three surviving Lodges, Beaufort, Hospitality and Jehosaphat.

We then come to the Chapter L. & S. It is quite obvious to me that the secession from Charity was to get away from Springer, the D.P. Grand Supt., who, be it noted, was not a member during the first phase. It closed under the dual stress of national and internecine warfare, of which latter Thomas Southey told us. When the Chapter reopened in 1797 we find Springer coming in, grasping the reins at once (as Z. and Treasurer simultaneously) and never letting go until Husenbeth compelled him to do so. Let us hear what this brother had to say of Springer *after* he died:—

"The conduct of the late Joshua Springer has been of a most selfish and interested nature. His masonry was nominal and consisted of much verbiage of no meaning and much less effect. He was arbitrary and fond of power, by which means he robbed Masonry in Bristol from the lowest to the highest degrees of the funds he forcibly made the Beaufort Lodge and Chapter 75 [Liberty & Sincerity] and also the Templar Order, place in his keeping. He died a complete infidel and ordered his body to be buried next to his friend the well known Dr. Marriott¹ an openly professed atheist."

I mentioned Henry Jenner (P.G.M., 1799-1807) as joining the Chapter in 1799, and he almost immediately became P.G. Supt. of the Province. He was ultimately obliged by the will of the Craft to resign his appointments, and perhaps it would be better to draw a veil over the nature of his particular unsavoury activities.

All these things form the backcloth essential to an understanding of what was being enacted on the Masonic stage at Bristol in those years of endurance. And when the spotlight is thrown upon the third of Blake's ventures, the Templar Chapter of Antiquity, it reveals at once a complete explanation of those very points which have for so long eluded and deluded Templar historians.

I hope this explanation goes some way to satisfying Bro. Carr, although I must confess difficulty in following him in places. Thus, if in a Chapter having 32 members on the roll, 23 suddenly discontinue, eight of these latter set about forming a new Chapter and the old one then becomes quiescent, I would have thought these facts constituted real enough evidence of some kind of secession. That the new Chapter also became quiescent after only five months is irrelevant, as obviously its founders could not know that. In any case, when R.A. Masonry in Bristol was revived it was L. & S., not Charity, which was the first to reopen.

I feel that Blake must be regarded as the leader of the secessionist movement, since he was the first W.M. of a new-style Lodge, the first Z. of the second R.A. Chapter ever to be warranted in Bristol and the first head of the first Dunckerley warranted Templar Encampment. He was also the first P.G.M. of South Africa. Who else could have better claim to being the leader?

Regarding the R.A. Chapter as precursor, it has always seemed strange that Beaufort Lodge, founded in 1758, at a time when the R.A. was being worked as an additional degree, did not form its own Chapter, as Hospitality did in 1769. All its records were destroyed in a fire in 1797, but indirect references suggest unbroken existence down to the present. Thus the tendency of L. & S. to concentrate latterly on Beaufort brethren indicates that had it continued it would almost certainly have become linked to that Lodge at the Union, and in that sense could be looked upon as a forerunner. I have no interest in elongating the age of the present Chapter.

To Bro. Rogers, I must point out that it is not *my* assertion that for a time Charity Chapter was dormant, but, as quoted in the text, it is so recorded in the minutes of L. & S. as explanation of why no other P.G.C. appointments were made when Jenner was invested as P.G.S., that office itself, incidentally, having been dormant between 1795 and 1799. The inference of the L. & S. minute clearly is that, with better times, Charity would resume, as indeed it did in 1806. I think

¹ Thomas Marryat, M.D., author of *The Philosophy of Masons*, 1790. Member of Hospitality Lodge in 1788.

here we must distinguish between being dormant and having lapsed, of which latter there is no evidence whatever. The whole gamut of Bristol Masonry was in the doldrums at that period, with every unit struggling for survival.

The comments of the P.G.M., Glos., Bro. Bathurst, are valuable, as always. In separate correspondence he remarked upon the curious fact that out of the many men of the Royal York eminently suited in all respects to succeed Dunckerley not one did so, and it was not until four years after Dunckerley's death that an appointment was made, and then it was necessary to go outside the Province. We are both agreed that the reason was Springer.

Bro. Bernard Jones makes helpful comments, but has misunderstood me on a minor point, as I did not say that veils were mentioned in the Ritual. Alas, we know virtually nothing of the Bristol R.A. pre-Union ritual and precious little for a long time after, but it is certain that the surviving expense accounts of both Charity and L. & S. include nothing for material that can be reconciled to veiling. It is my opinion, based on ritual comparisons, that even a verbal ceremony of the veils was not used until recent times. Perhaps this needs the qualification that the Beaufort Chapter, to which I have already alluded, and was the one to which Bro. Cook belonged, may from its beginning have worked a variation from the early "standard". Cook rightly said that R.A. Masonry was not very popular in Bristol about 1890, and, as I have shown, it was decidedly weak 100 years previously. There were, indeed, several lean periods followed by revivals, and these seem to me to provide the conditions of change. It is only within living memory that we have reliable evidence of uniformity amongst Bristol Chapters.

Bro. Arthur Sharp's comments make helpful reading, but whatever the Northern public reaction to Sunday R.A. meetings it was not material at Bristol, where the practice had been dropped well before the period under discussion. Charity, in 1784, met on the first Friday, and L. & S. on various week-days.

In reply to Bro. Winterburgh, the Conclave originally called Naval, and located at Portsmouth, is now No. 2 on the roll as the Royal Naval Preceptory. It had nothing to do with those Lodges, etc., formed *at sea*, but its close associations with Dunckerley and the sea are beyond doubt.

I wish to thank Bro. T. N. Cranstoun-Day, D.G.M., South Africa, Western Division, for useful information concerning the Royal York at Cape Town and for permission to use the portrait from his History. I am especially grateful to Bro. Desmond Varley, of Cape Town, for so kindly supplying the copper plate of this portrait and for the great pains he took in seeking evidence. I hope I have been able to add something to their knowledge.



FRIDAY, 7th OCTOBER, 1960



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. N. B. Spencer, *B.A., LL.B., O.S.M., W.M.*; H. Carr, *P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.*; Bernard E. Jones, *P.A.G.D.C., S.W.*; 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., S.D.*; *Lt.-Col. E. Ward, T.D., P.M. 5386, J.D.*; and Bros. G. Y. Johnson, *J.P., 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.*; and B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*

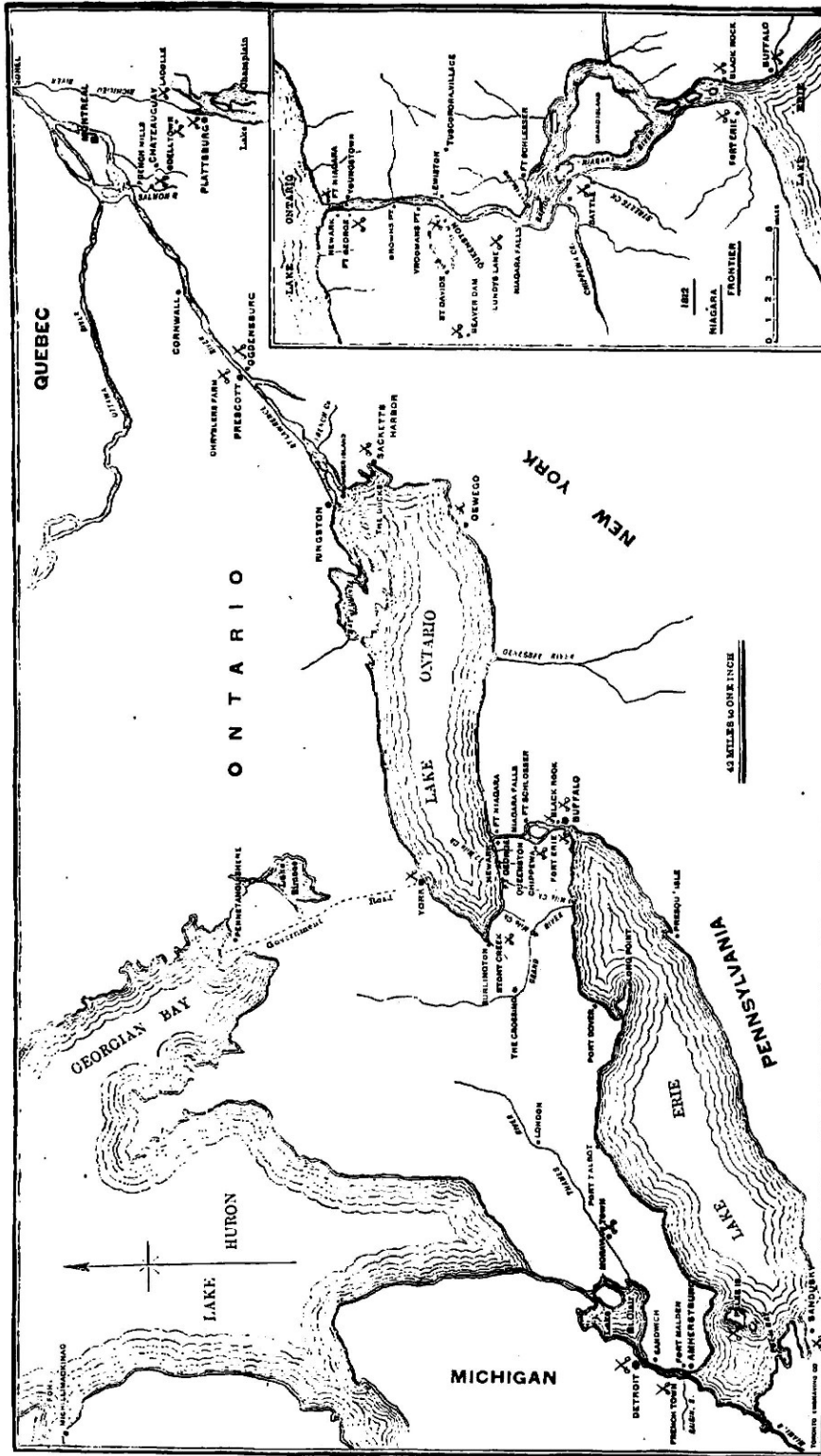
Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. E. Taylor, J. H. Lewis, G. Norman Knight, W. F. Barrell, Sir George Boag, H. W. Moore, A. F. Mills, H. W. Piper, G. P. Smith, B. Foskett, H. Denyer Green, R. W. Reynolds Davis, E. Winterburgh, F. Royston, E. H. Jaques, A. Lever, C. Elvin and B. Stein.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. A. Doggett, Lodge 4978; D. Garsden Fowler, Lodge 167, N.Z.; A. F. French, Lodge 3623; A. R. Knight, Lodge 6841; F. J. Jones, Lodge 515; and A. D. P. Thomson, Lodge 3662.

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

Letters of apology for absence were recorded from Bros. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer*; Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.*; 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.*; Norman Rogers, *M.Com., P.G.D., P.M.*; W. Waples, *P.G.St.B.*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal)*; R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D. (Quebec)*; G. Brett, *P.M. 1494*; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland, P.M.*; A. Sharp, *M.A., P.G.D., J.W.*; and F. R. Worts, *M.A., P.A.G.D.C., I.G.*

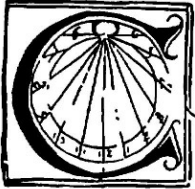
Bro. J. E. TAYLOR read an interesting paper, entitled *Freemasonry in Upper Canada and the 1812 War*, as follows:—



Map copied from "Ten years of Upper Canada in Peace and War"
by permission of the Publisher, William Briggs

FREEMASONRY IN UPPER CANADA AND THE 1812 WAR

BY BRO. J. E. TAYLOR



ANADA is still a vast country as far as distances by road are concerned, and in the days following the capture of Quebec, when outposts were few and far between, distances must have appeared almost insurmountable. The distance, on the attached map,¹ as the crow flies, between Montreal and Fort Michillimackinac is about 700 miles; Mackinaw, as the latter place is known today, was the most westerly military station. Voyageurs had travelled as far west as Sault Ste. Marie, where a Jesuit mission had been established as early as 1761, but it was no more than a trading post. The purpose of the map is to denote the places where the various battles of the 1812 war were fought, but it also serves another purpose and one of far more importance to this paper. It gives the name of every large settlement through which travellers would have to pass and where shelter was to be found, where supplies and news were to be picked up, and where the settlers established the first Masonic Lodges in the country then known as Canada. The area thus known was captured in 1759, and under the Quebec Act the boundaries were extended westward to the Mississippi and southward to the Ohio. In 1791 the country was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and this Act went into effect on December 26th, 1791. Travel was of necessity by water, as the land was densely forested and made progress by foot difficult, and the early settlers who sought to make a living off the country were necessarily of a hardy and resourceful character. Those who travelled in search of furs covered great distances, often under circumstances of incredible hardship. The same hardy pioneers carried the banner of Freemasonry across the North American continent, a Lodge warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec being opened at Fort Michillimackinac as early as 1782. This Grand Lodge derived its authority from the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns").

It warranted the following Lodges in Upper Canada:—

No. 11, St. John's Lodge of Friendship, Niagara	-	-	-	1780
(amalgamated with No. 19)				
No. 14, St. James' Lodge, Catararqui	-	-	-	May 12, 1781
(lapsed 1787)				
No. 15, St. John's Lodge, Mackinaw	-	-	-	1782
No. 19, St. John's Lodge, Niagara	-	-	-	1787
No. 21, Union Lodge, Cornwall	-	-	-	1790
(in existence in 1799)				

There was also Rawdon Lodge, which derived its warrant direct from London in 1792. In that year William Jarvis was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Upper Canada by the Athol Grand Lodge of England, but the first notice of this Provincial Grand Lodge at Newark is dated July, 1795. In the course of its career, which ceased to be active after 1804, this Grand Lodge worked with the following Lodges which it constituted:—

No.	Date of Warrant	Date of Dispensation	Name	Location
1	1794	April 6, 1796	Provincial Grand Master's Lodge	Newark, Niagara (1800)
* 2	1794	Nov. 20, 1795	St. John's Lodge of Friendship	Queenston
3		1793	Queen's Rangers, 1st American Regiment	York
4		April 6, 1796	Lodge of Philanthropy	Newark

* Copy of Minute Book existing.

¹ Map copied from *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-15*, M. Edgar, published in 1890 and with the permission of the Publisher, William Briggs.

No.	Date of Warrant	Date of Dispensation	Name	Location
5		Oct. 30, 1792	Royal Edward or Prince Edward	New Johnston, Edwardsburg
* 6	1794	Nov. 20, 1795		Kingston
7		1797	St. James' Lodge	Bay of Quinte, Fredericksburg
8		1797	Harmony	York
9		1797	Bertie (Continuation of Lodge No. 15, 1794)	Fort Erie
*10		Nov. 20, 1795	Barton	Ancaster, Barton
11		Feb. 12, 1798		Mohawk Castle, Burford (1802)
*12	1797	1798	Lodge of Friendship	Stamford
*13	1799	June 11, 1804	Leeds	Elizabethtown, New Johnston
*14		1799	Howard	Southwold
15		Nov. 20, 1799		Grimsby
16	May 24 1800	June 20, 1801	St. John's Royal Arch Royal Arch	York
17	1801	Mar. 10, 1801 Mar. 10, 1802		Thurlow
18		1801	Adonhiram	Amherstburg
*19		Oct. 4, 1801	St. John's	Haldimand

* Copies of Minute Books existing.

This brings the list up to 1804, and at this time Lodge No. 3 had returned its warrant. After this date any subsequent Lodge warrants were granted by the Schismatic Grand Lodge at Newark, which was active from 1803 to the conciliation by Simon McGillivray in 1822. No mention has been made of Zion Lodge, Detroit. Zion Lodge only enters the purview of this paper because Detroit was the scene of the first battle of the war in 1812. Copies of the five first minute books of Zion Lodge are in the library of the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario at Toronto. The United States Governor of Michigan was a Past Master of this Lodge, and there will be a reference to both Zion Lodge and to General Hull farther on in this paper, when the military aspect is touched on. Rawdon Lodge is also only referred to briefly; it was numbered 498 in the Grand Registry of England, and functioned from May, 1793, to 1800, as is evidenced from a record in which extracts only of this Lodge are quoted. In May, 1800, the Prince's or "Moderns'" warrant was surrendered, and the Lodge became known as Royal Arch Lodge No. 16. The extracts continue erratically up to 1819, and are chiefly of note as providing evidence of the working of the Royal Arch as early as 1811.

Zion Lodge, Detroit, ought to be the subject of a separate paper. A "Second Lodge at Detroit in Canada", apparently, was warranted in 1778 by New York. Both Lodges seem to have passed out of existence by 1790. It is also very difficult to trace the early history of the present oldest Lodge in the Ontario jurisdiction, Niagara No. 2, Niagara-on-the-Lake, but the existence of a copy of the Minute Book of St. John's Lodge of Friendship, No. 2, which met at Queenston and at St. Davids from 1795 to 1819, suggests the formation of at least one other St. John's Lodge of which there is no trace. There are names of visitors in the minutes to St. John's Lodge of Friendship giving St. John's as their mother Lodge. This is the picture of civilian Freemasonry up to the year 1812, "with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada with its Grand East in the City of Quebec," the inoperative but authentic Grand Lodge with its seat at York, and a very active but schismatic Grand Lodge operating at Newark, now Niagara-on-the-Lake, the seat of the legal Grand Lodge before it was moved to York.

To this domestic picture there should be interjected the rôle the North American continent was destined to play in the international game between England and France, Pitt and Napoleon. It has long been a boast of North America that the border between Canada and the United States of America has enjoyed an unbroken period of peace for 140-odd years. The first of two occasions when there were hostilities culminated in the 1812 war, which began with the capture of Detroit in August, 1812, and ended with the Battle of Plattsburg in September, 1814. This brief but bitter contest had its origin primarily in the restrictions placed on the United States by the principal opponents of the Napoleonic wars, Great Britain and France. As has been well said by William Wood in *The War with the United States*:—

"International disputes that end in war are not so generally questions of opposing rights and wrongs. They may quite as well be questions of opposing rights. But, when there are rights on both sides, it is usually found that the side which takes the initiative is moved by its national desires as well as its claim of right."

In the Napoleonic wars the Emperor was fighting for the conquest of Europe; the British for life and liberty. The United States was a nation of eight million people. The population of Upper Canada, against whom the Americans were to vent their wrath, was less than one hundred thousand. Napoleon's Berlin Edict was aimed against all British trade, while the British Orders-in-Council were directed against any trade between Napoleon and his allies, unless the merchandise passed through British ports. Since England held control of the seas it was inevitable that the ire of the Americans should be vented against the British, who were seizing more ships for infringements of Orders-in-Council than the French were able to do in enforcing their edict. The British were also vigorously enforcing their Right of Search under which all neutral merchant vessels, wherever found at sea, were stopped and examined for the presence of deserters from the Royal Navy. Under ordinary circumstances this question might have been settled over a conference table, but with two great nations at each other's throats such a procedure was impossible. Added to these there was a strong anti-British feeling in America, a feeling which found expression in a desire to capture Canada. The Jefferson Government in power at this time was definitely anti-British, but also at the same time it was in favour of supporting a free trade, always providing that the Government did not have to keep too many ships at sea to do so. Jefferson and his Democrats were also handicapped by being strongly political and thus had many political opponents. The U.S. President carefully avoided anything to do with armies, navies and, as mentioned above, the merchant marine. The anti-British feeling fostered and grew, and the spark which probably set off the blaze was the old desire initiated as far back as 1689, when the French owned Canada, to oust all foreign powers from North America. Madison, the new U.S. President, declared war against Great Britain in 1812, fired by all the causes real or imaginary, and he was convinced that American arms could not fail against such a small country as Canada, with so small a population.

Madison had badly misjudged the temper of the Canadian people, and particularly that of the United Empire Loyalists who had given up during the years 1775 to 1783 all they had owned in the U.S.A. in order to live and work under the British flag. The advent of war forced the British Government to practically create an army in North America, because at the outbreak there was only the 4th Battalion of the Royal Artillery and six regiments of line in Canadian military stations. The following extract from *The War with the United States*, by William Wood, accurately describes the military situation:—

"The British Army, like the Navy, had to maintain an exacting world-wide service, besides large contingents in the field, on resources which had been severely strained by twenty years of war. It was represented in Canada by only a little over four thousand effective men when the war began. Re-inforcements at first came slowly and in small numbers. In 1813 some foreign corps in British pay, like the Wattville and Meuron Regiments, came out. But in 1814 more than sixteen thousand men, mostly Peninsular veterans, arrived. Altogether, including every man present in any part of Canada during the whole war, there were over twenty-five thousand British regulars. In addition to these there were the troops invading the United States at Washington and Baltimore, with the re-inforcements that joined them for the attack on New Orleans—in all nearly nine thousand men. The grand total within the theatre of war was therefor about thirty-four thousand."

THE CANADIAN REGULARS

The Canadian Regulars were about 4,000 strong. Another 2,000 took the place of men who were lost to the Service, making the total 6,000 from first to last. There were six corps raised for permanent service: The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, the New Brunswick Regiment, the Canadian Fencibles, the Royal Veterans, the Canadian Voltigeurs and the Glengarry Light Infantry. The Glengarries were mostly Highland Roman Catholics who had settled Glengarry County, on the Ottawa, where Ontario marches on Quebec. The Voltigeurs were French-Canadians under a French-Canadian officer in the Imperial Army. In the other corps there were many United Empire Loyalists from the different provinces, including a good stiffening of old soldiers and their sons. The 16,000 Peninsular veterans consisted of one cavalry unit and eighteen infantry battalions, and at the end of the conflict, in 1815, eighteen British and foreign battalions had returned to duty in England and elsewhere. It was not unusual for one or more Masonic Lodges to accompany their regiments into the field, and the following regiments appear to have had Lodges¹ attached to them during this period:—

¹ List of Lodges compiled from *History of Freemasonry*, by R. F. Gould, vol. iii, p. 396 on.

Regiment	Lodge No.	
4th Bn. Artillery	213 (A) a.	1781-
1st Regiment	*289 S.R.a.	1808-1852
5th do.	* 86 I.R.a.	1738-1815
8th do.	255 (E) a.	1755-1813
13th do.	661 I.R.a.	1787-1819
16th do.	293 I.R.a.	1758-1817
27th do.	528 I.R.a.	1787-1815
39th do.	290 I.R.a.	1758-1813
49th do.	354 I.R.a.	1760-1849
58th do.	466 I.R.a.	1769-1817
76th do.	248 (A) a.	1788-1828
89th do.	863 I.R.a.	1798-1818
90th do.	8 Gib.a.	1803-
100th do.	3 Gib.a.	1804-

a Active Lodges. * Additional Lodges in Regiment.

Several regiments must have had members of the Craft within their ranks, as their Lodges appear to have been inoperative in 1812. These were the 3rd, 9th and 70th Regiments. And the 6th Foot, 57th and 82nd Regiments are not shown as being actively operating in so far as Freemasonry was concerned. It is more than probable that the method of breaking up the regiments into detachments to engage them to the best strategical advantage would not be very conducive to the meeting of Lodges as a whole.

Further, as all men were in the Army, the complete cessation of the civilian Lodges in Upper Canada is most marked. The minutes of Lodge No. 13, County of Leeds, extant to this day, indicate that there were no meetings between March, 1812, and January, 1817. The Barton Lodge, No. 10, held no meetings from 1810 to 1814. Stamford Lodge, No. 12, met up to July 23rd, 1812, and the next entry is a set of by-laws dated June 15th, 1815. Hiram Lodge, No. 21, P.R., records minutes to July 23rd, 1812, and July 22nd, 1813, when the Lodge continued to meet regularly, but in none of these Lodges mentioned is the war given as the cause of their ceasing to meet. Union Lodge, No. 15, P.R., Grimsby, a town in the centre of the theatre of war, held no meetings between September 26th, 1812, and April 11th, 1816. The following story relates to their Lodge chest:—

The meeting of the Lodge on 26th September, 1812, was the last that was held during the three years' war. The "lodge was closed in perfect harmony at nine o'clock" and did not reopen until the 11th April, 1816, when it met at the house of Bro. Samuel Kitchen. It was resolved to continue to meet at Bro. Kitchen's, and also that "a number of notes, remaining in the hands of the Treasurer, against some of the brethren deceased, shall be destroyed". The house was on lot 3 of concession 2 of Grimsby. During the war of 1812 the jewels, warrants and the books were hidden in a log house owned by Bro. Kitchen, which stood on the east side of the lot. The keeping place was an old wooden trunk or box, and every few months Mrs. Kitchen, who was a great admirer of the Craft, examined her charge, saw that the jewels were kept polished and that the other valuables were in good condition. She often told the story of the hiding of the jewels to Mrs. Forbes, her daughter, now the wife of R.W.Bro. Forbes, of Grimsby, who still has the trunk.¹

Barton Lodge ceased to operate in 1810, but the following story is of interest:—

"On the morning of the memorable day on which the battle of Stoney Creek was fought, the small British army, consisting of three or four regiments of regulars and some Canadian militia, was drawn up near Brother Land's house, hourly expecting an attack from the much larger force of Americans approaching from the direction of the frontier. The fences and other obstacles had been removed to facilitate the movements of the troops, and the inhabitants had evacuated their houses, expecting to find them on their return either in ashes or riddled by shot and shell. Before quitting their home, the wife and young sons of Brother Land (he being at his post in the line of defense) carried the jewels, records and valuables of the lodge, together with some of their own household treasures, to the garden and there buried them, planting a flower above them to mark the spot. The exact place where the flower stood was pointed out to the writer in 1862 by Stephen Land, son of Brother Ephraim Land. The enemy, not making such rapid progress as had been expected, was surprised during the ensuing night at Stoney Creek and thoroughly routed. The next day the members of Brother Land's family returned to their homes and to their great joy found their treasures undisturbed."²

¹ J.R.R., Vol. I, p. 753.

² *Barton Lodge 100-year History*, pp. 104-5.

The *Kingston Gazette*, the only newspaper published in the Province during the war years, carried the two following extracts:—

Dec. 12th.

"Notice is hereby given to all masonic societies that Elijah Ketchum a member of St. John's lodge Haldimand (U.C.) is suspended that Lodge until he can clear an obligation against him of having behaved in a very disrespectful manner towards a worthy family in their Province.

By Order of the W.M. of St. John's Lodge

John Peters Secretary

Haldimand 20th Aug. 1812."¹

The lapse of time between the date of issue and the date of printing is curiously long, and the following notice shows that the members tried to maintain their social activities in spite of war:—

"The Brethren of Lodge No. 6 Ancient York Masons, propose dining together at the Kingston Hotel on Monday the 28th. instant. Any brother wishing to favour them with his company will please signify the same to Mr. Walker on or before the 25th instant. By order of the W.M.

Alex. Oliphant Petrie, Sect'y Kingston 17th Dec. 1812."¹

The minutes of Zion Lodge, No. 10, Detroit, show the following items in 1812:—

July 6th. North Western Army under General Hull reached Detroit yesterday.
Sept. 9th. Detroit in possession of his Britannic Majesty.
Sept. 12th. Lodge closed and jewels stored to September 1813."

General Hull, who surrendered Detroit to General Brock, had paid many visits to Zion Lodge from 1807 on. Zion Lodge had been ruled by the Grand Lodge of New York since 1807, and by this Grand Lodge's laws the charter had been forfeited for failure to meet in one year.

The most interesting record of meetings is taken from the minute book of St. John's Lodge of Friendship, No. 2, Queenston. This Lodge met at irregular intervals during the winter months of 1813, when there was a cessation of fighting, and is the only minute book which not only comments that no regular meetings were held because of war, but on January 17th, 1815, held a Lodge of Emergency to initiate, pass and raise a number of gentlemen from the Marine Artillery. A painting of the Lodge room of Lodge No. 2, Niagara Township, at St. Davids, used during the period 1802-1822, hangs in the office of the Masonic Temple, 888 Yonge Street, Toronto.

June 26th, 1812, Lodge called from labour to refreshment at 10 o'clock. Lodge called from refreshment to labour at 11 o'clock and closed in good harmony.

St. Davids 22nd Sept. 1812.

Regular Lodge night St. John's Lodge met at Bro. Brown's Tavern. Lodge opened in the Master's degree when the following brethren were present at 8 o'clock.

Rt. W. Bro. C. Danby	Master
" M. Carron	S.W.
" J. Lutz	J.W.P.T.
" A. Stevens	Secty.

Read the Minutes of last Lodge night which were unanimously confirmed.

The lodge not being opened the last two regular nights was owing to the declaration of War and want of members.

Lodge closed in good harmony at 9 o'clock.

St. Davids February 5th, 1813.

Regular Lodge night of St. John's Lodge of Friendship No. 2 opened in the entered apprentice degree at 8 o'clock when the following brethren were present.

Bro. C. Danby	W. Master
" S. Carron	S. Warden
" R. Smith	J. Warden
" Smith	Junior Deacon
B. Solomon Quick	No. 12

Proceeded to pass Bro. Forsythe to the degree of a Fellow Craft. Called from labour to refreshment at 9 o'clock. Called from refreshment to labour at 12 o'clock when Bro. Forsythe paid three dollars for being passed to the degree of a Fellow Craft which

¹ *Early Freemasonry in Canada*, by J. J. Talman.

was paid into the hands of the Worshipful Master Brother Danby the secretary having the minutes of last lodge night with him they could not be confirmed from Bro. Danby the lodge could not meet before this time for war the lodge closed in good harmony.

July 9th, 1813.

Regular lodge night St. John's Lodge No. 2 opened in the Master's degree at 8 O'clock when the following brethren was present:

Bro. Danby W. Master
Bro. Mathew Carron Senior Warden
Bro. J. P. Clement Jr. ditto P.T.
Bro. Lutz Sect. P.T. No. 12

Read the minutes of last Lodge night which was unanimously confirmed the reason why the Lodge did not meet since the 5th February St. Davids was the headquarters for the troops. The lodge closed in good harmony.¹

These are the minutes covering the regular meetings of Lodge No. 2 which were held whenever possible during the war, with Christopher Danby in the Chair. R.W.Bro. Danby was one of the enthusiastic Masons who had previously been a leading figure with Jarvis in 1792, having been a member of Lodge No. 4, "Ancients", from 1788-1792. This Lodge is now No. 7, G.R.E., England. He had been Grand Senior Warden in 1796 and 1797 of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada. In the irregular Grand Lodge, Danby continued to be active and was Provincial Deputy Grand Master from 1803 to 1819. He joined St. John's Lodge of Friendship in 1799 and was Worshipful Master in 1800.

The next recorded meeting of Lodge No. 2 was held when the war was over and reports an emergent meeting held in the middle of winter to confer degrees on some soldiers before they departed from Canada:—

January 17th, 1815, Lodge of Emergency at Bro. Quick's St. Davids called by R.W.D.G. Christopher Danby at the request of Bro. Slater of Lodge No. 4 Upper Canada and Brother Crosley No. 230 Past Master and Brother Patterson of Lodge No. 243 past master both of the English Establishment praying the Deputy Grand Master to exert his authority and grant a dispensation for the enter the following gentlemen of the Marine Artillery into the three degrees of Ancient York Masonry Vis. Samuel Hutton Sargeant Edward Applegarth ditto Hugh Fraser Cap. Wm. Lee Sargent Applegarth William J. Frankling drummer in ditto. George Hamilton of the Royal Artillery when the following brethren were present —

Rt. Worshipful C. Danby W. Master
Bro. Barnes Senior Warden
" C. J. Crysler Jr. ditto
" Josiah Brown S. D. No. 4 P.T.
" B. Maconagh J.D. P.T. No. 12
" Colony Secty P.T.
" Master Treasurer No. 4 P.T.
" Wolverston No. 15 P.M.
" Johnston No. 123 Irish Establishment
" McMarney 605 I ditto P.M.
" McDonnell 562 I ditto P.M.
" Burney No. 651 I ditto P.M.
" Brisland 553 I ditto P.M.
" McBurney 651 I ditto P.M.
" Behervy 316 I ditto P.M.
" Crossley 230 English ditto P.M.
" Patterson 243 English ditto P.M.
" Quick No. 12

Lodge entered at 12 o'clock and proceeded to enter the above petitioners Samuel Hutton Edward Applegarth &c

Lodge called from labour to refreshment at 4 o'clock.

Called from refreshment at 5 o'clock when the above brethren paid their eneration fees into the hands of the Deputy Grand Master. The Lodge closed in good harmony.

From a later minute the names of the initiated brethren were Bro. William Hutton, Bro. William Frankling, Bro. William Lee, Bro. George Hamilton, Bro. Edward Applegarth, Bro. Hugh Fraser.

¹ Copied from minute book.

Disbursements by the Deputy Grand Master

Jan. '78 Bros. Slater ditto Patterson and Crossley applied for a dispensation for the gentlemen of the Royal Marine Artillery

to 2 qts. of spirits	16.00
Lining for Aprons and tape for strongs	2.
17th to Spirits	1.12. 0
18th to ditto	16. 0
24th to ditto	1.12. 0

Feb. 18

to ribbon and sealing wax and ceal for certificates	16. 0
To pade Bro. Freckleek for tying	16. 0
To a quart of spirits	16. 0
Pade Bro. Quick for candles and the use of room for seven nights	3.10. 0
For a bottle of ink	4. 0
Pade the regster fee to the Grand Lodge when the Brethren of the Royal Marine Artillery withdrew with certificates	5.12. 0

"Tying" would appear to be an abbreviation for "tyling". This is one of the most interesting and complete minutes which have been extracted from any of the minute books of old Lodges existing in the Grand Lodge Library in Toronto. The Grand Lodge of Ireland instituted a search for the Irish brethren named in the minute in the hope that some direct lead to a warrant in some British regiment might show, but the search was unsuccessful.

The prosecution of the war is no part of this paper, and it is unfortunate that it has not been possible to trace any activities of the regimental Lodges which must have accompanied the regiments to Canada, but it may be of interest to list the battles which were fought in the campaigns to show the wide dispersion of the troops along the frontier, a distance of 600 miles. It will be noted that eleven of the twenty-five naval and military battles were fought in the vital and prosperous Niagara district.

Date	Battle	Won by
1812 July 17	Michilimackinac - - - - -	British
Aug. 16	Detroit - - - - -	do.
Oct. 13	Queenston - - - - -	do.
1813 Jan. 22	Frenchtown - - - - -	do.
do.	Ogdensburg - - - - -	do.
Apr. 27	York - - - - -	Americans
May 27	Fort George - - - - -	do.
29	Sackett's Harbour - - - - -	do. (Naval)
June 6	Stoney Creek - - - - -	British
24	Beaver's Dam - - - - -	do.
Aug. 2	Fort Stephenson - - - - -	Americans
Sep. 10	Lake Erie - - - - -	do. (Naval)
Oct. 5	The Thames - - - - -	do.
26	Chateauguay - - - - -	British
Nov. 11	Chrystler's Farm - - - - -	do.
Dec. 19	Fort Niagara - - - - -	do.
30	Black Rock - - - - -	do.
1814 Mar. 30	Lacolle - - - - -	do.
May 6	Oswego - - - - -	do.
July 3	Fort Erie - - - - -	Americans
5	Chippawa - - - - -	do.
25	Lundy's Lane - - - - -	British
Aug. 4	Michilimackinac - - - - -	do.
15	Fort Erie - - - - -	Americans
Sep. 11	Plattsburg - - - - -	do.

The most famous and decisive battle of all these was the Battle of Queenston Heights, at which Major-General Brock was killed, and the list of mourners included the name of Dr. Kerr, of the Militia; Dr. Kerr was initiated in St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 6, P.G.L. of Quebec, on December 12th, 1776, as appears from Bro. Milborne's paper on "The Masonic Lodge in the 78th Regiment". He subsequently became a member of Barry Lodge, No. 17, P.G.L. of Quebec, prior to his move to Newark, where he was with the Indian Department of Upper Canada. He

became prominent in the Provincial Grand Lodge and ultimately became Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the schismatic Grand Lodge at Newark, which operated there up to 1817.

A copy of the Order of the Day, October 16th, is preserved giving the arrangement for the Funeral of Major-General Brock and of his A.D.C., Lt.-Col. McDonell. Bro. Robert Addison, Rector of St. Mark's Church, Newark, conducted the funeral service. Bro. Addison was Grand Chaplain of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Upper Canada from 1798, being the first chaplain, and was subsequently and at the same time Grand Chaplain of the Irregular Grand Lodge from 1810 to 1822. In most cases it is impossible to single out outstanding Masons who were also good soldiers, but one exception is that of Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon, adjutant of the 49th, Brock's old regiment. He was in quarters at Decew House, near St. Catharines, when he was brought information of enemy troop movements by Laura Secord, the wife of a wounded soldier, James Secord, a captain in the 2nd Bn., Lincoln Militia, and a member of St. John's Lodge of Friendship, and as a result he was able to post his troops near a place called Beaver's Dam, where he inflicted a defeat on the Americans.¹

The following is a note on his military career:—

"Lieut. Fitzgibbon, Adjutant of the 49th., enlisted as a private soldier in 1798, and was soon promoted to sergeant: served in Holland, was drafted as a marine on board Nelson's squadron, fought at the Battle of Copenhagen, won his commission on merit. After the Battle of Stoney Creek, he obtained permission to organize an independent company of picked men, to act as rangers or scouts in order to harass the enemy in advance of the army. Lieutenant Fitzgibbon distinguished himself at Fort George, Stoney Creek, Fort Erie and especially at Beaver's Dam. After the war ended he became Colonel of the 1st. Regiment of Toronto Militia and Assistant Adjutant-General of the Militia of Upper Canada. He ended his long career in England as a Military Knight of Windsor."²

John Ross Robertson's *History* has a very complete chapter—No. XIII in Volume II—on this brother, with a copy of a painting of Colonel Fitzgibbon in the uniform of a Military Knight. It is stated in this chapter that Fitzgibbon was a member of Lodge No. 12, Stamford, but a careful examination of a copy of a minute book of this Lodge covering the whole of the war period fails to show his name, either as a member or as a visitor. He had been made a Mason in Lodge No. 40, A.Y.M., Quebec, in 1803, and on the reorganisation of the Upper Canada Lodges, in 1822, was appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master by Simon McGillivray. It is impossible to say when, if ever, he ruled a Lodge, but there was a Lodge in the 49th Regiment, and it is quite possible that here he became Worshipful Master.

The fortunes of war favoured the Americans, as their military potential, quoted earlier in this paper, was a large, albeit untrained army chosen from a population of eight millions, whereas the population of Canada in 1812 was 400,000, of which about one-quarter lived in Upper Canada. However, a great number of those serving in the Canadian Forces were old soldiers, veterans of the Peninsular War, who had taken up land in Upper Canada, and they were stiffened by a British garrison drawn from the Regular Army. These were strongly reinforced in 1814 by the arrival of 16,000 experienced troops, mostly Peninsular veterans. The Canadians won the day in that the invading forces were repulsed and failed in their objective—the conquest of Canada. The American Navy won the only two naval battles, but the American forces were left victor on the field in only eight of the twenty-three engagements, and the most decisive of these were the first three at Mackinaw, Detroit and Queenston, at each of which the initiative was taken by the British troops and the weaknesses of the opponent exposed. The failure of the British troops lay not in the fighting ability of the Army in the field, but in the failure of the General Staff to exploit the advantages won in the field, and the war might have ended sooner than it did if the advice of General Brock had been accepted by Sir George Prevost, Commander-in-Chief at Montreal. He was finally recalled to England to explain his actions, but died before the inquiry into his conduct could be held. The Treaty of Ghent in 1814 ended the hostilities, and never again has there been a threat of war on the North American Continent.

There are recorded anecdotes of chance meetings between Masons opposing each other in the heat of battle and of this being the means of saving life. The best-known one is the story of the Marencourt Cup, and, besides the account given by Gould, it is well covered in *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xvi, p. 171, and also in Vol. xvii, p. 17. It concerns the capture of the schooner *United Sisters*, of Poole, by *Le Furet*, a French privateer under the command of Captain Louis Marencourt, who also captured during the same day the Irish sloop *Three Friends*. All the captains were Masons, and crews, ships and cargoes were released, who in exchange were to liberate Bro. J. Gautier, of *La Confiance*, who had been captured earlier during this year 1812 by the British.³

¹ *Annals of Niagara*, Kirby.

² *Ten Years of Peace and War in Upper Canada*, M. Edgar.

³ Gould's *Military History*, p. 67.

In the same book the following story is told of the capture of Fort George in 1812:—

"The following is given on the authority of an American captain of infantry, who took part in the capture of Fort George during the 1812 war. (Actual date 27th May 1813.) The British troops were informed that orders had been issued to the American soldiers to give no quarter. This had probably been done for the purpose of inducing them to fight with greater desperation and to prevent desertion. After Captain Arrowsmith's Company had landed and formed, he led them to the charge. The British troops retired as the Americans advanced, leaving a young wounded officer in the line of Arrowsmith's Company. As they approached he arose on one leg (the other was broken) and attempted to get out of the way, believing they would bayonet him if he did not. Unable to accomplish his purpose he fell, but turning to them as he sat on the ground, he gave the soul-thrilling appeal to a Mason. Captain Arrowsmith described his feelings at that moment as the most extra-ordinary he had ever experienced. I felt, he said, as if the hairs on my head stood upright and held off my hat. But he instantly called to the wounded man, 'Don't be afraid, my brave fellow, you shan't be hurt.' Soon after he saw a surgeon, and informed him that a friend of his, with a red coat, lay wounded in the rear near a certain bush, and requested his attention to him, a wish that was immediately complied with. Arrowsmith, who was wounded in the head during the same battle, was shortly afterwards laid by the side of his friend with the red coat, where they had time to cultivate an intimate friendship, which lasted for many years."

I have attempted to give a picture of civilian Freemasonry from its inception in Upper Canada to the beginning of the 1812 war, with its many facets according to the many Grand and Provincial Grand Lodges which bore jurisdiction over the constituent Lodges, but have unfortunately not been able to obtain more than a glimpse of military Freemasonry as practised by the numerous regimental Lodges attached to the regiments on duty. Owing to the concentration of the fighting in the Niagara Peninsula, a group of seven regiments were formed which were officered and manned by Masons and other patriots alike, settlers in that area, and these were the units:—

Niagara Light Dragoons
1st Lincoln Artillery (John Powell's Company)
1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Regiments of Lincoln Militia

A list of militia officers of the war, compared with the names of the members and visitors of St. John's Lodge of Friendship, No. 2, Queenston, shows a wide field of venture for the early settlers who became the backbone of the population of the future Province of Ontario.

Appendix "A"

LIST OF COMMISSIONS HELD BY MEMBERS OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE
taken from *Officers of the British Forces in Canada*, by L. Homfray Irving,
Honorary Librarian, Royal Canadian Military Institute

Page	Name	Regiment or Appointment	Rank and Address
178	Clement, Joseph, Sr., or	2nd Bn., Terrebonne Div.	Capt., Terrebonne
179	do. do. Jr.	do. do.	Ensign do.
32	Clench, Ralfe	Asse. Q.M.G., 13/3/13 Resigned 24/8/13	Capt., Niagara
72		1st Regt., Lincoln Militia Ensign, 8th Foot; Lieut., Butler's Rangers, '77; at Sandusky, 1782 (Despatches); Lt.-Col., 2nd West Riding Regt., Lincoln, 1803; District Judge at Niagara, M.L.A., 1801, 05, 13; P. of W., 27/5/13, detained at Burlington, U.S. (<i>Montreal Herald</i> , 18/12/13), at Queenston (Despatches)	Col.
258 82	Bradt, Andrew	5th Regt., Lincoln Militia Military Pension Board, Gore District, 24/5/16; once Capt., Butler's Rangers; died at 15 Mile Creek, Louth Twp., 12/11/1830, aged 75.	Lt.-Col.

Page	Name	Regiment or Appointment	Rank and Address
77	Campbell, Robert	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia (At Queenston, despatches Frenchman's Creek)	Capt., Flank Coy.
76	Secord, David	2nd Bn., Lincoln Militia (Formerly of Butler's Rangers. Wounded at Oriskany ; member of Assembly for 20 years ; commanded Regt. at Chippawa after Col. Dickson was wounded)	Major
72	Seacord, James	1st Bn., Lincoln Militia At Queenston, wounded	Capt.
77	Copper, James	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia Flank Coy., 25/6/12	Lieut. Capt.
77	Bowman, Abraham	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia (Wounded at Chippawa)	Lieut., 26/6/12
864 36	Phelps	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia Militia Command, Flank Coys., between Fort Erie and Queenston	Resigned 1812
76 258	Clark, Thomas, The Hon.	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia At Stoney Creek, Beaver's Dam and Black Rock. Wounded (Despatches) ; Col., 1818 ; Senior Member, Militia Pensions, Niagara Dis.	Lieut.-Col.
72	Adams, George	1st Regt., Lincoln Militia Flank Coy. (Born at Londonderry, Ireland, 1771.) Wounded at Fort George ; Prisoner, Oct., 1813 ; Paroled, 22/12/13 ; died Aug., 1844	Lieut., 6/5/12
265	Bowman, Peter	5th Regt., Lincoln Militia	Capt., Bn. Coy.
76	Thompson, David	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia (Had been a Sergeant in Rowe's ; wounded at Lundy's Lane)	Lieut., 11/3/14
79	Powell, William	3rd Regt., Lincoln Militia (Flank Coy. At Queenston, Despatches)	Capt., 25/1/13
46	Crysler, John	1st Regt., Dundas Militia Bn. Coy. (Lt. Dundas Militia, 1803. Medal and Clasp, Chrystler's Farm. Col., 1st Dundas, April, 1837)	Capt., 28/1/13
79	Park, Shubal	3rd Regt., Lincoln Militia (a Land Surveyor)	Lieut., 5/1/13
40	Swayze, Isaac	Troop, Provincial Royal Artillery Drivers. (Born in New Jersey, 1751 ; M.L.A. for Lincoln for 20 years.) Had been pilot of the New York Army during the American War, 1776-83 (U.C. Crown Lands). At Queenston, Despatches. Died near Niagara, March 24th, 1828, aged 77	Capt.
265	Smith, John	5th Regt., Lincoln Militia	Capt., Bn. Coy.
76	Rorback, Andrew	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia A native of New Jersey ; promoted Capt., vice Hamilton. Afterwards Lieut.-Col., 2nd Lincoln. Died in Stamford Twp., 17/8/43	Capt.
77	Burch, John	2nd Regt., Lincoln Militia (Promoted Capt., vice Macklem, absent)	Lieut. Capt., 10/3/14
120	Connolly, John	1st Select Embodied Militia, Lower Canada	Ensign, 25/5/14 Cancelled, 22/8/14
247	Beach, Wm.	Gentlemen Volunteers 104th	Resigned, 11/3/14

Appendix "B"

LIST OF COMMISSIONS HELD BY MASONS LISTED AS VISITORS TO
ST. JOHN'S LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP No. 2

Page	Name	Regiment or Appointment	Rank and Address
210 259	Kerr, Robert	Indian Dept., Upper Canada Medical Examiner, Niagara. Arrived at Quebec, 13th Sept., 1776, as Hospital's Mate. Served on Burgoyne's Expedition of 1777 (prisoner); also under Clinton; went to Halifax, N.S., 1778; Surgeon, Royal Regiment of New York (Sir John Johnson's), 1779-24/6/1784; Surgeon to the Loyalists, 24/10/1784; Surgeon, Indian Dept., 27/4/1788. Married a daughter of Sir William Johnson, 1st Bart., by Molly Brant. Died at Albany, N.Y., February 25th, 1824, aged 60.	Surgeon, 27/3/1788
264	Phelps, Elijah	Appears to be the same as B. Phelps, once a member. See above	
82	Davis	5th Regt., Lincoln Militia Flank Coy.	Lieut., 2/1/09
33 79	Street, Samuel	Acting Paymaster, March-April, 14 3rd Regt., Lincoln Militia	Capt., 2/1/09
79	Powell, William	Former member, 1798	
79	Weishuhn, Henry	3rd Regt., Lincoln Militia (Had been Sergeant in Warren's Coy.)	Ensign, 25/1/13
70	Clow, Duncan	Niagara Light Dragoons (former member, not listed above)	Q.M., 24/10/12
79	Trout, Henry	3rd Regt., Lincoln Militia 25/1/13	Adjutant Lieut.
82	Lottridge, John	5th Regt., Lincoln Militia (Died on service, 29/11/12; formerly in Indian Department)	Capt., Bn. Coy.
66 96	Rose, Hugh	2nd Regt., York Fencibles Michigan Fencibles	Ensign, 10/5/11 Capt., 5th S.E.M.
114 131 209	McKay, William	25/1/14; Bvt. Major, 15/4/14 Corps of Canadian Voyageurs do., 2/10/12. (Was appointed to 5th S.E.M., 16/3/13, and from that Corps to the command of the Michigan Fencibles, 25/1/14) 5th Bn., S.E.M. Capt., late Voyageurs, 16/3/13 Deputy Supt., Indian Dept., Upper Canada, with rank of Lieut.-Col., at Mackinac, 25/12/14	
240	Morris, John (Craig)	3rd S.E.M.	Q.M.S.
288	Slater, William Tindal	U.C. Militia	Pressmaster, Midland District

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND QUOTATIONS

<i>Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-15</i>	-	-	-	-	M. Edgar
<i>The History of Freemasonry in Canada</i>	-	-	-	-	John Ross Robertson
<i>The War with the United States</i>	-	-	-	-	William Wood
<i>History of Freemasonry, Vol. iii</i>	-	-	-	-	R. F. Gould
<i>Early Freemasonry in Ontario</i>	-	-	-	-	J. J. Talman
<i>Minute Book, Zion Lodge, No. 10, Detroit</i>					
<i>Minute Book, St. John's Lodge of Friendship, No. 2</i>					
<i>Military Lodges</i>	-	-	-	-	Gould
<i>Paper, Masonic Lodge in the 78th Regiment</i>	-	-	-	-	Milborne
<i>Officers of the British Forces in Canada</i>	-	-	-	-	L. Homfray Irving
<i>Annals of Niagara</i>	-	-	-	-	Kirby

On the completion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Taylor on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. H. Carr, F. Bernhart, J. R. Rylands, W. G. Fisher, F. R. Radice and A. J. Kerry.

Bro. N. B. SPENCER, W.M., said:—

Brethren, it is my privilege this evening to move a vote of thanks to Bro. Taylor for the interesting paper we have just heard on "Freemasonry in Upper Canada and the 1812 War." The effect on local Freemasonry of the occupying troops during a war is a very interesting subject.

In Upper Canada the effect seems to have been a fairly drastic reduction in the number of Lodges. The somewhat similar circumstances in my own country at a later date during the Maori Wars of the eighteen-sixties led to a very different result. In fact, quite a number of Lodges founded by troops at military settlements and outposts in the Auckland and Waikato Districts are still flourishing.

Freemasonry in Australia had its origin in a Lodge which the members of the 48th Regiment of Foot, which had its own Military Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, helped the local inhabitants to form in Sydney in 1820. This Lodge, originally "Australian Local Lodge" No. 260 under the Irish Constitution, is now the "Lodge of Antiquity" No. 1 under the Grand Lodge of New South Wales. It was from this Lodge that the first Lodge formed in New Zealand received its Dispensation.

It is interesting to see that "A Second Lodge at Detroit in Canada" was Warranted by New York in 1778. This must have been a Provincial Warrant as it is many years before the formation of the Grand Lodge of New York.

The change of name and surrender of the Charter of the Rawdon Lodge No. 498 under the Grand Lodge of the Moderns to the "Royal Arch Lodge" No. 16 is interesting from the fact that apparently it worked the Royal Arch degree as if it were in fact a Royal Arch Chapter, though this does not necessarily follow from the name.

The author has given us much information regarding the early days of Freemasonry in Canada, a subject about which I am afraid most of us know very little.

Bro. BERNARD JONES said:—

I second with great pleasure the vote of thanks to Bro. J. E. Taylor (of the Correspondence Circle) for his useful addition to our knowledge of the early Lodges of Upper Canada and for his many sidelights upon the activities of the great number of Military Lodges whose histories are intertwined with war-like activities in North America (including Canada) rather before and after the turn of the eighteenth century. I wish I could add anything worth while to the author's paper but my ignorance makes that impossible.

One gains from the paper some idea—I expect inadequate—of the great distances and areas concerned when discussing the early North American and Canadian Lodges. The author's phrase, "Travel was of necessity by water as the land was densely forested," brings home the amazing difficulties faced by the pioneers and we are left to wonder how the Brethren of that day could possibly surmount them and succeed in founding *and in attending* Lodges possibly hundreds of miles from the nearest point of civilisation. I looked up in Lane's *Masonic Records* the Rawdon Lodge mentioned by the author as deriving its Warrant from the "Moderns" in 1792. Lane, taking his information, we must assume, from the original papers in the Grand Lodge archives, describes the situation of Rawdon Lodge as being "between the Lakes Ontario, Simcoe and Huron", that is, in all directions, somewhere on a line 200 miles long. Lane adds: "Met in Log House, King Street, opposite Princes Street, York (now Toronto)". Apparently and understandingly, it had a troublesome history.

I note that of the "Antient" or "Athol" Lodges listed as having been warranted in Upper Canada between 1792 and 1804, one, No. 16, was definitely a Royal Arch Lodge; this is at a date when, had a Royal Arch Warrant or dispensation been derived from the "Moderns", it could have come only from Grand Chapter and the "Lodge" would almost certainly have been styled a *Chapter*, although, of course, there was a period (1795-1801) when the Grand Chapter of England called itself "The Grand Lodge of Royal Arch Masons".

I tender my thanks to Bro. Taylor and congratulate him on his zeal which brings him to us this evening all the way from Canada for the special purpose of reading his paper.

Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

I would like to congratulate Bro. Taylor not only on his paper, but on his present good fortune in being the actual reader of it in this Lodge. It must be a peculiar pleasure to him

to come from Canada for this specific purpose to find that the W. Master has made the journey from New Zealand to hear him.

Although the careful details given by Bro. Taylor will be of great interest to his Brethren in Canada, as well as to all those who are students of Masonry in that great Dominion, the paper also adds something to the knowledge of all of us who find interest in our eighteenth century craft on *this* side of the Atlantic. For the early Freemasonry of North America of necessity branched out from our own pre-Union systems. It evolved on its own lines, and here and there must have preserved features which we have now lost. Hence anything about eighteenth century procedure, ritual, customs and practices in Canada may well bear some relation to what we used to do at home before we changed our ways.

In this connection Cash Book entries are always interesting. The conviviality of the times could perhaps be gauged by the quarts of spirits consumed; an impression of the simplicity of regalia of the time may be inferred from the item about linings and tape. One might guess that the aprons were plain, roughly-dressed lambskin, calling only for a linen or cotton backing and a pair of tapes to turn them into Masonic clothing.

It is a paper which conjures up easily a picture of those rough and vigorous days. The "rescue-story" at the end pleases me mightily; I think we tend to regard these tales too cynically. After all, adapting Matthew Arnold's famous quip on another subject, we could agree that in one aspect our modern Freemasonry is morality tinged with emotion. Surely the most hard-boiled "authentic" student may have his sentimental moments, and find in these rescue legends something which satisfies a longing. Even the amateur psychologist may discern in them an age-old pattern reaching back into the magic of primeval days. Let us not lose these legends; they link us with Aladdin's lamp, with a hundred saviour stories from Ancient Greece and Rome and earlier times; with Drake's Drum and the favoured of the gods in all ages. Let us rather collect the rescue legends, collate and analyse them. I doubt if we shall ever be able to put a date to the first one, but the theme has been with modern Freemasonry at least since one Mason could call another down from a steeple to assist him.

I feel that these stories are of the basic stuff of speculative Masonry. The serious study of them might lead us further into our origins than the study of the Old Charges, misnamed the title-deeds of Masonry. The young initiate of today may earnestly absorb and try to practise the cold morality of obligation, charge and traditional history; what really warm his heart are the apocryphal legends handed down in the precious hours "set aside to talk Masonry". The stories come with imposing detail and circumstantial dates; the documentary evidence is always dubious. Nor is it either needed or wanted; as in so many morality legends, factual truth is of no importance. The eager initiate believes the yarns as the child believes the fairy tale; when the cynical years come upon us the morality is already engraved deep in the subconscious; we are conditioned and the myth has done its work.

That which links us with antiquity may well not be the superficial association with the Gothic builders; it is perhaps the vicarious satisfaction of the eternal yearning for security, for help in adversity, for rescue in peril, given by these ever-recurring legends of deliverance *in extremis*.

I join most cordially in the congratulations which have already been expressed to Bro. Taylor, and look forward to further evidence of his industry and enthusiasm.

Bro. F. BERNHART said:—

May I add my sincere thanks to those of the previous speakers for Bro. Taylor's assiduous work in providing us with a part of the history of the Craft, which will be another stone in completing the picture of the past. Apart from doing this work with patience and thoroughness he has even come across the Atlantic to present his work to our Lodge himself, for which we owe him gratitude!

To some remarks made by other Brethren, I would like them to bear in mind that in the very old days the Craft was called very often the "Royal Art"—on the Continent of Europe and in certain workings it is still called "Die Königliche Kunst"—now the abbreviation of these words may lead to misunderstanding for "Royal Arch".

Again my sincere thanks to Bro. Taylor.

Bro. W. G. FISHER writes:—

This paper has proved most interesting to me, as the 1812 War with America has been sadly neglected by historians. My interest is long standing, as many years ago I assisted the author of the early History of my Regiment, the Somerset L.I. (13th Foot). The regiment did not arrive in Canada until June, 1813, and was immediately sent to Montreal. It would require

a lot of space to recount the regiment's activities in Canada, and the only justification for publishing them in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* is that the regiment had a Masonic Lodge at that time.

In the 1812 War with America there were many Freemasons on each side. I know more about the American Brethren at the moment, but my researches are far from complete. Brig.-General William Hull (1753-1825), who surrendered Detroit to the Canadian Forces, was a Freemason, as also was his superior, General Henry Dearborn, and his principal subordinate, Colonel Lewis Cass. Dearborn was President of the Court Martial which tried Hull for surrendering Detroit, and both he and Cass gave evidence against him. Hull's defence was that Dearborn had failed to send him the supplies and reinforcements which he had been led to expect. Hull was sentenced to be shot, but the extraordinary thing is that after being sentenced he was sent home and told to surrender himself when required for execution of the sentence! The sentence was never carried out. Dearborn was a practising physician and was later retired from the command of American troops "for political reasons". One would like to know more of these political reasons, as a great many Americans were half-hearted in the prosecution of the war.

Other prominent American Freemasons who held important positions in the American Forces were: Commodore Isaac Chauncy, who contributed to the American success at Sackett's Harbour; Maj.-General William Henry Samuel Hopkins, the frontiersman, sometimes described as "General"; Commodore Stephen Decatur, jun., who was in command of the "United States" which defeated H.M.S. "Macedonian" in 1812 and of the "President" when H.M.S. "Endymion" was severely damaged and 11 of her crew killed on 15th January, 1815. He was killed in a duel with another naval officer on 22nd March, 1820. Then there were Maj.-General Jacob Brown, Brig.-General Joseph Bloomfield, Commodore Joshua Barney and several more names can probably be found in *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, published by the Missouri Lodge of Research, the main source of my information on this subject.

Bro. Taylor has mentioned Laura Secord and her part in the battle of Beaver Dams. I believe she is still regarded in Canada as a heroine comparable with our own Grace Darling. Was not her husband a Sergeant in the Militia at the time? He may have been promoted to Captain later. Laura Secord was the daughter of Thomas Ingersoll and was born in Massachusetts in 1775. Her grandfather was a General John Whiting. Thomas Ingersoll was a loyalist and after the American War of Independence he emigrated with his family to Upper Canada. The Americans were in occupation of Queenstown, where she lived, and in some way—probably from American soldiers billeted on her—she acquired knowledge of plans to carry out a surprise attack on Beaver Dams, where a small force was under the command of Lieut. James Fitzgibbon, of the 49th Foot. What is remarkable about this story is the great courage and determination required of a woman to find her way unchallenged through the American lines and the no-man's-land over which both hostile and friendly Indians roamed. She lived to a great age, dying at Chippawa, Ontario, on the 7th October, 1868. (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.)

The list of names in Bro. Taylor's paper is extremely useful, as it is not easy to obtain details of persons in Canada who were Freemasons at that time. It is possible that Maj.-General Sir Isaac Brock was a member of the Lodge in his Regiment, the 49th (later the Princess Charlotte of Wales' [Berkshire Regiment]). His death at Queenstown on the 13th October, 1812, was a great loss to the British Army. As a soldier he was brilliantly audacious, just the type required where the numbers in Canada and America were so disproportionate.

One outstanding personality on the British side was John Brant, son of the famous Indian Chief of the Mohawk nation, Joseph Brant. Another famous Indian Chief who fought on the side of the British was Tecumseh, Chief of the Shawnees. He was killed at Thames River in October, 1813. Brant was initiated into Freemasonry in the Union Lodge, No. 24, in 1815, but there is some doubt as to whether Tecumseh was ever received into the Craft, although there are many stories of him acting as though he were a Mason.

The War of 1812 was conducted at sea as well as on the land. The Navy, based on Bermuda, harried the American coast and British ships more than once sailed up the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, destroying military installations and stores. The Admiral in command was Sir John Borlase Warren, Provincial Grand Master of Derbyshire, and his second-in-command, Sir George Cockburn, was a member of Lodge of Antiquity. He was in command of the naval vessels which carried Napoleon to St. Helena.

The most famous naval engagement was, of course, the capture of the "Chesapeake" by H.M.S. "Shannon". What is not generally known is that Captain James Lawrence, of the "Chesapeake", and his second-in-command, Lieut. Augustus Ludlow, were both Freemasons. They were killed in the engagement and were buried with Masonic honours.

I cannot quite agree with Bro. Taylor's explanation of the causes of the war. It is not so much that he understates the complicated position; it is always difficult to express in a few words all the emotional irruptions which lead a nation to war. It was most unfortunate that there were men in power in America who carried a bitter hatred of Britain in their hearts and many in high places in Britain who were indifferent. Many Americans did not want war with

Britain. The Southern States were very favourably disposed to Britain; Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to contribute Militiamen to the American Army.

Nevertheless, Bro. Taylor has contributed an interesting paper and I hope that he will write the paper on the Zion Lodge, Detroit, of which he hinted.

Bro. FULKE RADICE writes:—

I am afraid I have little to state Masonically on this interesting paper, which fills yet another gap in our knowledge of Freemasonry in the Dominions, beyond hoping that yet more information may be discovered about the Military Lodges, as it was Freemasons in the Army that played such a prominent part in introducing the craft into Canada.

It may interest Brethren, however, to know that in 1957, during the Universal Postal Congress, I had an opportunity of seeing the monument erected to Brock and the memorial plate set up to Laura Secord. Brock proved to be one of those extraordinary men who gained the affection and admiration of everyone and exercised an enormous influence. The salvation of Canada was almost wholly due to him, as he tided over that dangerous period at the beginning of the war, when Canada had very little defence and the invading enemy was numerous, even if ill-disciplined. As a very swift river, just below the famous Niagara Falls, separated the combatants, it is not surprising that the ill-conditioned American Army bungled the crossing. A small force, yet superior to the nearest defenders, under a capable and determined leader, succeeded in seizing the key point of Queenston heights. Brock had with him only one company of regulars and some Canadian levies, but drove at the enemy at once and threw him into the river. He himself fell in what was but a skirmish, however important. The death of the beloved leader, however, so stirred his troops, and especially the Canadian levies, that, filled with the desire to avenge him, a day or two later they rushed and overthrew a far larger landing force half as large again as themselves and, moreover, entrenched. Brock's monument, on the site of the first battlefield, consists of a column with a statue of Brock on the top.

Laura Secord was going on a journey and found her way barred by an American force. She commandeered a cow and, pretending to be a peasant, drove it through the American camp without let and profited of the occasion by noting their dispositions. This information enabled Fitzgibbon to win his victory at the Beaver Dams. Mrs. Secord's plate is set up not many yards away from Brock's column, a plain bronze plate simply stating what I have said above in even fewer words. The spirit of Brock thus persisted long after his death, though his loss was irreparable.

Bro. A. J. KERRY writes:—

There were one or two points I had wanted to ask Bro. Taylor about:—

1. His bibliography did not include either *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*, by John H. Graham, LL.D., published by J. Starke and Co., Montreal, 1892, or *Early Canadian Masonry*, by Pemberton Smith, published by Quality Press, Ltd., Montreal, 1939. He may, of course, consider both to be discredited by more recent research.

2. I have a number of odd notes, for the authenticity of which I am not prepared to vouch too strongly, as they came to me at second hand.

1759—An *ad hoc* Provincial Grand Lodge was formed by the Military Lodges at Quebec in September, for which a Prov. G.M. was authorised by Lord Aberdare in 1762.

1764—On 27th April the Prov. G. Lodge of New York Warranted Zion Lodge at Detroit. It was later listed as No. 10 in Lower Canada and shown on their records in 1820 as dormant. Other Warrants for Detroit seem to have been issued in 1772 and 1775. One of these may have been for the Harmony Lodge, also erected from N.Y., which the Prov. G. Lodge of Canada prepared to take under its wing in 1777. The *Quebec Almanac* for 1780 also lists a "Union Lodge at Detroit".

As a tail-piece, Duquesne, the last French governor of Detroit, is said to have been a member of what is now Royal Somerset House and Inverness, No. 4.

1767—On 2nd September a "Moderns" Prov. G. Lodge of (Lower) Canada was Warranted by Lord Beaufort (Duke of). A new Warrant for this was issued in 1797 by the Duke of Cumberland. This was the year when it probably quietly expired, all its subordinate Lodges having turned "Antient".

1784—The Lodge in the 8th Regiment is listed by the Prov. G. Lodge of Canada as being under its guidance.

1787—On 20th December the Lodge in 4th Battalion, Artillery, obtained a new Warrant from the "Antients" and also purchased the dormant Warrant No. 9, originally issued in 1752. This Lodge is shown as No. 17 on the Lower Canada lists in 1820 and now forms part of Albion, No. 2, G.L. of Quebec, at Quebec.

- 1790—Sir John Johnson, the Prov. G.M. for (Lower) Canada and living in Montreal, issued a Warrant for the Rawdon Lodge to meet "between the Lakes".
- 1791—A new (Johnson) Warrant for a second St. John's Lodge of Friendship, No. 11, to meet in Montreal, was issued on 18th March. This Lodge disbanded in 1797.
- 1792—Johnson issued a Warrant for a Barton Lodge to meet at Hamilton or thereabouts. (This may be the one known as Barton No. 40.)
- 1792—The "Antients" Prov. G. Lodge of Lower Canada was formed on 22nd June, with the Duke of Kent as Prov. G.M.
- This issued Warrants for, among others, No. 1, Glengarry (U.C.), 2 Bn. Royal Canadians, and No. 5, Royal Edward (U.C.), both in 1792. The latter was still shown on their books, as dormant, in 1820. I also have a note that a "Duke of Athole" was raised in St. Paul's Lodge (now No. 374, E.R.), Montreal, some time in this period, whilst on military service.
- 1823—I have 23rd April of this year as the official date of the formation of the Prov. G. Lodge of Upper Canada.

Bro. TAYLOR replies:—

I am more than pleased with the reception with which this initial effort has been received. The mention of Rawdon Lodge, No. 498, and its successor, Royal Arch Lodge, No. 16, has aroused considerable comment. There does not appear to be too much doubt that Lodge No. 16 actually did work Royal Arch degrees. The following excerpt is taken from a meeting held 16th July, 1815: "Opened in the Royal Arch degree. The minutes of the last quarterly communication were read and approved." The officers listed for this Chapter are given in the same minute, the meeting being for the election of officers. They are: M.E.H.P., King, Scribe, Capt. Host, Prin. Soj'r., 3 Grand Masters. This Royal Arch Lodge, No. 16, met to surrender its Warrant on April 23rd, 1825, and the minute continues: "Read the warrant for the new Lodge No. 9 issued by the Provincial Grand Master, to which Lodge No. 16 transferred its authority." Here follows the list of elected officers and the reading of the by-laws. With the accidental finding of this new minute book there may be material for a paper covering a period from 1797 to 1829, when the Warrant was surrendered. The Lodge at Detroit has also been the cause of remarks and questions. Zion Lodge, No. 10, was Warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge in Quebec in 1764; in 1806 it was transferred to the Grand Lodge of New York as No. 1 Detroit, and in 1809 was renumbered No. 3. In 1827, when the Grand Lodge of Michigan was formed, the Detroit Lodge resumed its seniority as No. 1, which it still holds.

Bro. Rylands comments on features which have been preserved in Canada but which we have lost. If this is so, all or most of these traces have been lost. For example, there is a standard ritual in the Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario, with the exception of two Irish Lodges which have permission to work their own degrees. The visitor to the Grand Lodge of Quebec can see a far greater variety of work than we can in Ontario, and a copy of the ritual as worked in Ontario in 1859 is apparently the same as that worked in Quebec today. In reply to Bro. W. G. Fisher, I have of necessity touched only on Detroit as far as the town was part of the military campaign and was captured early on. It is interesting to hear of both Cass and Hull, both being prominent Freemasons of their day and frequent visitors to Zion Lodge. I regret that I am not acquainted with the story of Grace Darling. I could digress at considerable length on Laura Secord, having actually stayed at the old stone house at Decew Falls to which she came with the message. My source of information merely gives James Secord's rank as that of Captain. I thank him for his further notes on the family of Laura Secord. I should add to his comment about lists of names of Freemasons in Upper Canada that such a list is in preparation and has been in my spare time for some years. When it is finished I expect at least 4,000 names. There is no mention anywhere of Isaac Brock being a member of the craft, and it is highly unlikely that he was. A man as prominent as he was could not conceal anything like that. Bro. Gerard Brett has written a paper for the Canadian Masonic Research Association on Bro. Joseph Brant. I am glad to have heard from Bro. Fulke Radice, as I took the opportunity to meet him on the occasion of the visit to Canada which he mentions. His memory of his visit to Queenston Heights is vivid.

Bro. A. J. Kerry, who I regret was not able to attend, as I should like to have met him, touches on matters chiefly belonging to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada, a field which Bro. Milborne has made peculiarly his own. I had not heard of *Early Canadian Masonry* by Pemberton Smith, but I would think that Graham's history will be largely superseded by that of A. J. B. Milborne, soon to be in print, if it is not already available. I should be very remiss if I did not take this opportunity to thank Bro. Milborne for the great deal of help which he gave me in checking detail, supplying information and reading over the completed paper.

NOTES



RESTON'S ADVERTISEMENT OF HIS "PRIVATE LECTURES ON MASONRY IN TWELVE COURSES" (1774).—In the latter half of 1774 William Preston planned his "Private Lectures on Masonry in Twelve Courses". In November he advertised them in *The Daily Advertiser*. The first insertion was as follows:—

"Wednesday, November 2, 1774":

FREEMASONRY. To all regular Masons under the Constitution of England, **PRESTON'S** Lectures on Freemasonry will begin at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet Street, on Tuesday the 8th instant, at Seven o'Clock in the Evening precisely. Books of the Lectures, illustrating the Plan, and containing Remarks on all the Sections of the different Degrees of Masonry, with the Charges appropriate to each Degree, and a Choice Collection of Songs, may be had, Price 1s. of J. Wilkie, No. 71 St Paul's Church-Yard. In the Press, and will speedily be published, Illustrations of Masonry, a new Edition, with considerable Corrections and Additions.

The "Twelve Courses" were started; they continued for a period unknown. Ten more advertisements in *The Daily Advertiser* attest this fact. On "Tuesday, November 8, 1774" the second advertisement appeared; this was followed by nine more at weekly intervals, except at Christmas, when the dates were "Tuesday, December 20, 1774" and "Tuesday, January 3, 1775". The results of Preston's Lecture-Courses to teach his Brethren Masonic "work" are unknown.

To inform Masons of his intention, and to gain their patronage, Preston printed and issued a booklet in which he made plain his proposals. This booklet is the subject here considered. It is a rare survival of Preston's printed work. Only two copies are certainly known, one in the Library of Q.C., London, and one in the Library of the York Lodge, No. 236, York; another copy possibly exists in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, U.S.A., and there may be one (I doubt this) in the Grand Lodge Library, London.¹

This booklet of Preston's, printed and circulated in 1774, is small and unpretentious; its size is the same as Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* (2nd edition: 1775), namely, 4in. wide and 6 5/12in. long; its pages number 72.

The following are the chief features of this publication:—

1. pp. 3-5. Preston's address.

TO THE
ENCOURAGERS and PROMOTERS
OF
FREE MASONRY

He justifies his proposal by stating flatly "that, in some LODGES, the work of Masonry is much neglected . . . arising partly from the inexperience, and partly from the inability, of those BRETHREN who have the honour to preside over them. This neglect justly disgraces the SOCIETY . . ."

He summarises his proposed course, and defines his own ability to command it successfully:—

" . . . Brother PRESTON is induced to offer his assistance to ALL REGULAR MASONS desirous of making progress in the ART. In the course of TEN YEARS

¹ The copy at Q.C. is bound up with a copy of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* and other Masonic works. The copy at York is bound up with *The Free-Masons' Calendar: or, An Almanac*, a first edition, published in 1775; they were probably so bound about 1820. "It is cheaply bound in half calf, marble paper sides"—v. Johnson, *Cat. of the York Library*; listed (B.10/2).

In the copy at York are preserved MS. copies of the advertisements from *The Daily Advertiser* referred to above; these copies are in the calligraphy of the well-known copyist, W. R. Makins, who copied *literatim* the complete series of advertisements of these "Private Lectures".

he has been enabled, with the kind assistance of his BRETHREN both at home and abroad, to reduce the SCIENCE into a regular SYSTEM; and now proposes to deliver, in TWELVE COURSES, PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS in the DIFFERENT DEGREES OF MASONRY".

He makes a special plea that "MASTERS of LODGES" should be his patrons, because it was "requisite" for them "to gain a competent knowledge of the ART".¹

2. p. 6.

CONDITIONS

- I. Every DEGREE to consist of TWELVE COURSES.
- II. One GUINEA to be paid on admission into every DEGREE.
- III. Any Brother not perfect in any one DEGREE at the expiration of the TWELVE COURSES, shall have the privilege of attending SIX more, without additional expence.
- IV. Books of the COURSES will be given to every BROTHER at the commencement of his instructions.
- V. Instructions will be given THREE times a week at an appointed hour.

3. pp. 7-9. GENERAL REMARKS ON MASONRY

Preliminary Observations.

10-36. FIRST DEGREE:

The Twelve Courses defined and described.

37-52. SECOND DEGREE:

The Twelve Courses defined and described.

52-60. THIRD DEGREE:

The Twelve Courses defined and described.

4. pp. 61-72. CHOICE COLLECTION OF SONGS.

The last song is the somewhat rare *The Hod-Carrier's Song*. (Tune, *Balance a Straw*), an Operative song for Apprentices.

The "Books" referred to in "IV. CONDITIONS" were published and sold. They were small, pocketable, about 4in. thick. One such "Syllabus" was issued for each Degree. Some of the text is in English prose; much of it is in some form of cypher or abbreviated word-form. Gordon Hills stated:—

These Manuals indicate the details of Opening, Closing, Calling Off and On, and the questions of procedures of the Lectures, and are interleaved with blank sheets on which the owners have made pencil notes of the working chiefly of a very fragmentary kind.

Students of Preston, especially of his *Illustrations of Masonry*, will at once recognise the text of this booklet, *Private Lectures on Masonry in Twelve Courses* (1774); except for occasional connective pieces of composition by the author, the text is an exact reproduction of the text of the *Illustrations of Masonry* (1775). The set-up is the same; the size of the pages is similar; in many instances, however, the actual setting of words in a line of text differs from comparable lines in the *Illustrations*. It would therefore seem that the Booklet was set up independently, and that the type-set of the *Illustrations* was not used for its printing. The printer was "J. Wilkie", who was also at the same time producing the *Illustrations* (1775), which was published either during the Lecture-Courses or just after they had been completed, probably before.

I am much indebted to W.Bro. Gilbert Y. Johnson, P.G.D., Librarian of the York Lodge, for his generous aid to me in preparing this note of this rare Masonic Booklet, issued by Preston in 1774.²

F. R. WORTS.

Some Notes on Masonic Graces.—Brethren of English Lodges sit down to refreshment after a Blessing has been invoked. On the conclusion of the meal Grace is also said or sung before the loyal and other toasts are proposed.

Importance has always been attached to the Annual Grand Feast. In the *Book of Constitutions* (1723), by Dr. James Anderson, Nos. XXII to XXVIII of the General Regulations are concerned with the Grand Feast. No. XXX reads:—

¹ It will be recalled that Preston and other writers of the eighteenth century (and even Oliver in the nineteenth) lamented that Fellow-Crafts were very reluctant to proceed to "The Master's Part".

² The references to Gordon Hills can be found in his important paper on Preston in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli (1928).

NON NOBIS DOMINE

WILLIAM BYRD

Musical score for Tenors, Baritones, and Basses. The lyrics are:

TENORS
Non no-bis Do - mi - ne, non no - bis; sed no-mi-ni tu - o da

BARITONES
Non no-bis Do - mi - ne, non no - bis; sed no-mi-ni tu -

BASSES
Non no-bis Do - mi - ne, non no - bis; sed

glo - ri - am; sed no-mi-ni tu - o da glo - ri - am Non no-bis Do - mi -

o da glo - ri - am; sed no-mi-ni tu - o da glo - ri - am Non no-bis

no-mi-ni tu - o da glo - ri - am; sed no-mi-ni tu - o da glo - ri - am.

FOR WHAT WE HAVE

Dr. JOHN SMITH

Musical score for a single voice part. The lyrics are:

For what we have now set be - fore us let us praise the Lord & say A men in

Chorus A. MEN For what we have had set be - fore us let us praise the

Lord and say A-men in Chorus A. MEN

Then the Masters and Wardens, and all the Brethren may converse promiscuously, or as they please to sort together, until the Dinner is coming in, when every Brother takes his seat at Table.

It might well be assumed that the omission here of any reference to a Grace before meat was because Anderson took it for granted that this would be offered. We have also to remember that during the Duke of Wharton's Grand Mastership, when the *Book of Constitutions* was being compiled, the Minutes tell us that "the Fraternity began to increase daily by the admission of many of the Clergy, Gentlemen, merchants and others of good Repute", all of whom would take for granted the offering of some form of Grace at a gathering of such importance as the Grand Feast.

Many years were to elapse before a Grand Chaplain was appointed and it was not until after the laying of the Foundation stone of the Freemasons' Hall in Great Queen Street, on 1st May, 1775, that the first Grand Chaplain was appointed at Leathersellers' Hall, "when an elegant entertainment was provided". Seventy years later Thackeray, in describing a dinner at one of the City Halls, remarked:—

Grace was said, not by the professional devotees who sang "Non nobis Domine" at the end of the meal, but by a chaplain somewhere in the room.

A toast list and musical programme of the Grand Festival of 1784 includes "Non nobis Domine", and at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Glee Club assembled at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, in 1788, this canon was always sung after dinner. It is included in the *Selection of Masonic Songs* issued by Smollet Holden (Dublin 1797) to mark the inauguration of the Female Orphan School of Ireland, and has a long tradition of use on festive occasions. This well-known and universally admired canon, attributed to William Byrd (1543-1623), is very frequently heard at Installations of the present day. Its first publication was by John Hilton at the end of his *Collection of Catches, Rounds and Canons* printed in 1652. The phrase familiar as the opening of the canon was considered by Handel, among others, as common property and appears to the words "For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth" in the Hallelujah Chorus of the Messiah.

The version is in three parts, so that in many Lodges a Grace is preferred which can be sung in unison. Thus we find that a tune from the "Laudi Spirituali" of 1545 has been adapted to appropriate words. The melody first came to notice in Dr. Charles Burney's *History of Music* (1782), wherein he gives a transcript of the tune from a MS. collection of "laudi spirituali", or sacred songs, in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence. The date of its composition is not certain; Sansovino, writing in 1546, says:—

There are at Florence several schools of artisans and mechanics, among which are those of Orsanmicheale and Santa Maria Novella. Every Saturday after nine o'clock, these assemble in the church, and there sing five or six laudi in four parts; the words of which are by Lorenzo de Medici, Pulci, and Giambellarli.

The tune we know is given by Burney as a specimen of the melodies sung by the *laudesi*, and under the name of "Alla Trinita Beata" this tune appears in our English Hymnbooks, viz. in the "Ancient and Modern" edition from 1861, the "English Hymnal" of 1906 and others. The original words, translated from the Latin by Dr. J. M. Neale, are:—

Blessed feasts of blessed Martyrs,
Holy days of holy men,
With affection's recollection
Greet we your return again.

Brother Richard Northcott, in an address in 1916 on "Musical Freemasons", says:—

This tune was brought to the notice of the London Public by Brother Sir Henry Bishop, who arranged it as a quartet and had it performed at a Concert of Ancient Music, at the Hanover Square Rooms on May 29th 1844. It was repeated on several occasions, the last being April 5th 1848 when it was heard by Bro. John Williams Hobbs (Grand Organist, 1846-1850), who on returning home conceived the idea that the music would serve as a good melody for an after-dinner grace. He thereupon wrote appropriate words, and in the winter he brought forward this "chant of gratitude" at a City Banquet. It won immediate popularity, and it is now an established item in the programme of festive gatherings. It was "printed and sold by C. Lonsdale, 26, Old Bond Street, London, price 1/-".

An even simpler musical grace to be sung when "there are but few voices present" is that appearing in "Lyra Masonica" (c. 1840) by Dr. John Smith, "Grand Organist to the R.W. the Grand Lodge of Ireland", and occasionally heard nowadays:—

For what we have now set before us, let us praise the Lord and say Amen in Chorus. Amen.

and

For what we have had set before us, let us praise the Lord and say Amen in Chorus. Amen.

The use of Latin forms for Masonic graces induced our late Pro Grand Master, Lord Amptill, to suggest that some form of English Masonic grace might be adopted. It would seem that he was referring to the collegiate forms more extensively used in the Royal Arch than in the Craft:—

Benedictus benedicat. (May the Blessed One Bless.)

and

Benedicto benedicatur. (May the Blessed One be Blessed.)

There is, however, an old form in English, with which many Brethren will be familiar:—

May T.G.A.O.T.U. bless that which His bounty has provided for us.

and

May the G.A.O.T.U. give us grateful hearts and supply the needs of others.

The members of a Lodge are, of course, at perfect liberty to use any grace which they may consider fitting, and a number of Lodges have done so. For example, a Latin Masonic grace, the work of the Public Orator of Oxford University, was adopted by the Invicta Lodge, No. 709, on 14th May, 1944, of which an English translation runs:—

Lord God, Great Architect of the Universe, who so inspired the ancient members of our Craft that in the bond of brotherhood they met each other's needs and first of all men came together in the hidden mysteries handed down to us, Give us, we beseech Thee, grateful hearts that in joyful service we may bring relief to the unfortunate, and in perfect loyalty both preserve our trust and leave behind us an increased inheritance. Show Thy grace, O Lord, to those of us who are gathered at this table and bless the gift of food which by Thy bounty is set before us.

A. SHARP.

Possible Origin of the Hiramic Myth.—In the Discussion to Bro. R. J. Meekren's paper on "The Age of the Master's Part" (vol. lxxii, p. 31), Bro. G. S. Draffen calls attention to a French work in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, by Georges de Norval, recounting some tales supposed to have been heard around the Coffee Houses in the Middle East, and one of which, Bro. Draffen thinks, "bears such a striking resemblance to the Hiramic Legend that it cannot be discounted as a possible source of the legend of our present Third Degree". Many years ago, G. W. Speth had delivered himself of a somewhat similar opinion, though speaking somewhat more diffidently, inasmuch as his source of information, unlike Bro. Draffen's, had been round-about. He had been told "at third hand," he said (in his discussion of Prof. Johnston's paper on "Seventeenth Century Descriptions of King Solomon's Temple"), "that a version of the Hiramic legend is a well-known tale in the bazaars of the Orient, and forms part of the stock-in-trade of the public narrators." "I can only give the story for what it is worth," he added, "but it seems to me, however, that here we have a more promising field for research than the seventeenth century literature has proved itself to be." (*A.Q.C.*, xii, p. 148.)

It is more than probable that Speth had the same story in mind that Bro. Draffen now makes reference to, and the work in question is no doubt the one referred to by W. H. Ryland's correspondent as Gérard de Nerval's *Voyage en Orient* (c. A.D. 1850), and the tale referred to must of course be the one under the title "History of the Queen of the Morning, and Soliman, Prince of the Djinnns" (*A.Q.C.*, xiv, p. 179). That the tale bears a "striking resemblance to the Hiramic Legend" is beyond question. What may be open to question, however, is whether the alleged yarn was really ever told in the cafés of Stamboul—or anywhere else in the East for that matter—and whether it can therefore be reasonably considered as a possible source of our legend and tradition.

The tale with which we are immediately concerned is more conveniently available in the English translation of Volume Two of *The Women of Cairo*, by the same French author (London, 1929), and, as indicated, it purports to be a tale heard told by an Arab story-teller in a Stamboul café, but with a profusion of Hiramic detail that, at first reading, is astounding.

An almost identical tale is told by Heckethorn in his *Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries* (London, 1875; I, 241 seq.), in a section on "Freemasons" and a chapter on "The Legend of the Temple," and under a sub-heading, "Hiram, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba",

but with a few interpolated details for good measure, all of this giving the unwary the air of a genuine "tradition". But Heckethorn's account (some twenty-five years after Nerval's publication) has all the earmarks of having been "lifted", and without acknowledgment, from Nerval's account, and in the Bibliography preceding the section on "Freemasons", Nerval's work is not even mentioned. Perhaps Heckethorn himself may have had some secret misgivings as to the genuineness of the alleged "tradition".

A palpably similar tale, again, is told by Max Heindel in his *Freemasonry and Catholicism* (Oceanside, California, 1919; ch. III), where it is also presented confidently as "the Masonic legend". Heindel may have taken his very similar version from Heckethorn, or perhaps directly from Nerval, but neither Heckethorn nor Heindel were Freemasons, and they could only describe a reputedly Masonic Legend from the outside looking in. Whether Nerval himself was a Freemason it may be difficult to ascertain—the surface indications are that he was not—but at any rate his tale ("tall tale" would be a better designation) appears more to be an importation from the Masonic West than a direct product of export from the fabulous East.

A more promising approach to the problem of origins is the one outlined by Bro. Meekren, though undoubtedly more difficult and laborious of prosecution. Our customary method of search has generally been for some specific prototype of *our* particular Hiram legend and myth, and the search appears so far to have led nowhere, so much so that it has raised the interesting question as to whether or not we may have been looking for the wrong thing in the wrong direction and with the wrong methods, as in the well-known analogy of the blind man searching in a dark room for a black cat that isn't there. For example, the Hayter Lewis fragmentary "discovery" created a little flurry of excitement for a time but it failed of corroboration and led up a blind alley. A similar fate befell the report by Dr. Geo. Oliver of an alleged 1715 English translation of a Targum to the *Book of Chronicles* in which the legend of the Master Builder's death is said to have been recounted—a report which, upon sufficient examination, was found to be entirely false (Rev. Bro. Morris Rosenbaum, in his discussion of F. J. W. Crowe's paper on "King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" (*A.Q.C.*, xix, p. 124). Similarly, the mediaeval Guild or Morality Plays, though most promising, have so far yielded negative results, and the Jacobite or other political influences that have been suggested as the possible source of our Hiram Drama are hardly ever discussed nowadays, perhaps rightly so. Most of the other possible sources that have been offered from time to time have been similarly barren of result. The Nerval yarn would thus be extremely interesting if genuine, but unfortunately it bears all the signs of a brash and brazen concoction.

There thus remains only the anthropological approach advocated by Bro. Meekren, and it appears that what we should be looking for, perhaps, is not the exact prototype of *our* Hiram Tradition as we know it, but a generalized quasi-Hiram Tradition of any sort whatever—perhaps not even associated with the personality of H.A.B. or with the building of King Solomon's Temple—just so long as it has some of the basic folk-lore elements or characteristics that we find in our own tradition, whatever they may be. That would, at least, be the first step in our search. The determination as to how and when and under what circumstances this generalised quasi-Hiram Tradition became transformed into *the* Masonic Tradition we all know would then be the final step. But our approach has largely been a case of putting the cart before the horse, and this may at least partially have been the cause of our failure up to now. (The Noah Legend of the *Graham MS.* is perhaps a good example of a quasi-Hiram Legend of the type here indicated, but if the 1726 dating is approximately correct it is much too recent for our purpose, unless an earlier version is some day found.)

The central core of Bro. Meekren's thesis is 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 the essential difference between his *modus operandi* and the one we have been accustomed to pursue is very well expressed in the following sentences of his: "The historian," says Bro. Meekren, "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." He might have added that the latter method of procedure may not even result in producing any evidence that would be admissible in a court of law, and might fail of impressing the jury to the point of bringing in a favourable verdict, and yet could actually be nearer the truth of the matter, whatever that truth might be.

In a series of articles on "The Hiram Legend and the Medieval Stage" in *The Builder* for 1926, Bro. Ernest E. Thiemeier finds himself in virtually the same camp as Bro. Meekren, as far as this question of methodology is concerned. If any correct conclusions as to the origin and growth of the Hiram Legend are to be reached, he says, "the present line of research must be abandoned and the field of ethnography investigated". "Ethnography" may not be precisely synonymous with "anthropology", but it is clear from a reading of Bro. Thiemeier's articles that his approach to the problem is precisely the same as Bro. Meekren's. Thiemeier makes a serious attempt at interpreting the Hiram Myth as a genuine relic of primitive

mythology and folk-lore, after the manner of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and works of that character, and comes to the conclusion that our Myth is a genuine survival of primitive group-thinking that had finally become incorporated into a Masonic ritual at some time or period so far undetermined.

ALEX HORNE.

Tombstone of a P.G. Master in Whickham Churchyard, Durham.—In the Paper on the Swalwell Lodge, Trans. Q.C. Lodge, Vol. LXII, 1947, it was stated:—

“Another Tombstone at the South entrance to the Churchyard is a very large flat, broken stone, with the words Provincial Grand Master died—Sept. 1745. There is no trace of a name on this stone.”

In the comments *re* this Stone, Bro. Bruce Wilson suggested that investigation into the name of the deceased P.G. Master should be made.

The writer has again examined this stone and now expresses a doubt as to whether the date is 1745 or 1742. A search of the Register has been made and gives the burial date of Edward Alport, 15th September, 1742. No other entry near this date could be accepted as a member of the Lodge at Swalwell.

The following notice in the *Newcastle Journal*, No. 181, of 18th September, 1742, states:—

“On Thursday was interred at Whickham Mr. Edward Alport, Provincial Grand Master of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons for the County of Durham. He was attended by the Brethren of the two Constituted Lodges of Gateshead and Swalwell who walked in procession from the Lodge at Swalwell to Mr. Alport's house, in White Aprons, White Gloves and Hatbands, two by two, the Sword of State carry'd before in Mourning, from thence to Whickham Church, where he was decently interred.”

WILLIAM WAPLES.

Preston's Use of Leslie's Work.—Leslie: *A Vindication of Masonry* (1741). Preston: *Oration* (1772). Preston: *A Vindication of Masonry* (1775).

It is well known that at

A Grand Gala in Honour of Free-Masonry held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Thursday the 21st Day of May, 1772,

which was organised by Preston and his “friends”, Preston himself delivered an “Oration”. This oration, under the title *Oration by Brother Preston*, was printed; it was given pride of place in Preston's book, *Illustrations of Masonry* (1772), pp. 9-31. This oration contains some 3,000 words; it could have been well delivered in some thirty minutes. Its chief features are justification of the “Society” as a virtuous institution; definitions of Operative and Speculative Masonry; vigorous plea for Charity; and an outspoken censure of those unworthy of the Craft. The speech was well planned, ably written. It was favourably received by the Grand Master (who was present) and the distinguished audience; he was urged to publish it. He did, as noted above.

In 1741 Charles Leslie delivered an oration, entitled *A Vindication of Masonry*, to his Lodge, the Vernon Kilwinning Lodge, Edinburgh. This was first published in the *Edinburgh Free-Masons Pocket-Companion* (1765). Leslie had a cultured mind: he commanded rhetorical skill and a pleasing style (though florid) of composition; devoted to Masonry, Leslie strove to propagate the ethical and religious influences of “pure Masonry”. His *Vindication* is some 3,500 words long; to declaim it properly would demand an orator's gifts. It was reprinted in the *Appendix* of Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* (editions 1802 and 1813). I have examined the version in the 1802 edition (pp. 321-334).

In 1775 Preston issued a second edition of his *Illustrations of Masonry*. Pride of place was again given to what purported to be an oration by Preston; its title was *A Vindication of Masonry, including a Demonstration of its Excellency* (pp. 3-42). In length it has some 7,000 words. It was obviously for reading and not for declamation.

It has often been erroneously supposed that this *Vindication* by Preston (1775) was a reprint of his *Oration* (1772). Even a superficial comparison of the two pieces will prove the contrary. In subsequent editions of the *Illustrations of Masonry* (there were many, even down to Oliver's edition, published in 1861) this *Vindication* was always given pride of place; but its title of 1775 was changed to *The Excellency of Masonry displayed*.

Preston admitted that he was a keen, almost rapacious collector of Masonic manuscripts and data. Prior to 1772 he possessed a copy of Leslie's *A Vindication of Masonry* (1741). So

favourably impressed was he by its elegant composition and appealing exposition of Masonic tenets that he resolved to use it for his own Masonic purposes.

That he knew Leslie's oration before 1772 can be deduced from a comparison of his own *Oration* (1772) with Leslie's *A Vindication of Masonry* (1741). The thought and phrasing of two short passages are (although compressed and inverted) Leslie's:—

- (i) p. 15, *Oration* (1772): "No Estrangement of behaviour . . ."; cf. Leslie, p. 328: "An uniformity of opinion . . ."
- (ii) p. 25, *Oration* (1772): "Thus the ancient lustre . . ."; cf. Leslie, p. 330: "Let us therefore endeavour . . ."

Except for these two passages, the rest of Preston's *Oration* (1772) was his own composition, although he was evidently influenced by Leslie throughout.

Indeed, Leslie's influence became overpowering. In the 1775 edition of the *Illustrations of Masonry*, Preston's *Oration* (1772) and Leslie's *A Vindication of Masonry* (1741) were cleverly and almost completely dovetailed together to form a single rhetorical composition. So far as I can calculate, Preston appropriated literally no less than eleven-twelfths of Leslie's full text. In the remaining twelfth can be found several interesting examples of Preston's literary skill in extending or compressing Leslie's work, or in his own "connective" short pieces either to join his own work with Leslie's or to introduce his own or Leslie's or to comment on Leslie's.

Detailed analysis is unnecessary to establish the fact that Preston broke Leslie's work roughly into three parts—between the first and the second he inserted his own sections Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, and the opening part of 10 (pp. 17-27); and between the second and the third he introduced his own sections Nos. 13 (pp. 32, 33, first half) and 14 (pp. 35, 36). The total number of sections was 15. What he inserted was the text of his *Oration* (1772), which was not divided or numbered into sections.

The following analysis of pages will reveal how cunningly this was done:—

<i>Oration</i> (1772)	<i>Illustrations of Masonry</i> (1775)
pp. 10, 11	§ 4: 14-15
11	17
11-14	§ 6: 17-19
14-15	17
15	§ 11: 28
15	30
16	§ 7: 19
16-18	20-21
18-19	§ 8: 22-23
20, 21, 22	§ 7: 23, 24
22	24, 25
22, 23	25, 26
23, 24	26
24	§ 10: 26
26, 27	§ 13: 33, 34
27, 28	§ 14: 35, 36
28	36, 37
29	36
29	37
30	37
30	§ 15: 39, 40 (finale)

In short, his own *Oration* (1772), with a few modifications, extensions, etc., was also divided up into parts, and all were neatly inserted into the almost complete work of Leslie.

Preston's skill in literary compression is well illustrated in the following reference: *Illustrations of Masonry* (1775), p. 28, first para. of section 11; cf. with Leslie, p. 331, second para. His equal skill in amending or extending and in paraphrasing a text can be instanced by his amendment of his own work and his use of this work in his dealing with Leslie—e.g., *Oration* (1772), p. 11, "No Estrangement of behaviour . . . distinctions"; cf. *Illustrations of Masonry* (1775), p. 28, and Leslie's *Vindication*, p. 328, "An uniformity of opinion . . ." Cf. also *Illustrations*, pp. 11, 12, with Leslie, pp. 325, 326. And a good piece of paraphrase of Leslie (p. 333) is found in Preston (1775), p. 14.

Preston acted in accord with the convention of his times in using arbitrarily another author's work. But what could have induced him to have pirated Leslie? His own *Oration* (1772) merited the warm praise bestowed on it. This Masonic piece could have been printed again and again with credit to the author. Preston must have felt that Leslie had "displayed" the "Excellency of Masonry" with finer craft and more fervid appeal than he had done. He, therefore, having in mind the best interests of the Craft, made no bones about enframing his own

Oration (1772) within Leslie's; he also probably felt the two orations made one whole in that Leslie's theme was virtue and charity, while his own was chiefly constitutional and critical, plus charity; together the two formed a desirable unity of Masonic thought, especially for propaganda purposes. In this he was perhaps correct, for the completed piece, *A Vindication of Masonry*, i.e., the fusion of Preston's *Oration* (1772) with Leslie's oration (1741), as published in the second and all other editions of the *Illustrations of Masonry*, is powerful, elegant, dignified and masonically above reproach.

Preston often advocated the virtues of "candour and integrity", and he was a conscientious man. He could not have been at peace with himself (in 1775 and for about a decade later) concerning his appropriation of Leslie's work. Doubtless, his friends, especially Stephen Jones, were also concerned; his enemies (not a few) would take their chance of refilling their quivers with venomous arrows. Plagiarism, even in the low-toned eighteenth century, was plagiarism. Preston faced his difficulty. He wrote in his *Introduction* to his second edition of his *Illustrations of Masonry*:—

The oration which was delivered on that occasion (the Grand Gala, 1772) I have included within the *Vindication of Masonry*, which I have divided into sections, that any particular part of it may occasionally be more easily referred to (p. xi).

That was all—for the moment; no mention of Leslie. But Leslie had to be mentioned; this need was boldly met and filled by what may seem to many an audacious *Advertisement*, printed on the page facing the beginning of *A Vindication of Masonry* (1775). This is as follows:—

The following piece is founded on a Discourse composed by Brother CHARLES LESLIE, member of the Vernon Kilwinning Lodge, Edinburgh, and delivered by him at the consecration of that Lodge on the 15th May, 1741. It was published in the Edinburgh Free-Masons Pocket Companion of the year 1765.

This ingenious author has displayed great taste in the choice of his subject, and has handled it with a considerable share of propriety. In building, however, on the foundations and the materials he has laid and collected, it appeared to me necessary to deviate in a great measure from his views; so that the superstructure I have raised is to be considered almost entirely a new book.

The liberty I have taken, I hope will be freely pardoned, when it is remembered that it proceeds from an ardent zeal to promote the reputation of a Society truly respectable.

It is doubtful if this explanation (it can hardly be called an apology) met with unanimous favour. The suggestions in its tail that Preston was "truly respectable", and that the "Society", being also "truly respectable", would condone his literary action, must have been noted; did they gain approval or draw sneers?

Preston did not "deviate" from Leslie's views; he did not criticise them; he accepted them fully. He could do no less, for Leslie's views (except a bias to Christian doctrine) were masonically impeccable. What he did was to *add* to Leslie's exposition his own exposition; they made an admirable unity of virtuous and constitutional content.

The sad story does not, unfortunately, end here. Justice demanded that Preston's acknowledgment of Leslie (noted above) should have been reprinted in every subsequent edition of the *Illustrations of Masonry*. Until 1812, when the twelfth edition was issued, Preston himself was the editor. (There may have been another edition; that published in 1788 was described as "A New Edition", no number of edition being assigned to it.) The edition following this "A New Edition" was published in 1792; it was the "Eighth". Preston, being his own editor, was responsible for all the editions until (and including) the "Twelfth Edition" in 1812. At the end of his *Preface* he printed his residence: "Dean-Street, Fetter Lane"; and he wrote in the first person in all his *Prefaces* and *Introductions*, which were practically identical from the Third Edition onwards. In 1812 he fell sick; so far as is known he gave up his literary and Masonic work. He died in 1818.

The critical point to be made here is this: Preston's *Advertisement* in his second edition, acknowledging Leslie's authorship of the oration, *A Vindication of Masonry*, was excluded from the third edition (1781); nor was it ever again printed in any subsequent edition. Preston evidently decided on a briefer form of acknowledgment, for in the third edition (1781) there is an asterisk in the title of *The Excellency of Masonry displayed*, pointing to a footnote. This footnote is:—

See a Discourse composed by Brother CHARLES LESLIE in the Edinburgh Free-Masons Pocket Companion of the year 1765.

This footnote was printed in the next known edition of the *Illustrations of Masonry* (1788), but in the next (1792) the footnote and its asterisk are missing, and are never again found in any subsequent edition, whether they are edited by Preston himself (till 1812) or by later editors.

It must be assumed that Preston made the deletion in 1792. From then it is certain that Leslie was banished from the knowledge of Preston's readers.

The same fate befell the veiled passage of acknowledgment which Preston wrote in his *Introduction* to his second edition (1775)—noted above. It was suppressed in his *Introduction* to his third edition (1781) and is never found again.

An additional relevant evidence of Preston's intention is seen in his *Prefaces*. The following passage appears for the first time in his *Preface* to his third edition (1781), second paragraph:—

This Tract is divided into Four Books.—In the First Book, the excellence of Masonry is displayed.—In the Second Book . . .

There is no mention of Leslie. In all subsequent editions this passage in the *Preface* appears unchanged.

In 1781-92 Preston was at the height of his reputation. His deletions were deliberate. Doubtless he became convinced that the piece, *The Excellency of Masonry displayed*, was his own in that, as he claimed in the *Advertisement* (1775), it was "almost entirely a new work", and that the deletion of Leslie's name and reference was justified. Unfortunately, he historically put himself into the company of the Smiths, who stole so much of Anderson's work, and of Ashe, who in 1814 availed himself so lavishly of the text of Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* to form the content of his *A Masonic Manual*.

Three years after the death of Preston (1818) his close friend and Masonic brother, Stephen Jones, edited a volume of the *Illustrations of Masonry*—the thirteenth (1821). Jones most probably knew more about the Leslie episode than anyone else other than Preston himself. The *Preface* and *Introduction* are Preston's (from his edition in 1812); Leslie is ignored.

In 1829 Oliver edited the fourteenth edition. The *Preface* and the *Introduction* of the 1812 edition are printed. I feel he was ignorant of the Leslie interest; he was so eager and so able to tell all he knew about Masonry, its leaders and authors, that he would surely have given (as was his habit) a lively and a long footnote about the original *A Vindication of Masonry* (1741). On the other hand, he may have known and decided to follow Jones' example, for he was an ardent admirer of Preston.

To sum up, Leslie's oration (1741), with which Preston's *Oration* (1772) was compounded by Preston to form the piece *A Vindication of Masonry* in the 1775 edition of the *Illustrations of Masonry*, went forth to the world from 1792, at latest, as the work of Preston.

In dolorous conclusion is may be added that Leslie disappeared from Masonic knowledge. He is not listed in any Masonic dictionary or encyclopaedia consulted by me. It may, therefore, after all, be to our advantage that his zealous labour for the welfare of the Craft has been openly preserved by Hutchinson (1802, 1813), and preserved beneath a discreet veil by Preston (1775 and later).¹

F. R. WORTS.

¹ The editions of the *Illustrations of Masonry* have caused students of Preston some trouble. W.Bro. Ivor Grantham, Librarian of the G.L. Library, aided me in my researches. He wrote: "After considerable bibliographical research, I have been unable to trace the publication of any editions of Preston's *Illustrations* actually described on the title pages as being the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh editions. A 'new edition' appeared in 1781 which, I suggest, was in fact the third, a view supported by a writer in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xl, p. 165 (1940), who, having mentioned the 1775 edition (the second), refers to the 'next edition in 1781'. Another 'new edition' appeared in 1788 which I think is the fourth. Cf. *Miscellanea Latomorum*, January, 1913, in which a correspondent states: 'The following are all the "editions" of Preston's *Illustrations* which I found after years of research:—

Date	Edition	London Editions Publishers' Name	Actual Edition
1772	1	J. Williams	First
1775	2	J. Wilkie	Second
1781	New Ed.	G. Wilkie	Third
1788	A new Ed.	G. & T. Wilkie	Fourth
1792	Eighth Ed.	G. & T. Wilkie	Fifth
1796	Ninth Ed.	G. & T. Wilkie	Sixth
1801	Tenth Ed.	A. Stranhan for G. & T. Wilkie	Seventh
1804	Eleventh Ed.	G. Wilkie	Eighth etc., etc.'

By what authority he uses the expression 'Actual Edition' I do not know, but his list of *dates* of editions certainly tallies with other lists and would seem to be both correct and complete." (January, 1960.)

George Grey, Esq., Freemason 1710, Counsellor-at-Law, Diarist, Antiquary.—In his diary, quoted at length in Vol. ii of *Surtees' History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, George Grey states under date:—

1710. Feb. 20th.—I was made a Freemason at Beedall.

In view of the Masonic importance of this entry, preceding as it does by seven years the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, it is felt desirable to add to the brief announcement made in *A.C. Transactions*, Vol. lxi, p. 162. Considerable information regarding George Grey, Esq., and his family connections has been collected and preserved in the Library of Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham; the following are a few extracts to show the local importance of the family and of George Grey himself.

George Grey, Counsellor-at-Law under date 1700, entered in his diary:—

"George, the third son of Thomas Grey of Barton, was my great-grandfather. He marry'd Susannah Hampscott (Amcotes), and removed to Great Lumley in the County of Durham about the 13th year of James the First, (1616). He bought his Dean and Chapter Farm at Southwick, of Philip Ebutts. He was ingaged with Manby, Chapman of Whitburn, and others in an invenc'on for boyling liquors and making Salt for which an Act of Parliament was obtained Nov. 1650 cap. 39; but it miscarryd and he lost a great deal of money by it. He was imprisoned in the Fleet 1655, at the suit of Brisco, Administrator of Bluday, upon a bond of £900 borrowed to carry on this invenc'on."

1710. Feb. 20th.

"I was made a Freemason at Beedall."

Surtees further states:—

"George Grey, Esq., whose diary has just been presented to the reader settled part of his estate at Southwick on the marriage of his only son George Grey with Elizabeth Ogle of Kirkley. George Grey, son of George and Elizabeth, sold a portion of the estate to his mother, who devised it to her daughter, Elizabeth, Countess Grey. The other portion of the estate descended to the two daughters and co-heirs of Major George Grey (last named) who sold their interest, about 1810, to John Stafford, Esq."

Surtees states that he had drawn largely upon the original MSS. formerly possessed by George Grey, Esq. It appears that George Grey's (the Counsellor's) grandfather was appointed an Alderman of the revived ancient Corporation of Sunderland in 1635 under a Charter granted by the Prince Bishop (Bp. Morton). In 1644 he was appointed by Oliver Cromwell, whose Northern headquarters were at Sunderland, as one of the two Commissioners for the County of Durham. His eldest son, who held a Captaincy in a Regiment of Foot in the Northern Association, was married to a Miss Robinson, of Rokeby, for his first wife and a Newcastle-upon-Tyne lady for his second, by whom he had issue a son, also named George, who in due time became a Clergyman, first at Lawton, in Cheshire, and later at Burniston, near Bedale, where he was Rector for thirty years. The Rev. George Grey had two sons—the elder, Zachary, editor of *Hudibras* and an opponent of Warburton, and George, who at 21 became a Counsellor-at-Law, and the subject of these notes.

George Grey, Counsellor-at-Law, was born at Lawton on October 20th, 1680, where his father held the Curacy for about two years. The family moved to Burniston (near Bedale) shortly after the father had been appointed Rector. Young George received his early education at Burniston Grammar School and from there proceeded to Edinburgh University. After a successful career at Edinburgh he went to Howgrave to study law under Thomas Bendloes. His next move was his entry in May, 1699, as a student at Gray's Inn, where he was in Chambers for two years. In 1701 he lodged at Jacob Tonson's, the original publisher of Milton's "Paradise Lost", "Dryden's Plays" and other well-known works. In all he lodged at Tonson's for six years until he was called to the Bar in 1706.

From 1707 to 1713 George Grey, Esq., spent a bachelor existence, partly as a Counsellor in Chambers at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he also set up lodgings, and partly as a country gentleman upon his estate at Southwick. In between times he worked the Northern Circuit, which included York, Durham and Newcastle Assizes, etc., etc. His diary gives witty and informative details of some of his journeys by stage and private coach.

Under date Oct. 13th, 1713, in his diary, he states: "I married my dear Alice." His wife was the daughter of James Clavering and granddaughter of Sir James Clavering, of Axwell, Co. Durham. After his father's death in 1711 he came into a good part of the Southwick estate, and in 1713 shared in the estate of Matthew Robinson at Newton Picot. He was now exceedingly wealthy and moved in high circles, which included, amongst others, the Liddells, Ellisons, Claverings, the Howick house of Greys, the Ogles, and indeed all the best families of Northumberland and Durham County. After thirty-one years of a happily-married life his wife

Alice died at Southwick Hall, 1774. Their only son, George Grey, married Elizabeth Ogle, daughter of Nathaniel Ogle, of Kirkley, by whom he had issue one son, also called George, and a daughter named Elizabeth, who by her marriage with Charles, son of Sir Henry Grey, of Howick, Northumberland, united the two houses, viz., the Greys of Southwick and the Greys of Howick. This Elizabeth became the first Countess Grey, and after the death of her husband, the first Earl Grey, retired to the Manor House at Southwick, where after some years she passed away. The Old Manor at Southwick, which has been dilapidated for some time, was as recently as January, 1958, demolished by order of the Corporation of Sunderland to make way for a new shopping centre.

George Grey, Esq., the subject of this paper, lived for sixty years at nearby Southwick Hall, where he died at the patriarchal age of 91 years. He was buried in St. Nicholas' Cathedral, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the city in which he had done so much professional and philanthropic work. Southwick Hall was about eight miles south-east of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Much of the estate now lies within the Borough of Sunderland and is covered by extensive shipyards, factories and new housing estates.

The family estate at Southwick consisted of the Manor House, Southwick Hall and a land area extending from the present Wearmouth Bridge to just short of Hylton Castle, and in depth varying from one mile to one-and-a-half miles north of the River Wear.

Dr. Alexander Carlyle, of Inveresk, in his autobiography, states that Counsellor Grey was "a most conversible man", that he was a Diarist, and that in his maturer age he corresponded much with his more celebrated brother, Zachary, letters that exhibit him as a man of many parts, taking an intelligent interest, not only in his profession, but in Agriculture, Literature and passing questions of the day.

Bourne, in his history of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1735, expresses thanks to George Grey, Esq., for having placed MSS. at his disposal. John Brand, in his history of Newcastle, 1784, states in his preface: "I have selected some very interesting material from the MS. collection of the late George Grey, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, all of which, together with his Library, has been sold by his Executors to Mr. Robert Harrison." These notes by Brand may be important to Masonic historians, because there is the probability that somewhere in someone's collection there may be other references to George Grey, Esq., as a Mason.

Investigation into the Lodge at Beedall, which Grey mentions in 1710, shows that it was held in the Rectory at Burniston.

W. WAPLES.



REVIEWS

200 JAHRE FREIMAUEREREI IN OESTERREICH / 200 YEARS OF FREEMASONRY IN AUSTRIA

Kuess / Scheichelbauer



HIS book of over 300 pages has as authors the Grand Librarian, Bro. Gustav Kuess, and the Grandmaster, Bro. Bernhard Scheichelbauer.

In this joint effort, Bro. Kuess's work was mainly the collection of historical data, while Bro. Scheichelbauer edited the book. There are of necessity empty periods through the destruction of much valuable documents during this long period, the last and perhaps the most violent one between 1938 to 1945.

The Grandmaster's main object in this book is to show and explain, where possible, the efforts and the true meaning of Freemasonry during the different phases of the development of first Austro-Hungary and then Austria.

For the Masonic student who has some knowledge of Continental Freemasonry the book will be a source of new facts, as several documents appear here for the first time and are printed in full.

The book deals in great detail with the many ups and downs of our Craft in this particular part of the world. It points out the reasons, especially political ones, why its life was so incredibly varied. In no other country in the world did prohibition follow approbation with such rapidity and, if we agree with the authors, for such trivial reasons.

Certain chapters, for instance, "In der Zweiten Republik", "During the Second Republic" (meaning the period after the end of the Second World War), give a picture of what Freemasonry had to go through in so many places; it is a brilliant explanation for the existence and the life of our Craft, today and in the future.

A few previous books have perhaps given the historical data more concise, but this book gives the facts lovingly collected by Bro. Kuess clothed and adorned with a mantle of philosophy, giving us an insight why certain facts had to happen and what might very well happen in the future. There the sparkling and classical pen of Bro. Scheichelbauer could not be disguised, even if he wanted to do so.

The last tiny paragraph, headed "... and listen to Eternity", is a very short but brilliantly-expressed idea about our esoteric teachings and ritual, ending in the words that when ... the Blessing of T.G.A.O.T.U. is with us, all other (*i.e.*, enemy) forces become powerless.

F. BERNHART.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL LANCASHIRE LODGE, COLNE

Written to mark the Bicentenary of the Lodge, March 27th, 1960

By W.Bro. Allen Exley

This is a remarkably good history of an old Lodge on the Lancashire-Yorkshire border. Its true origin is not known, but the earliest document, written in 1757, is entitled "The articles of the Free Masons or Friendly Society Holden at the Hole in the Wall, Colne Lancashire". It appears that some irregular form of Freemasonry was being practised in this town of about 800 inhabitants and that there was a desire to regularise the position, as in 1758 five brethren were Initiated in the Lodge of Relief, Bury, now 42, and on 4th February, 1762, John Smith, Provincial Grand Master, issued a Warrant to three of these "to form a regular Lodge of Masons at the House of John Petty by the Sign of the Hole in the Wall in Colne", and the earliest records of the newly-recognised Lodge are found in the "Forfitts Book" covering the period 1760-1775.

The first By-Laws were agreed on 27th March, 1760, two years before the official recognition of the Lodge, but the date now recognised by Grand Lodge for the purposes of the issue of the Bicentenary Warrant. The first minutes, of 1766, are indeed short, merely mentioning the names of the Officers, Master, Deputy Master, two Wardens, Secretary, Boxmaster and two Stewards. In 1771 the offices of Boxmaster and Steward were combined.

In addition to the Forfitts Book, the Lodge is fortunate in the possession of two copies of the Old Charges, the *Colne* MS. No. 1, probably written between 1670 and 1700, and the *Colne* MS. No. 2, between 1720 and 1740. Both are of the Grand Lodge family and MS. No. 1 contains the "apprentice charges". Transcripts and photographs of both MSS. are contained in the book.

On 12th May, 1769, one of the first batch of Royal Arch Warrants was issued to Colne. All the founders of Cana Chapter were members of the Royal Lancashire Lodge, as it was later known, for up to this point it had adopted no name.

The second Minute Book, that of a Lodge making steady progress, covers the years 1782 to 1809, but towards the end of the Napoleonic War matters were very quiet; there was no mention of the Union of the two Grand Lodges, though about a year later a few visits were paid for the purpose of instructing the Lodge, after which, in 1816, the new "system" appears to have been formally adopted. Bro. Sugden, who provided almost the whole of the "instruction", was himself a newly-raised Brother from the Lodge of Probity, Halifax, and lost no time in reaping a personal harvest from the labours of Bro. Broadfoot and his various instruction meetings.

The Sick Club was wound up in 1820, but was succeeded by a "Free Gift", which was useful in times of distress. One beneficiary was granted a bottle of wine—not that he was entitled to relief, but "for old Lang Syne".

As the years went by the Lodge pursued the usual course; the brethren went to church and did not hesitate to comment on the badness of the sermon on one occasion. Industrial troubles affected many of the members and, during the Chartist Riots, Joseph Halstead, a special constable and cotton manufacturer, and Worshipful Master of the Lodge, was killed in a riot, the person accused of responsibility for his death being transported. On another occasion, when the Chartists marched on the Parish Church of Colne, the Rector, who was also Chaplain of the Lodge, welcomed them with an impressive oration, in the course of which he exhorted them to "be subject to principalities and powers, to obey Magistrates".

From 1852, as the economic condition improved, the prosperity of the Lodge increased and some of the more prominent citizens came into the Lodge.

So it went on; hard times, better times, hard work by the brethren, valuable and useful gifts to the Lodge, until the present home, the Masonic Hall in Albert Road, was formally opened in 1920 by W.Bro. Col. Sir Alan Sykes, J.P., Deputy Provincial Grand Master. One must comment on the beautiful set of Tracing Boards designed by the late W.Bro. Edgar Lee, A.R.C.A., presented to the Lodge during the 1939-45 War.

The book is beautifully produced and bound, and among the illustrations are a chart showing the numerous descendants of Royal Lancashire Lodge in Lancashire and Yorkshire, another showing the relationship between all the Lodges in the adjoining parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, plates of the *Colne* MSS., an early certificate of 1764 and one of Bro. Lee's Tracing Boards.

Copies may be obtained from W.Bro. Allen Exley, P.P.G.W., Cressington, Foulridge, Colne, at 31s. 6d., including postage.

It may be added that on 21st October, 1960, the Bicentenary Warrant of the Lodge was presented by the M.W. Grand Master, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Scarbrough, who was accompanied by the Deputy Grand Master, the Rt. Hon. the Earl Cadogan, the Grand Secretary, V.W.Bro. J. W. Stubbs, the Grand Director of Ceremonies, R.W.Bro. F. R. Douglas, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, V.W.Bro. William Horrocks, J.P., O.S.M., P.G.D., and others.

On this occasion the Deputy Provincial Grand Master invested W.Bro. Allen Exley with the Collar of Past Provincial Grand Warden (Junior).

W.Bro. F. L. PICK, P.G.D.

LODGE MOTHER KILWINNING No. 0

A Study of the earliest Minute Books, 1642 to 1842

By Harry Carr, P.A.G.D.C.

"Kilwinning" has long been a name to conjure with in Scotland, and that with more reason than the companion word "York" in England and the United States. The famous Mother Lodge has figured in many works mainly marred by the too-ready acceptance of legends or, in the case of Murray Lyon's *Lodge of Edinburgh*, by the omission of too much matter as dull routine.

Thanks to the good offices of the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, now M.W. Grand Master of Scotland, the minute books were photographed in 1955 and are now available for study.

The Lodge first came to light in the Schaw Statutes of 1599, which are reprinted in full, the second of the two famous codes of regulations. The 1599 version was directed to the Lodge of Kilwinning, mentioned as "the heid and secund ludge of Scotland" and one of three Lodges

with territorial jurisdiction. Records of this supervision are scanty and the first minute book covers the years 1642 to 1758. Although the pages are numbered within their present binding, there is evidence that some records, probably written on loose sheets, were lost, and, over half-a-century ago, it is obvious from his writings that Murray Lyon had access to some of the now-missing sheets.

The earliest minutes are transcribed in full and most of the later ones in précis. Bro. Carr elaborates on the various forms of admission, finance, assemblies, etc. The appointment of Quartermasters indicates that the Lodge was exercising supervision over a wide area, and Masons in large towns, such as Ayr, Kilmarnock and others, accepted the Masonic domination of the Mother Lodge in the little Ayrshire village.

Cowans, *i.e.*, Masons without the Word, gave cause for much anxiety and substantial penalties were incurred, even allowing for the difference between Scots and English money. Bro. Carr's chapter on "Apprentices and Entered Apprentices" follows the line already set out by him in former works and is supported by further evidence, including statistics, in the following chapter.

One little mystery was the election of the Earl of Cassilis as Deacon in 1762, though he never appears to have been a member of the Lodge. Fortunately he was provided with a "Deput Deacon," and we begin about this time to find gentlemen among the admissions, the thrifty brethren requiring a £40 (Scots) admission fee from them.

Another famous Lodge arose in 1677—Canongate Kilwinning—then a separate burgh from Edinburgh, which it adjoined. The Canongate had had its own Incorporation of Wrights, Coopers and Masons since 1585, but hitherto no Lodge. Two gaps in the minutes, from 1689 to 1693 and from 1696 to 1704, are discussed.

A fascinating chapter deals with early Ritual and Ceremonies, Kilwinning procedure being compared with evidence from many parts of Scotland. While the essentials were more or less identical, the remainder of the work must have varied enormously. The *Kewan MS.* is reprinted in full.

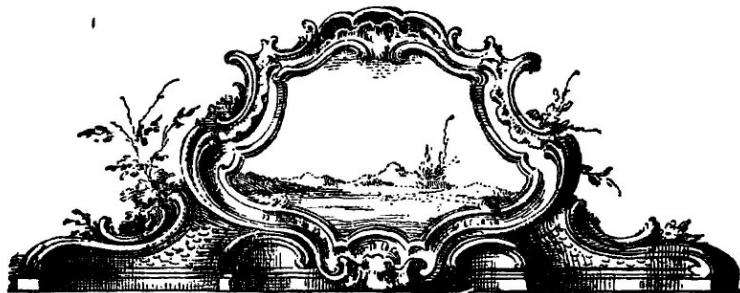
The transition from operative to speculative became apparent in the 1730's, three non-operatives being admitted at one meeting in 1733. By 1735 we find the Lodge with a "Master" elected in December, though he was not present until January, 1736, when he was "received", and there is a hint of formality in 1738 on which our author is properly cautious.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland was formed in 1736, but was ignored by many of the Lodges then in existence, which preserved their own usages or gradually adapted them to the new procedure as the result of contact with other Lodges. There is the interesting example of the adoption of the Raising Ceremony by Kelso in 1754. By 1736 Kilwinning still had a substantial operative membership, but was no longer exercising trade controls, and Bro. Carr suggests that the artisans who were still coming in were doing so for social rather than industrial reasons.

The story of the secession from Grand Lodge and the eventual reunion is told in detail. By and large the events recorded in the second and third minute books are less exciting than those recounted in the first, when, from the mid-thirties, Patrick Montgomery and his successors were remodelling the Lodge in its non-operative form.

Bro. Carr is to be congratulated on one of the most interesting and valuable books, not only about this remarkable Lodge, but the development of the Lodge and the Craft from operative to speculative. There is no possibility of mistaking his three lines, information directly transcribed from the records, supplementary information brought in from other sources, and his excellent discourses upon section after section. He has been worthily supported by Bro. G. Norman Knight, who, not for the first time, has enhanced the value of an important work by the compilation of an excellent index.

FRED L. PICK.



OBITUARY



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren :—

Abell, Raymond Augustus, of Brighton, Sussex, on 30th November, 1959. Bro. Abell was Past Master of Lodge No. 4961 and a member of Lodge No. 3073. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1951.

Andrews, John, of Liskeard, Cornwall, in May, 1960. Bro. Andrews held the rank of Provincial Grand Treasurer and was Past Master of Lodge St. Martin's (Liskeard) No. 510 and a member of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1950.

Andrews, Thomas, of Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire, on 13th February, 1960. Bro. Andrews held the rank of P.Prov.G.S.W. and was Past Master of Lodge Doric Kilwinning No. 68 (Port Glasgow) and a member of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1951.

Atkinson, William Walter, of Hammersmith, London, W.6, in 1960. Bro. Atkinson held the rank of P.G.D. (1951) and of P.A.G.Sojr. (1951). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1944.

Aynsley, Royal Victor, of Hornsby, New South Wales, in June, 1960. Bro. Aynsley was J.G.W. and was a member of Lodge Hornsby No. 262. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1954.

Barne, Henry Hume, of London and Gibraltar, on 29th May, 1960. Bro. Barne was District Grand Master of Gibraltar and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for 30 years.

Bell, John Alfred, of Sandown, Isle of Wight, on 13th March, 1960. Bro. Bell was a member of Henley Lodge No. 1472 and was also a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, having been elected in October, 1918.

Blewett, George Mastricht, of Exeter, on 29th May, 1960. Bro. Blewett was Past Master of Lodge Unity (Credon) No. 1332 and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1936.

Brown, Frederick, of London, in February, 1960. Bro. Brown was Past Master of Clapton Lodge No. 1365 and first joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1899, being elected a Life Member in 1912 — a period of over 60 years.

Bull, Philip Cecil, of Cobham, Surrey, on 23rd March, 1960. Bro. Bull, who held the *D.S.O.* and *T.D.*, was Provincial Grand Master of Middlesex and P.G.D. of C. He was a member of Castle Lodge of Harmony No. 26 and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1949.

Casley, E. J., of Plymouth, Devon, in May, 1960. Bro. Casley held the rank of P.G.St.B. (1955) and P.A.G.D.C. (1955), was a member of Erme Lodge No. 1091 and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Chowdhary, Dr. Dharm Sheel, of Basildon, Laindon, Essex, on 30th December, 1959. Bro. Chowdhary was a member of Lodge Arklow Regis No. 4481 and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1948.

Curtiss, Frank Stephen, of Connecticut, U.S.A., on 16th June, 1960. Bro. Curtiss had been our local secretary for Connecticut for several years and was a member of Butler Chapter No. 38 and of R.A. Lodge No. 108, Connecticut. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1956.

Davis, Ralph S., of Oak Park, Illinois, U.S.A., in October, 1959. Bro. Davis was Past Master of Lawn Lodge, Illinois, was P.H.P., R.A. Chapter 231 (John Pearson). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1954.

Denslow, Ray Vaughan, of Trenton, Missouri, U.S.A., in September, 1960. Bro. Denslow was Grand Secretary, Past Grand Master, Missouri, and G.H.P. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1938.

Douglass, William, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1960. Bro. Douglass was P.A.G.D.C. and a member of Lodge No. 541, Lodge de Loraine. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1954.

Edwards, Frank Louis, of Harringay, London, in March, 1960. Bro. Edwards was a member of Lodge Fulcorn No. 4791 and of Lodge Aldwych No. 3096. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1937.

Farrell, Jack, of Pacific Grove, California, U.S.A., in 1960. Bro. Farrell was a member of Pacific Grove Lodge No. 331 and of Salinas Chapter No. 59. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1957.

Feinson, Arthur, of Yeovil, Somerset, in January, 1960. Bro. Feinson was a member of Lodge of Brotherly Love, Handford, Yeovil No. 329, and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

Finley, Dozier, of Berkeley, California, U.S.A., on 25th May, 1960. Bro. Finley was Past Master of Lodge Durant No. 268, California, and a member of Chapter Berkeley No. 92. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1956.

Fordham, Sydney Arthur, of Upper Norwood, London, on 9th January, 1960. Bro. Fordham was a member of United Smithfield Lodge No. 3176 and of Chapter No. 753. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1948.

French, Gordon William, of Frenchay, near Bristol, on 6th November, 1959. Bro. French was a member of Brunel Lodge No. 7356 and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1956.

Greely, Myril Jay, of Great Falls, Montana, U.S.A., in 1960. Bro. Greely was a member of Lodge Cascade (Great Falls) No. 34 and of Chapter No. 9. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1948.

Hall, Alfred Chase, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, U.S.A., on 19th January, 1960, in his 68th year. Bro. Hall was Past Master Eureka Lodge No. 22 (Rhode Island), D.G.M. Grand Lodge, Rhode Island (1959), P.H.P. Squidnock Chapter No. 9, R.A. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1956.

Hanna, John Gordon, of Montreal, Canada, on 22nd February, 1960. Bro. Hanna was Past Master of Lodge Elk River, British Columbia, No. 35, and P.Z. Chapter Fairmount No. 14, Quebec. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1947.

Hardwick, The Rev. John Maristy, of Rugby, on 3 September, 1959. Bro. Hardwick was a member of Lodge Laurence Sheriffe No. 3497 and of the associated Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1913, and became a life member in 1937 — 47 years in all.

Hinton, John, of Downing Market, Norfolk, on 27th December, 1959. Bro. Hinton held the rank of P.P.G.D. and was a member of Ceres Lodge No. 2879, Swaffham, and of St. Winnold Chapter No. 3955. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1955.

Hoffman, Albin O. V., of Summerville, South Carolina, U.S.A., on 23rd September, 1960. He was Past Master of Richland Lodge No. 39 (South Carolina) and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1955.

Holton, Edward Gordon, of Adelaide, South Australia, in 1960. Bro. Holton was a member of Lodge Mitcham No. 174, S.A.C., and of Chapter No. 1, S.A.C. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1953.

Holton, Veri Alred, of Huron, South Dakota, U.S.A., on 14th January, 1960. He was Past Master of Lodge Huron No. 26, South Dakota, and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

Host, William James, of Black Forest, South Australia, on 18th June, 1960. Bro. Host held the ranks of P.D.G.M., South Australia, and P.D. 1st G.P., South Australia. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1929, and became a Life Member in March of that year.

Hoyland, Harold Allan Dilke, of Aylesbury, Bucks., on 12th December, 1959. Bro. Hoyland was a C.B.E. and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1928.

Hunter, James Campbell, of Ontario, Canada, on 2nd November, 1959. Bro. Hunter was Past Master of Lodge No. 287, Shuniah, Port Arthur, Ontario, G.R.C., and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1953.

Hyslop, Reginald Cowper, of Winchmore Hill, London, in February, 1960. Bro. Hyslop was Past Master of Lodge St. Vedast No. 4033 and a member of City of London Chapter No. 901. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1955.

Isaacs, Henry Benjamin, of Woodside Park, London, on 5th October, 1960. Bro. Isaacs was a member of Lodge Ethical No. 753 and of Comrades Chapter No. 2740 and held the rank of P.G.Purs. (1948) and P.A.G.D.C. (R.A.) He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1948.

Jacobsen, Hugo William, of Columbia City, Indiana, U.S.A., on 17th August, 1959. Bro. Jacobsen was a member of Columbia City Lodge No. 189 and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1957.

Jones, Percy Carter, of Liverpool, Lancs., on 17th February, 1960. Bro. Jones was a member of Lathom Lodge No. 2229, Harmonic Lodge No. 216, and of Chapter No. 216, Sacred Delta, all of Liverpool. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1922.

Kenyon, Sir Harold, of Hyde Park, London, in November, 1959. Bro. Kenyon was an *M.B.E.* and held the rank of P.G.D. (1946). He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1944.

Killingly-Gibbons, Robert, of Tavistock, Devon, in 1960. Bro. Killingly-Gibbons held the rank of P.G.D. (1958) and Grand Supt. (Devon), and was a member of Lodge Accra No. 3063 and P.Z. R.A. Chapter 105. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1937.

Leslie, Sydney C., of San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A., on 13th March, 1960. Bro. Leslie was a member of Lodge Bethesda No. 142, Gilmer, Texas, and of Gilmer Chapter No. 49. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1955.

Line, James William, of Acton, London, on 21st November, 1958. Bro. Line was W.M. of Unity Lodge No. 1637, Kenton, and a member of Hammersmith Lodge No. 2090. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1948.

Lucas, Robert Hurley, of Great Missenden, Bucks., on 15th March, 1960. Bro. Lucas was P.M. of Lodge 5475, Albert Gate, and P.Z. 1541, Alexandra Palace. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1947.

McNicol, John Robert, of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, on 18th June, 1956. Bro. McNicol was a member of Lodge Southern Cross No. 44, Vancouver, British Columbia, and was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1956.

Montargis, Maurice Jean Baptiste, of Hong Kong, in June, 1960. Bro. Montargis, who was a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur, was the Local Secretary in Hong Kong for the Correspondence Circle for many years and held the ranks of P.G.D., P.A.G.D.C. and P.G.St.B. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1927.

Owers, Samuel John, of London, W.11, on 28th February, 1960. Bro. Owers was Past Master of Lodge Victoria Park No. 1816 and P.Z. Lodge Doric No. 933. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1912.

Parfitt, Percy Albert, of Cambridge, on 25th November, 1959. Bro. Parfitt held the rank of P.P.G.St.B. and was Past Master of Lodge Three Grand Principles No. 441, Cambridge, and a member of Chapter of Fidelity No. 441. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1948.

Parker, William Benson, D.C.M. of Sutherland, Co. Durham, on 13th July, 1960. Bro. Parker was a member of Lodge Phoenix No. 94 and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1958.

Pear, George, of Leatherhead, Surrey, in 1959. Bro. Pear joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1926, and became a Life Member in 1928.

Pugsley, John Sidney, of Bath, in July, 1960. Bro. Pugsley was P.M. of Lodge Royal Albert Edward No. 906 and Chapter 41. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1948.

Redway, Thomas, of Granville, New South Wales, Australia, on 19th May, 1960. Bro. Redway was a member of Lodge Resurgo No. 223 and of St. John's Chapter No. 534 S.C., Resurgo Lodge being of Paramatta, N.S.W. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle on 4th October, 1946.

Robinson, Albert Edward, of Blackhill, Co. Durham, in November, 1959. Bro. Robinson held the rank of P.G.St.B. (1948) and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

Schulman, Nathaniel Moses, of Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa, in March, 1960. Bro. Schulman held the rank of P.Sub.D.G.M., Rhodesia, S.C., and was a member of Lodge No. 1371, S.C., David Ogilvie, Ndola, and also of Chapter 665, S.C. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1956.

Shumaker, Ross, of Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.A., on 8th April, 1960. Bro. Shumaker was a member of Lodge No. 10 and was a Past Grand Master. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1950.

Smalley, William, of Camden Road, London, on 13th January, 1960. Bro. Smalley was Past Master of Lodge Hiram No. 2416 and a member of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Smith, Major James, of Makuyu, Kenya, on 3rd May, 1960. Bro. Smith held the ranks of P.D.G.W. East Africa and D.G.S.N. East Africa. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1943.

Smith, Percy, of Scarborough, Yorks., in 1959. Bro. Smith held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., N. & E. Yorks., and was a member of the Constitutional Lodge, Beverley, No. 294, and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1950.

Swartz, Dr. Myrton, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A., in 1960. Bro. Swartz was a member of Lodge Aberdour (Boston) and of St. Andrew's Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1957.

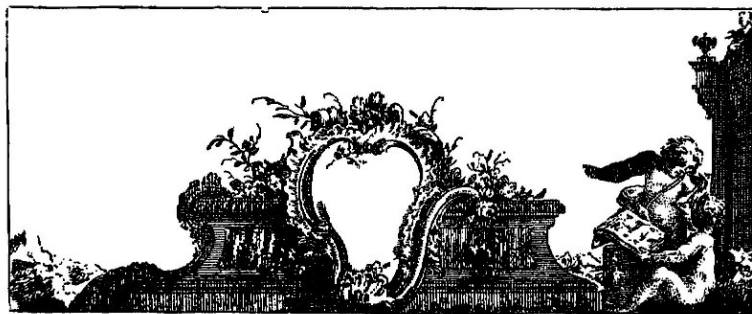
Turnbull, Peter Mortimer, M.C., M.B., of Streatham, London, on 23rd December, 1959. Bro. Turnbull held the rank of P.A.G.D.C. and was a member of Phoenix Lodge No. 173 and of the associated Chapter. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1936.

Wallace, Alwyn Stephenson Johnstone, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1960. Bro. Johnstone Wallace was P.P.G.D. (Northumberland) and a member of Lodges No. 4073 and 3892. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1956.

Watson, Harold B., of Kansas City, Missouri, U.S.A., on 9th March, 1960. Bro. Watson was a member of East Gate No. 630, Kansas City, and of Chapter No. 136. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1953.

Williamson, Herbert James Richard, of Cape Town, South Africa, in 1960. Bro. Williamson held the rank of P.Dis.G.St.B. (1948) and was a member of Lodge 1735, Carnarvon, Cape Town, of which he was P.M. and P.Z. 1735, D.G.P.Soj. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in May, 1934.

Young, Edwin Fitz, of Lewes, Sussex, on 12th February, 1960. Bro. Young held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C.(Sy.) and was a member of South Saxons Chapter No. 311.



ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1959-60:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

The Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20
 Thornhill Lodge No. 1514
 Lumley Lodge No. 1893
 Rewa Lodge of Viti No. 2238
 Earl of Yarborough Lodge No. 2770
 Gainas Lodge No. 5121
 Trincomalee Lodge No. 6923
 Temple Lodge of Instruction No. 101
 Scarbrough Lodge of Instruction No. 7147
 Mayflower Lodge of Instruction No. 7350
 Newark Masonic Study Circle
 The Lodge of Dunblane No. 9, S.C.
 District Grand Lodge of N. Rhodesia Library
 Grand Lodge Library and Museum, California
 Central California Research Lodge
 Anchorage Lodge No. 221, Alaska
 Liberal Scottish Rite Club, Kansas
 Masonic Research Club, Utah
 Babcock Lodge No. 322, Virginia
 Newcastle (N.S.W.) Masonic Study Circle
 Hobart Lodge of Research No. 62, T.C.
 Research Lodge of Southland, New Zealand

BRETHREN

Charles Henry Agar
 Marion Aivazian
 Peter Alwyn-Smith
 Milton E. Ammann
 James Hugh Arbuckle
 Edward Joseph Archambault
 Alan George Arnold
 Moses Aron Aronson
 Ewart Oscar Austin

Frederick James Baber
 Erik Baeckstroem
 Harry Baker
 Jamshed Ardeshir Bamji
 Amulya Kumar Banerjee
 William A. Barlow
 Leon D. Barr
 Thomas Arthur Barrett
 Jagjit Singh Basarke
 Albert Ernest Bausor
 Harry Sydney Bayley
 William Roy Bazeley
 Johan Diederick Behrens
 C. John Bellman, jun.
 Nicholas Paul Benedict
 Robert A. L. Bentley
 Kishinchand Bharvani
 Eric George Blakeman

Hans Otto Bock
 Rev. Donald E. Bodley
 William Thomas Bolt
 George Sidney Boyd
 Charles L. Boykin
 Eric Carter Bradbury
 Walter Bradshaw
 George Brearley
 Sigfrid Brinck
 Frank Hampton Broadley
 Arthur Cyril Brooks
 Kenneth Ward Brown
 Alva Ray Bruns
 William Laxton Burden
 Noel Ivan Burton

Chester M. Carr
 Lorenzo B. Carr
 Frederick Thompson Carter
 Stanley Frederick Caulfield-Kerney
 Walter A. Chatham
 William Henry Prescott Clague
 T. H. Clarke
 Leslie Cohen
 Alfred J. Conlan
 Alfred Edward Cossins
 John Stanley Cox
 J. A. Creasey

Cecil Ray Crissey
Harry Lewis Crocker
Frederick Vernon Noel Croyle
Robert Russell Cullen

Rajnikant Laldas Dalal
Richard T. Darby
Fred Darlington
Thomas Walter Davies
John E. M. Davis
Frank Howard Davison
George Brian Doidge
John Lester Duncan
Walter James Dunn
Edward Richard Durrah
Robert Berkeley Dyer

Ralph B. Eckert
Ven. Charles Ottley Ellison

Judge Stanley Harrison Fahrni
Carle Lee Felt, jun.
Cecil Harold Fenn
Ivan Bodwell Ferree
Thomas Evans Francis
Thomas Edward French
Noel Frewin

Emory Calvin Gardner
Charles Henry Gibbins
William C. S. John Gladwell
Michael Glanz
Indreswar Gogoi
Philip L. Goldstein
Laurence Maurice Goodman
George Green
Charles Gordon Greenwood
Percival Edwards Griffin
Morris Cabot Guss

Alexander John Haddow
Arne Hagaengen
Capt. Carl Magnus Hallström
Dirk Pieter Harmaen
Gerald Harris
Maurice William Harris
Ronald Harris
James Arnold Harrison
Gordon William Hawkes
Lewis R. Heal
Stephen Herzog
Alan Hindmarch
Derrick Cansfield Hobson
J. A. Holliss
Herbert Kemble Honness
Thomas James Hook
William John Artiss Hooper
Roy Colin Hopkins
Leslie Abner Horbury
Frederick John Humphries
Philip Harold Hunter
Walter Hutchins
Frank Wilsenham Hyde
Bernard Hyer

Peter Charles Gerald Isaac

Thomas Robert James
William E. S. Jarrett
David William Jayson
William David Barrie Jobson
John Eric Johnson
David William Jones
Rosser J. Jones
John Louis Jounay

Dr. Ellis Franklin E. Kellar
Edward Leslie Kellas
Daniel Kemp
Robert S. Kennedy
Dr. Erle Lyle Klein
Robert Kneece
William Bell Knapman
Walter F. Knight

John Michael Lampitt
Kenneth Blayney Large
Stanley Alan Lates
L. S. Launitz-Schurer
David Lee
Hyam Tanhum Levi
Dr. Harry Levine
Emlyn Evans Lewis
Carl Uno Eugen Lindgren
Charles Loefvander
Denis Frederic Logsdon
John Dennis Long
Rupert John Luker

Capt. E. J. MacDonald
George Harold McGibbon
Duncan E. MacKenzie
James William Mackey
Elzie Austin Madison
William J. Maier, jun.
Charles Kenneth Makin-Taylor
John Maltas
George Edward Mandeville-Hopper
William James Mann
Stanley Peil Matthews
Walter Henry Martin
Reginald Gordon Miller
Vivian Cyril Monks
Harold William Moore
Arthur Mortimer
Michael Mullally
Francis Albert Mummery

Irvin Moore Nicholson
Oscar P. Nelson
Helge Nordenström
D. A. Nottage

Joseph Omer-Cooper
Gwynfred Oram
Dr. Mustapa Bin Osman

Allan Frederick Pannell
Vivian Pierce Patterson
William George Peacher
George Strickland H. Peall
Andrew George Peto

Sidney Donald Perry
 Rudolph Egmont Perth
 Frank Godwin Free Platten
 George Kingsbury Porter

Charles Clavell R. Reynolds
 Ronald Mervan Richards
 Grey L. Riley
 Erle Roberts
 John Butler Robertson
 Thomas Edwin Rockliff
 Owen Henry Rose
 Kenneth Swanson Ryrice

Lance Adrian Scandrett
 Walter Howard Calvert Scott
 Frank Cavendish Shepherd
 Clayton J. Shibley
 Robert Watts Shippam
 Ralph Vivian Showering
 Walter Simpson
 Francis Greenfield Skerritt
 S. Kenneth Skolfield
 Harold Smith
 Henry Smith
 Henry Snook
 Alfred Thomas Southwell
 John Spiers
 Bobby Melden Stowe
 Philip James G. Stratford
 William Walter Stuart, jun.
 Charles Graham Beech Suckling
 Dr. Sven Svedin
 John Alexander Sword
 Paul Scott Sword

Peter Alfred Taylor
 Percy Frank Taylor
 Arthur Edwin Tear
 Bert Johan Theorin
 Neville Penry Thomas
 Peter Anthony G. Thomas
 Brodie Allan Thomson
 William Edward Walter Tilleke
 William Tivendale
 Reginald Gordon Torry
 Roy James Towers
 Edward Cecil Trautweiler

Dirk Cornelis J. Van Peype
 Maarten Adrianus van Wamelen
 David Wynne Moreton Vaughan
 Philip Donald Vincent

Harold William Walker
 Ronald Arthur Waller
 Lt.-Col. John B. Walters
 Merton Walters
 Noel Henry Wareham
 Chester Franklin Watson
 Elly Weiss
 Grahame A. West
 Oliver West
 William George G. Widdicombe
 Cecil James Wilkins
 Samuel John H. Williams
 Ian Francis E. Wilson
 Benjamin Tappin Wright
 James William Wright

Lewis S. Young



MISCELLANEA LATOMORUM

OR

Masonic Notes and Queries

SERIES III

No. 2

YORK AND THE CRAFT THROUGH THE AGES

By G. Y. JOHNSON, P.G.D., P.M. 2076

Librarian, York Lodge 236

Whenever we read Masonic History we cannot help being struck by the fact that the name of York confronts us at nearly every turn. Our legendary history claims that the earliest assembly of the Craft ever held in England took place at York. The best account of a medieval operative Lodge is found in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster. It was to York that Queen Elizabeth is said to have sent her emissaries to destroy, but who remained to protect, the Craft. No less than five versions of the Masonic Old Charges of the Constitutions bear the name of York, and York alone in England, of all cities in the Provinces, set up a Grand Lodge by inherent right.

It will, I hope, be of interest to review this long list of associations with the Craft and consider the unique position that York holds today in the sphere of Freemasonry.

THE PRINCE EDWIN LEGEND

Our earliest English Masonic tradition is connected with York—no doubt you know that Prince Edwin is reputed to have obtained from his father, King Athelstan, a charter to hold an Assembly of Masons within the Realm of England every year, and that he held an Assembly at York in the year A.D. 926.

It might prove interesting to view the various phases through which this legend has passed, the whole aim of which was to show that a Charter had been granted by Athelstan, King of England, to the Masons.

The preliminary phase of the legend is found in the *Regius* MS., the oldest version of the Masonic Old Charges. This document is dated about 1390, over 450 years after the incident is

said to have taken place. Edwin is not named; there is no mention of a Charter, but Athelstan is stated to have given a set of Statutes to govern the Craft.

The next oldest Masonic document, the *Cooke MS.*, dated about 1425, states that the youngest son of Athelstan, who is not named, purchased from his father, the King, a patent to hold an assembly.

Further versions of the Old Charges take up the tale, but it is not until 1583, in the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.*, that Edwin is mentioned by name; he is described as the son of Athelstan. It is stated that Edwin "loved Massons much more than his father did", and that he obtained a Charter from his father, the King, to hold every year an assembly of Masons; and he held an assembly at York, and there he made Masons and gave them Charges.

The next version of the Old Charges that I will quote is the *Lansdowne MS.*, dated about 1640. The editor, or scribe, had discovered that Athelstan had no son, so altered the story slightly, and made Edwin the son of an unnamed King of England, but not of Athelstan.

The story gradually changes. In the *Colne MS.*, dated about 1670, Athelstan procures from his father a patent; and in the *Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.*, dated about 1670, Athelstan himself grants the Charter under discussion.

Here it might be advisable to take a glance at Athelstan's genealogy — Edward the Elder, the son and successor of Alfred the Great, was married three times. By his first wife he had Athelstan, who succeeded him. By his second wife he had Aelfweard, who died in 924, then Edwin, and later six daughters. By the third wife he had Edmund, who succeeded him, then Eadred, and later two daughters. It will be gathered from the foregoing that Edwin was half-brother of Athelstan.

We do not know whether Athelstan ever married; there is no mention of his having any children, either legitimate or illegitimate.

All we know about Edwin is that he died by drowning in 933; later a legend sprang up that he died at the hand of King Athelstan, but this was most unlikely, and has been proved to be false.

There never seems to have been any difference of opinion about the identity of King Athelstan mentioned in the legendary history. All writers agree that he granted more Charters than any other English King. He was an important personage in history, and therefore one most likely to have been chosen by the composer of the earliest form of the Masonic legend. But you will see that there has always been an insuperable difficulty in accepting the introduction of Edwin into the legend in the fact that Athelstan had no son.

Early in the eighteenth century Masonic writers, not being able to reconcile the legend with history, had little compunction in asserting that the Edwin mentioned in the legend was Edwin, King of Northumbria, who reigned from 617 to 633. In doing this they disturb the chronological sequence of the narrative by exactly three centuries. This suggestion was first made by Dr. Francis Drake, the well-known York historian, in his oration before the York Grand Lodge in 1726.

No mention of any date of the granting of the Charter is given in any of the early versions of the Old Charges, but the *Inigo Jones MS.*, written about 1722, puts the date as A.D. 932. Anderson, in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1723, states that King Athelstan's "youngest Son, Prince Edwin . . . for the Love he had to the said Craft . . . purchased a free Charter of King Athelstan his father . . . That accordingly Prince Edwin summoned all the Masons in the Realm to meet him in a Congregation at York". In the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, Anderson seems to have realised his mistake and speaks of Prince Edwin as the King's Brother and gives the date of the Congregation at York as A.D. 926. This is the year that is generally quoted when reference is made to the Edwin tradition.

Whether or not Prince Edwin held a General Assembly of Masons at York in 926 is a matter of opinion and of no great consequence; but what is important is that in the seventeenth century, and even earlier, York was looked upon as a place where annual assemblies of Masons had taken place from very early times.

THE FABRIC ROLLS OF YORK MINSTER

Very little is known of Masonic Lodges in medieval times, and perhaps one of the best accounts of an operative Lodge is obtained from the York Minster Fabric Rolls.

The Regulations which governed this operative Lodge in the fourteenth century are of great interest. The Craft was well organised, for in 1352 the Dean and Chapter were agreeing to maintain the ancient customs.

The first and second Masons were called Masters. The hours of work were specified and the Masons were called from refreshment to labour by a knock on the door to be given by one of the Masters. The Dean and Chapter provided tunics, aprons, certain refreshments and additional pay for extra work.

In 1370 more details are given. On "Holy-days" the Masons were to knock off work at High Noon. The Master Mason was to deal with breaches of discipline. No Mason was to be taken on without being tested a week or more, and he was then to be sworn on the Book to observe the Ordinances.

We see here a well-organised Craft. A Freemason was in a somewhat different position from other callings. He was constantly required to travel, but wherever he went he would find an organised Lodge to which he would be able to gain admission.

CIVIC RECORDS

As one would expect, there are very few references to Freemasons in the York Civic Records. In 1448 the building of the Guildhall was commenced. The Chamberlain of those days purchased straw for thatching the roof of the Masons' Lodge. The Guildhall was destroyed by fire in the York blitz of 1942 and has since been rebuilt.

In 1564 Ouse bridge was destroyed by flood, and the Corporation determined that a new bridge should be erected in one "Stone Bow", as an arch was at that time called. Christopher Walmsley, a Freemason, was entrusted with the work and entered into a contract to have 6s. 8d. a week wages, and when the centring was taken away, if the arch should stand sure and substantially, he was to receive £20 in reward. The Records state that some misgivings took place as to the firmness and stability of the arch, and a year later the pillars or piers were substantially piled. We can only hope that Christopher Walmsley received the £20.

In 1681 permission was granted by the Corporation for the "Free Masons to be made a Company". Unfortunately, the names of the petitioners are not given. The entry is found in the Corporation House Book of 16th June. This body of Freemasons must not be confused with those who were employed on York Minster. The Religious and Civic authorities were quite separate.

The Roll of Freemen of the City of York commences in 1272, but it is not until the year 1591 that a Freemason appears in the list. The last name of a Freemason is entered in 1744 and he is described as a "carver and free-working mason". There are only eighteen Freemasons mentioned over a period of 144 years, not a large number. On three occasions the names of father and son appear; naturally, a number of years separate the entries.

THE SACKVILLE TRADITION

The earliest account of the Sackville Tradition appeared in the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, 1723, where Dr. Anderson states:—

"Elizabeth being jealous of any Assemblies of her Subjects, whose Business she was not duly appriz'd of, attempted to break up the annual Communication of Masons, as dangerous to her Government; But, as old Masons have transmitted it by tradition, when the noble Persons her Majesty had commissioned, and brought a sufficient Posse with them at York on St. John's day, were once admitted into the Lodge, they made no use of arms, and return'd the Queen a most honourable Account of the ancient Fraternity, whereby her political Fears and Doubts were dispell'd, and she let them alone; as a People much respected by the Noble and the Wise of all the polite Nations, but neglected the Art all her Reign."

More particulars are given by Dr. Anderson in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738. The actual date of the incident is said to have been December 27th, 1561, and Sir Thomas Sackville is stated to have been the Grand Master. It was he who took care to make Freemasons some of the chief men sent by Elizabeth and then admitted them to take part in the proceedings.

There is no evidence that Sir Thomas Sackville ever visited York or that he was a Freemason, except, of course, Anderson's statements.

Where did Dr. Anderson obtain this information? It seems incredible that he could have made up the story, and perhaps there was some oral tradition at that time of which we know nothing.

It is significant that Francis Drake, the York Historian, made no mention of the Sackville incident when he addressed the York Grand Lodge in 1726. We can only call the story a pretty fiction.

THE UNRECORDED PERIOD

It is impossible to say if or when the Operative Lodge of Masons which built York Minster became a Speculative Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.

The Records of "the old Lodge at York City", unfortunately, are not complete, which is

not altogether surprising when we consider the history of the times, so perhaps we should be thankful that so much has been preserved.

That there was a "Time Immemorial" Lodge in York is beyond question. One of the few relics of this period is an incised Cubit of Mahogany or 18-inch rule on which are engraved the names "William Baron 1663 of Yorke", "John Drake" and "John Baron", together with a six-pointed star.

There are also the Ancient York Rolls. Over one hundred versions of the Constitutions (Old Charges) are known to exist, and of these five are at York. These Old Charges were used for some or all of the following purposes: (1) as Warrants of Constitution—it is thought that no Lodge could operate without a copy of the Old Charges. (2) As By-laws. (3) As Ritual—the ceremony of "making" most likely consisted of reading a portion of one of these manuscripts. The five York Rolls vary in date from 1600 to 1704.

THE YORK GRAND LODGE

The earliest record of a Speculative Lodge of Freemasons at York is in the year 1705. The evidence is contained in a letter written in 1778 by Jacob Bussey, of the York Grand Lodge, to Benjamin Bradley, of the Lodge of Antiquity in London. When Bussey wrote this letter he had in his possession a Minute Book of the Lodge which he called "a narrow folio Manuscript Book beginning 7th Mar. 1705/6 containing Sundry Accs. & Minutes relating to the Grand Lodge". Unfortunately, this book was lost many years ago.

Bussey gives a list of the Grand Masters from 1705 onwards, but his list is not altogether accurate. He also states that there is an instance of the Lodge "being holden once (in 1713) out of York, viz. at Bradford, in Yorkshire, when 18 Gentlemen of the first Families in the Neighbourhood were made Masons". Rather a large number of candidates from our way of thinking. There may have been some suggestion of forming a Lodge at Bradford, but no further evidence of this has been discovered.

There is no suggestion that this was a new Lodge; it was a going concern and had been in existence many years. There is no trace of its previous history, but there is no doubt that it was a Lodge of Speculative Masons.

We are on firm ground when we come to the year 1712, as there is a manuscript called Roll No. 7, described as a "Parchment Roll containing the Manual Subscriptions &c of Persons made Maceons in the Grd. Lodge". This Roll gives short accounts of meetings held and the names of the Candidates admitted. It covers a period of nineteen years and only thirty-nine meetings are mentioned. In some years no meetings are recorded, but in 1725 there were eleven, and in 1726 there were thirteen, leaving only sixteen meetings spread over seventeen years; but at nearly every meeting Candidates were admitted and their names appended, often by themselves. The place of meeting was generally some well-known Tavern in the City. Nine different Inns are named, in addition to the Merchants' Hall and Davy Hall.

From 1712 to 1721 the presiding officer was called the President or Deputy President, but after this he is not mentioned until July, 1725, when the title is changed to Master, and in August of the same year the Wardens are named. At the meeting held on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1725, the title Grand Master is adopted for the first time, but after this the name of the presiding officer is omitted except on two or three occasions, when the same title is used.

The Candidates were "Sworne and admitted" or "admitted and Sworne". Joining Members or Visitors were "acknowledged as Brethren" or "upon their Examinations received as Masons and as such were accordingly introduced and admitted", and on another occasion "received, admitted, and acknowledged as a Member".

All the Candidates, Joining Members or Visitors signed the Roll, but no trades or professions are given.

All the meetings are called Private Lodges except those held on St. John's Day. There are four meetings mentioned, which were held on the 24th June, and these are called "General Lodges" or "St. John's Lodges". In addition, there were three meetings held on 27th December, and these are called "St. John's Lodge in Christmas" or "The Festival of St. John the Evangelist".

From all the sources available the names of about 160 members of the York Grand Lodge have been obtained; there were no doubt many more whose names have not been recorded. The period covered is from 1705 to 1738, thirty-four years in all. No trades or professions are given and so it has been impossible to trace all the names in other walks of life. There were two Peers of the Realm, three Baronets, eight are described as "Esquires" and fifteen as Gentlemen. It is interesting to note that in those days an Esquire was superior to a Gentleman, as he was considered to be "appertaining to Knighthood". Many of the members were men of social standing. At this period York was the resort of the rank and fashion of the North of England. On a somewhat lower scale, ten are described as Mr., eighty-one as Persons and forty-one have no description.

Seven of the Members were M.P.s, both Whigs and Tories, seven served the office of Lord Mayor, and last, but perhaps not least, eleven have been traced as Operative Masons.

This is the Lodge mentioned by Dr. Anderson in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738—"The old Lodge in York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy, affecting Independency, are under their own Grand Masters."

The Lodge held on 27th December, 1725, is of importance. A meeting took place at Mr. Philemon Marsh's in Petergate, generally known as Phil's Coffee House. Two Gentlemen and one Operative Mason were sworn and admitted; later two persons were received, admitted and acknowledged—these were Joining Members or Visitors.

The members then went in procession to the Merchants' Hall. From an eye-witness's account there were ninety-three or ninety-four present, a larger number than one might expect. The members formed a procession and walked through the City with the Waits playing and a banner carried between two quarter banners by three Gentlemen. The Grand Master provided a most Splendid Feast. That may have accounted for the large attendance.

FRANCIS DRAKE'S SPEECH

There is no note in any of the accounts of the meeting held on 27th December, 1726, but it was on that date that Dr. Francis Drake, the historian, of York, delivered an Address. Fortunately, the speech was published in pamphlet form.

From the title page we learn that the Right Worshipful Charles Bathurst, Esq., was the Grand Master. He was a county gentleman of note and had a town house in York. He was High Sheriff of the County in 1727.

Drake, in his address, alluded "to you my Brethren, the Working Masons", then to those "of other Trades and Occupations", and finally to the "Gentlemen", showing that there were Operative Masons amongst the Members. Drake also referred to E.P., F.C. and M.M.; this is a very early reference to the three degrees.

It was at this meeting that Drake, who was the Junior Warden, first claimed for York the title of "Grand Lodge of All England" when he stated that:—

"The first Grand Lodge ever held in England was held in this City; when Edwin, the first Christian King of Northumbers, about the Six Hundredth Year after Christ, and who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral, sat as Grand Master. This is sufficient to make us dispute the Superiority with the Lodges at London; But as nought of that kind ought to be amongst so amicable a Fraternity, we are content they enjoy the Title of Grand Master of England; but the Totius Anglie we claim as our undoubted Right."

Drake had, of course, the decision of Pope Innocent VI in his mind, and it must have given him great joy thus to reverse it, for the Craft at all events.

EXCLUSIONS

The Minutes dated 6th July, 1726, are of importance and speak for themselves:—

"Whereas it has been certify'd to me that Mr. Willm Scourfield has presum'd to call a Lodge & make Masons without the consent of the Grand Master or Deputy and in opposition to the 8th Article of the Constitutions, I do with the consent of the Grand Master & the approbation of the whole Lodge declare him to be disqualify'd from being a Member of this Society & he is hereby for ever banish'd from the same."

The 8th Article in the By-Laws states that any Brother presuming to make a Mason without the consent of the Master or Deputy shall forfeit the sum of five pounds. The offence in this case appears to have been particularly serious, and so the Brother was excluded. The Minutes go on to state that:—

"Such Members as were assisting in constituting & forming Mr Scourfield's schismatical Lodge on the 24 of the last Month whose names are John Carpenter, William Musgrave, Thomas Allanson and Thos. Preston are by the same Authority liable to the same sentence, yet upon their acknowledging their Error in being deluded & making such Submission as shall be judg'd Requisite by the Grand Master & Lodge at the next monthly Meeting shall be receiv'd into the Favour of the Brotherhood, otherwise to be banish'd."

The names of William Scourfield and John Carpenter have been erased from all the York Grand Lodge Records; the other three brethren mentioned appear to have been pardoned for their offence.

William Scourfield was a man of position; he was a Druggist and a Chamberlain of the City in 1726, the same year that he was excluded from the York Grand Lodge.

OLD RULES

Amongst the Records is a parchment sheet headed "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York 1725". There are 19 Rules in all, and these are followed by 89 signatures of Members.

These Rules are interesting. The first reads: "That every first Wednesday in the Month a Lodge shall be held at the house of a Brother according as their turn shall fall out." This is strong evidence that many meetings were held that are not entered on Roll No. 7. It seems likely that meetings where Candidates were sworn and admitted were held at various Taverns, and other meetings took place at the private homes of the Members.

Rule No. 2: "All Subscribers to these Articles not appearing at the monthly Lodge shall forfeit Six pence each time." So attendance was obligatory in those days.

Rule No. 3: "If any Brother appear at a Lodge that is not a Subscriber to these Articles he shall pay over and above his Club the Sum of one shilling." Visitors were welcome, but paid their own way. Some old Lodges still have a similar rule in their By-Laws, but this is rarely enforced, one of the exceptions being the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, where a visitor has the privilege of paying for his own meal.

Rule No. 4: "The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly Lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese and Tobacco in common; but if any thing more shall be called for by any Brother either for eating or drinking, that Brother so calling shall pay for it himself besides his Club." This seems a reasonable arrangement, but leaves one with the impression that the meal at the monthly meetings was limited to bread and cheese.

Rule No. 13: "An Hour shall be set apart at each Lodge to talk Masonry." Few Lodges nowadays carry out this excellent idea.

Rule No. 14: "No Person shall be admitted into the Lodge but after having been strictly examined." This shows that in olden times, just as today, great care was taken to guard against cowans.

Rule No. 16: "That these Articles shall at all Lodges be laid upon the Table to be perused by the Members, and also when any new Brothers are made the Clerk shall publicly read them." The reading of the By-Laws in open Lodge is no new idea.

CONCLUSION

There is one more document that should be mentioned—Roll No. 9, which is headed "A List of the Master Masons in the Lodge at York". This list consists of 29 names, then the date "July 7th 1734", followed by eight additional names, making 37 in all. The heading is of interest, as the wording "Master Masons" suggests more than one degree, whereas Roll No. 7 states "Sworne and admitted", which suggests one degree only.

The last Meeting so far traced of the York Grand Lodge before its dormancy took place on 22nd May, 1738, and was held at the White Horse in Coppergate, York, when a new Lodge was constituted to be held at the Talbot in Halifax. About a year later this Lodge ceased to exist, and it is more than likely that the members threw in their lot with those who founded the Lodge of Probity of Halifax constituted by the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns".

The York Grand Lodge collapsed about this time; no further meetings have been traced and it is unlikely that any took place. This was no doubt caused by the political situation. The Jacobite and Hanoverian controversy was at its height and partisans of both sides were members of the York Grand Lodge. In the circumstances it was most likely felt that it would be in the best interests for the members of the York Grand Lodge to cease holding meetings. The York Grand Lodge was resuscitated in 1762, but it is the first half of the eighteenth century that concerns our story.

Note.—Those desiring further information about the Edwin Tradition should read "The Prince Edwin Legend", by Bro. E. H. Dring, *A.Q.C.*, xxii, 6.

QUERIES

16. **William Hannam.** Was a member of the Lodge of Honour, No. 497 (constituted 1776, erased 1822); he joined the Lodge in 1776 and died in 1785. The Lodge Minute Book, which is in the Grand Lodge Library, contains a full account of his funeral on 13th March, but gives no clue to the Churchyard, and the register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, contains no entry of his burial on that date. He was apparently well known. Is anything known of him? Was he the father of a more distinguished son who was the subject of a brief sketch in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of November, 1796?

R.J.S.

17. **Elu Degrees.** When was the subject-matter of the Elu Degrees introduced into our 3°? It is said not to form part of the degree as worked on the Continent.
D. A. WARNE.
18. **Masters' Lodges.** What was the purpose for which the early group of Masters' Lodges were constituted? I doubt whether they were formed for conferring the 3°. All except one of this early group met in London, and most met on Sundays. Is it not more likely that they worked some form of the Royal Arch ceremony?
D. A. WARNE.
19. **Location of Foundation Stone.** Is there any data on a definite location for Corner Stones? It is noted that when George Washington laid the Corner Stone of the Capitol masonically he did so in the South-East Corner.
F. P. FARRAR.
20. **Innovation.** In the Installation ceremony the M.E. is required to "admit that it is not in the power of any man, or body of men, to make innovation in the body of Masonry"; but on June 24th, 1723, Grand Lodge decreed, "That it is not in the Power of any Person, or body of men, to make any Alteration or Innovation in the Body of Masonry, without the Consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge". When was the qualifying phrase removed?
ALEXANDER HORNE.
21. **Passing the Mark Chair.** In a Scottish R.A. Chapter in South Africa about 1800 it was the custom for every R.A. Candidate to be passed through the Chair of the *Mark* Lodge prior to exaltation. Is there any precedent for this?
SCOTIA.
22. **R.A. Triangle.** In the R.A. ritual, mention is made of an equilateral triangle with the Hebrew letters Aleph, Beth and Lamed at its angles. The new (Adam Browne) explanation of the combinations of these letters is so manifestly absurd that it cannot possibly be accepted. Is there any knowledge of where this particular combination of letters came from, and what (if any) is their meaning? In *A.Q.C.*, lxxi, p. 47, there is a reference to this arrangement of triangle and letters employed by Ashmole, which seems to take this particular combination back to the mid-seventeenth century.
N. HACKNEY.
23. **"Most Illustrious Holy Oriental Grand Lodge of England."** Is anything known about the "Most Illustrious Holy Oriental Grand Lodge of England"? We have in Wakefield a "patent" from the "Most Illustrious Puissant Oriental Grand Master of America", dated 23rd September, 1866, appointing three brethren (known in the Mark degree in Yorkshire at that time), John Copley, Edmund Hartley and Thomas Schofield, as G.M., Dep. G.M. and Secretary respectively.
J.R.R.

REPLIES

7. **Masonic Funeral Service.** There was a Funeral Master degree, which was in former times conferred on any Master Mason without fee. If a funeral was to be attended the Lodge was opened and after a certain amount of ritual the brethren departed to the funeral, and on their return to the Lodge room the ceremony was resumed and candidates were then admitted. There were certain words and signs, which differed in Scotland from those in England. The Funeral Master is now one of the appendant degrees in the Order of Knight Templar Priest.
R. J. KNOTT.
8. **Grand Honours.** Extract from the *Sheffield Courant* relating the laying of the foundation stone of the Sheffield Infirmary on 9th September, 1793, by three Lodges, one "Antient" and two "Modern":—

" . . . This was followed by a ceremony which was thought by some of the by-standers to express levity rather than solemnity, but it is a ceremony retained among the Masons from great antiquity and formerly used by them as an expression of *solemn rejoicing* and called *the Grand Honours of Masonry*."

David Flather expressed the definite opinion that the G. or R.S. was indicated. On the other hand, at the opening of the Infirmary, the Minutes state:—

" . . . with Grand Honours and accustomed ceremonies and with libations of Corn, Wine and Oil the building was dedicated to Humanity."

This use of the expression "Grand Honours" does not entirely accord with the simple use of the G. or R.S.

J. R. CLARKE.

18. **Masters' Lodges.** It is generally assumed that the earliest Masters' Lodges (1730's) were brought into existence to meet the needs of Fellow Crafts wishing to be "passed" to the Third degree, this at a time when few ordinary Lodges could have been familiar with the ceremony. There is no evidence for this, but the assumption appears reasonable. Possibly, however, some of the Masters' Lodges did at times work non-craft ceremonies; but here, again, nothing is actually known. However, the first recorded Masters' Lodge (No. 115, Devil Tavern, Temple Bar) appears in the Engraved List as a "Scotch Masons' Lodge", and if Gould is correct in stating that Scotch Masonry had a ritual dwelling on the discovery in a vault by Scottish Crusaders of the Ineffable Word, then any possibility that some Masters' Lodges worked a primitive form of Royal Arch Masonry is strengthened. As Third Degree Craft Lodges, Masters' Lodges would have served their purpose by or before the middle of the eighteenth century, but, even so, the likelihood of their playing from then onwards any important part in the development of the Royal Arch is difficult to accept. Unfortunately, the considerable argument on the subject has so little basis in evidence. Just possibly *Virtual* Past Masters (Master Masons now qualified purely technically to be made Royal Arch Masons) were made in some of the few remaining Masters' Lodges in, say, the 1770's and later, but their numbers must have been so small as to be insignificant. The querist can follow up the subject in Bro. John Lane's very excellent paper on Masters' Lodges in *A.Q.C.*, vol. i, in Bernard Jones' paper reviewing the evidence in *A.Q.C.*, vol. lvii, and in the latter author's *Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch*.

B.E.J.

19. **Location of Foundation Stone.** A very early reference is of the year 1114, relating to the first corner-stone of Croyland (now Crowland) Abbey, Lincolnshire, which was laid "on the eastern side, facing the north". In 1738, Anderson records, in relation to the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, that "King George I sent his Lord Almoner and Surveyor General, attended by . . . the architect . . . with many free masons in a Solemn Procession from the Palace to level the Footstone at the South East Corner . . ." On this footstone the ceremonial foundation stone was later laid. In 1880 the foundation stones of Truro Cathedral were laid, one in the north-east corner by freemasons and one at the west end not (officially) by freemasons. There is a tradition that freemasons prefer the north-east corner because on St. John's Day, June 24th, the sun may be regarded as rising in the north-east—but the reason for the preference is nothing more than mere tradition, and very hazy at that. It is regretted that a definite reply to the question in the form in which it is put does not appear possible.

B.E.J.

20. **Innovation.** It was customary in the early editions of the *Book of Constitutions* to reprint some of the more important resolutions of the Grand Lodge, and this Regulation, with the qualifying clause, appeared in the 1738, 1756 and 1767 editions.

The earliest version of this Regulation that I have been able to trace *without* the qualifying clause is in the 1781 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. It appears there as part of the Installation procedure (which he describes in some detail), being one of the "charges" to be read to the Master of a Lodge as a preliminary to his Installation:—

"You admit that it is not in the power of any man, or body of men to make alteration or innovation in the body of masonry." (1781 Ed., p. 101.)

It is not possible to fix the exact date when the qualifying clause was removed, because there appears to be no record of its removal in the minutes of either of the Grand Lodges ; but Preston's 1775 edition of his *Illustrations* contains the regulation approximately in its original form, and we may fairly assume, therefore, that the alteration was made some time between 1775 and 1781. In both the 1775 and the 1781 editions Preston indicated that these "Charges" were part of the authorised procedure for Installation, but the alteration did not appear in any Official publication until the 1827 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, where it was printed in its present-day form, *i.e.*, not as part of a detailed description of an Installation ceremony but as a separate code of "Charges" to be read before Installation.

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