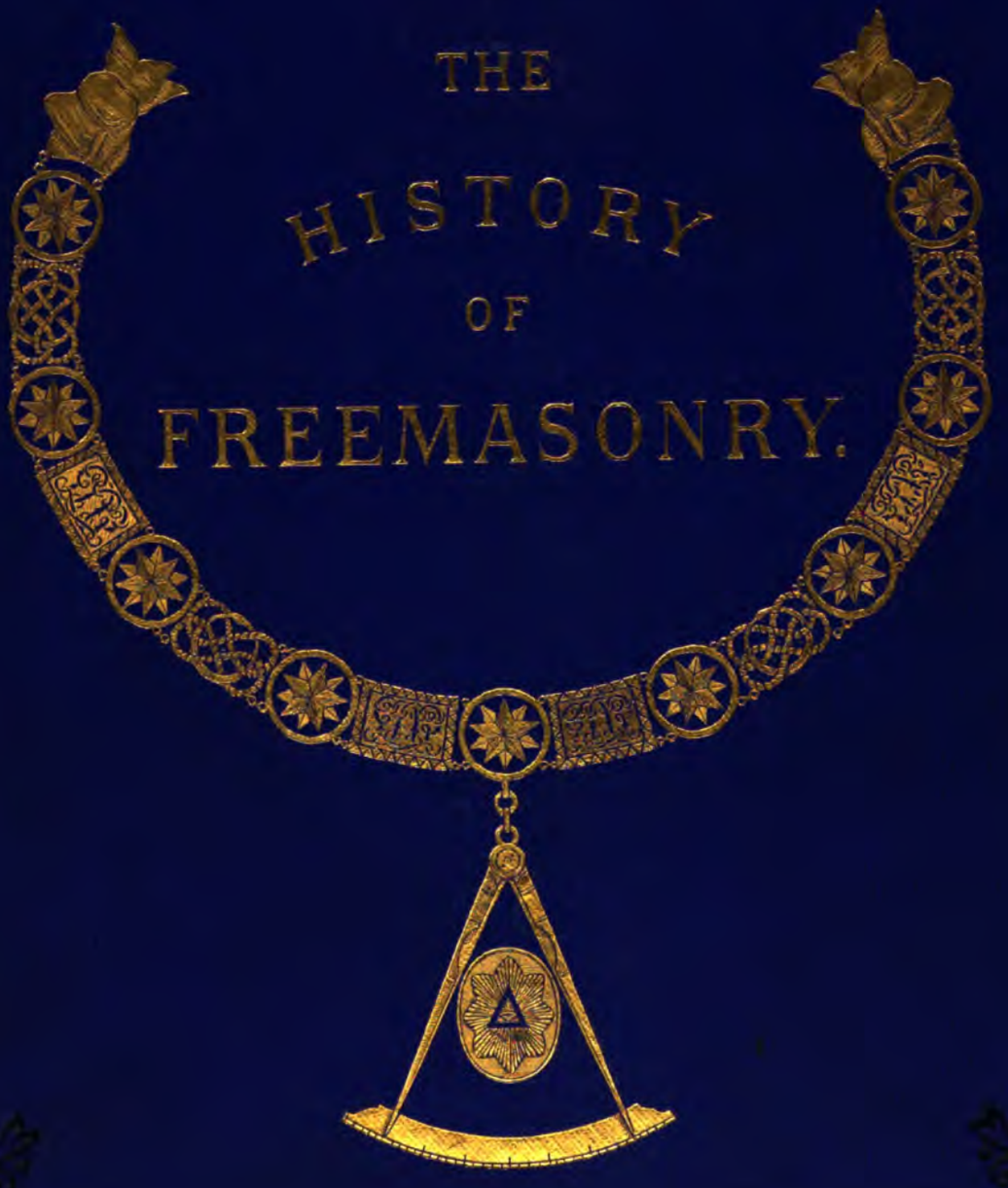
THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.



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ARMS OF MASONS, FREEMASONS, ETC.

PAINTED PANEL IN THE POSSESSION OF W.HY RYLANDS, *circa 1680.*

BANNER IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LODGE OF YORK. *circa 1776.*

Arms of the
CITY OF COLOGNE.

STONE MASONS OF STRASBURG.
from seal circa 1725.

STONE MASONS OF NURENBURG.
from seal circa 1725.

The arms borne by
GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND.
circa 1725.

BRICKLAYERS AND TILERS.
from Gateshead charter 1671.

MASONS OF COLOGNE.
from seal 1396 (colours restored)

W.H. Rylands, Del.

Wm. M. Smith, Sculp.

Thomas C Jack London & Edinburgh

THE

HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

Its Antiquities, Symbols, Constitutions, Customs, Etc.

Embracing an Investigation of the Records of the Organisations of the Fraternity in England, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies, France, Germany, and the United States.

Derived from Official Sources.

By ROBERT FREKE GOULD, Barrister-at-Law,
Past Senior Grand Deacon of England;
Author of "The Four Old Lodges," "The Atholl Lodges," Etc.

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CHAPTER XVI.

LODGE MINUTES—ALNWICK—SWALWELL—YORK—THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION—MASONRY IN NORTH AND SOUTH BRITAIN.

IT is certain that the same degree of confidence which is due to an historian who narrates events in which he was personally concerned, cannot be claimed by one who compiles the history of remote times from such materials as he is able to collect. In the former case, if the writer's veracity and competency are above suspicion, there remains no room for reasonable doubt, at least in reference to those principal facts of the story, for the truth of which his character is pledged. Whilst in the latter case, though the veracity of the writer, as well as his judgment, may be open to no censure, still the confidence afforded must necessarily be conditional, and will be measured by the opinion which is formed of the validity of his authorities.[1]

Hence, it has been laid down that since a modern author, who writes the history of ancient times, can have no personal knowledge of the events of which he writes; consequently he can have no title to the credit and confidence of the public, merely on his own authority. If he does not write romance instead of history, he must have received his information from tradition—from authentic monuments, original records, or the memoirs of more ancient writers—and therefore it is but just to acquaint his readers from whence he *actually* received it.[2]

In regard, however, to the character and probable value of their authorities, each historian, and, indeed, almost every separate portion of the words of each, must be estimated apart, and a failure to observe this precaution, will expose the reader, who, in his simplicity, peruses a Masonic work throughout with an equal faith, to the imminent risk "of having his indiscriminate confidence suddenly converted into undistinguishing scepticism, by discovering the slight authority upon which some few portions of it are founded."[3] But it unfortunately happens that the evidence on questions of antiquity possesses few attractions for ordinary readers, so that on this subject, as well as upon some others, there often exists at the same time too much faith and too little. "From a want of acquaintance with the details on which a rational conviction of the genuineness and validity of ancient records may be founded, many persons, even though otherwise well informed, feel that they have hardly an alternative between a simple acceptance of the entire mass of ancient history, or an equally indis-

[1] See Isaac Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, p. 116; and Lewis, Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 272.

[2] Dr R. Henry, History of Great Britain.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

criminate suspicion of the whole. And when it happens that a particular fact is questioned, or the genuineness of some ancient book is argued, such persons, conscious that they are little familiar with the particulars of which the evidence on these subjects consists, and perceiving that the controversy involves a multiplicity of recondite and uninteresting researches; or that it turns upon the validity of minute criticisms, either recoil altogether from the argument or accept an opinion without inquiry, from that party on whose judgment they think they may most safely rely."[1]

It thus follows, as a general rule, that such controversies are left entirely in the hands of critics and antiquaries, whose peculiar tastes and acquirements qualify them for investigations which are utterly uninteresting to the mass of readers.[2] Comparing small things with greater ones, this usage, which has penetrated into Masonry, is productive of great inconvenience, and by narrowing the base of Masonic research, tends to render the early history of the craft naught but "the traditions of experts, to be taken by the outside world on faith."

The few students of our antiquities address themselves, not so much to the craft at large, as to each other. They are sure of a select and appreciative audience, and they make no real effort to popularise truths not yet patent to the world, and which are at once foreign to the intellectual habits and tastes of ordinary persons, and very far removed from the mental range of a not inconsiderable section of our fraternity.

In the preceding remarks, I must, however, be more especially understood, as having in my mind the Freemasons of these islands, for whilst, as a rule—to which, however, there are several brilliant exceptions—the research of Masonic writers of Germany and America has not kept pace with that of historians in the mother country of Freemasonry, it must be freely conceded, that both in the United States and among German-speaking people, there exists a familiarity with the history and principles of the craft—that is to say, up to a certain point—for which a parallel will be vainly sought in Britain.

These introductory observations, I am aware, may be deemed of a somewhat desultory character, but a few words have yet to be said, before resuming and concluding the section of this history which brings us to a point where surmise and conjecture, so largely incidental to the mythico-historical period of our annals, will be tempered, if not altogether superseded, by the evidence derivable from accredited documents and the archives of Grand Lodges. The passage which I shall next quote will serve as the text for a short digression.

"However much," says a high authority, "of falsification and of error there may be in the world, there is yet so great a predominance of truth, that he who believes indiscriminately will be in the right a thousand times to one oftener than he who doubts indiscriminately."[3]

Now, without questioning the literal accuracy of this general proposition, the sense in which its *application* is sometimes understood, must be respectfully demurred to.

If, indeed, no choice is allowed to exist between blindly accepting the fables that have descended to us, or commencing a new history of Masonry on a blank page, the progress of honest scepticism may well be arrested, and the fabulists be left in possession of the field.

But is there no middle course? Let us hear Lord Bacon:—

"Although the position be good, *oportet discentem credere* [a man who is learning must be

[1] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, pp. 1, 2.

[2] See Chap. I., p. 4, note 1.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

content to believe what he is told], yet it must be coupled with this, *oportet edoctum judiciare* [when he has learned it, he must exercise his judgment and see whether it be worthy of belief], for disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their own judgment until they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity." [1]

"Those who have read of everything," says Locke, "are thought to understand everything too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; *it is thinking makes what we read ours.* We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; *unless we chew them over again*, they will not give us strength and nourishment. The memory may be stored, but the judgment is little better, and the stock of knowledge not increased, by being able to respect what others have said, or produce the arguments we have found in them." [2]

It unfortunately happens, that those who are firmly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions, will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. "They who do not feel the darkness will never look for the light." [3] "If in any point we have attained to certainty," says a profound thinker of our own time, who has gone to his rest, "we make no further inquiry on that point, because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. *The doubt must intervene before the investigation can begin.* Here then," he continues, "we have the act of doubting as the originator, or, at all events, the necessary antecedent of all progress. Here we have that scepticism, the very name of which is an abomination to the ignorant, because it disturbs their lazy and complacent minds; *because it troubles their cherished superstitions;* because it imposes on them the fatigue of inquiry; and because it rouses even sluggish understandings to ask if things are as they are commonly supposed, and if all is really true which they, from their childhood, have been taught to believe." [4]

"EVIDENCE," says Locke, "is that by which alone every man is (and should be) taught to regulate his assent, who is then and then only in the right way when he follows it." [5]

But there exists a class of men whose understandings are, so to speak, cast into a mould, and fashioned just to the size of a received hypothesis. They are not affected by proofs, which might convince them that events have not happened quite in the same manner that they have decreed within themselves that they have. To such persons, indeed, may be commended the fine observation of Fontenelle, that the number of those who believe in a system already established in the world does not, in the least, add to its credibility, but that the number of those who doubt it has a tendency to diminish it.[6]

To the want of reverence for antiquity—or, in other words, tradition—with which I have been freely charged,[7] I shall reply in a few words. "Until it is recognised," says one of the

[1] Bacon, Works (Advancement of Learning), edit. Spedding, 1857, vol. iii., p. 290.

[2] Conduct of the Understanding, § 20 (Locke's Works, edit. 1828, vol. iii., p. 241).

[3] Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, edit. 1868, vol. i., p. 335.

[4] *Ibid.* Locke observes, "There is nothing more ordinary than children receiving into their minds propositions from their parents, nurses, or those about them, which, being fastened by degrees, are at last (equally whether true or false) riveted there by long custom and education, beyond all possibility of being pulled out again" (Essay on the Human Understanding, chap. xx., § 9).

[5] Conduct of the Understanding, § 34.

[6] Cited approvingly by Dugald Stewart in his "Philosophy of the Mind," vol. ii., p. 357.

[7] The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in the *Freemason*, *passim*.

greatest masters of historical criticism, "that the same strict rules of evidence are applicable to historical composition, which are employed in courts of justice, and in the practical business of life, history must remain open to the well-grounded suspicions under which it often labours, and will, by many, be treated with that despairing scepticism, which is one of the great obstacles to the advancement of knowledge. The historian will do well to remember the old legal adage, '*Mendax in uno, præsumitur mendax in alio*,[1] and if, in putting together his materials, he makes additions from his imagination, he incurs the danger of being met—by persons who adopt Sir R. Walpole's canon of judgment—with general disbelief."[2]

Those of us, indeed, whose mission it is (in the opinion of our critics) only to *destroy*,[3] may derive consolation from some remarks of Buckle, which occur in his encomium upon Descartes. Of the pioneer of Modern Philosophy, he says—"He deserves the gratitude of posterity, not so much on account of what he built up, *as on account of what he pulled down*. His life was one great and successful warfare against the prejudices and traditions of men. .·. .·. To prefer, therefore, even the most successful discoverers of physical laws to this great innovator and disturber of tradition, is just as if we should prefer knowledge to freedom, and believe that science is better than liberty. We must, indeed, always be grateful to these eminent thinkers, to whose labours we are indebted for that vast body of physical truths which we now possess. But let us reserve the full measure of our homage for those far greater men, who have not hesitated to attack and destroy the most inveterate prejudices—men who, *by removing the pressure of tradition*, have purified the very source and fountain of our knowledge, and secured its future progress, by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible."[4]

Until quite recently—and it must be frankly confessed that the practice is not yet extinct—the historians of the craft have treated their subject in a free and discretionary style, by interpolations, not derived from extrinsic evidence, but framed according to their own notions of internal probability.[5] They have supplied from conjecture what they think *might have been* the contents of the record, if any record of the fact were extant, in the

[1] "Testimonium testis, quando in unâ parte falsum, præsumitur esse et in ceteris partibus falsum" (Menochius, de Præsumptionibus, lib. v., præf. 22).

[2] Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 246. The same writer observes: "It is of paramount importance that truth, and not error, should be accredited; that men, when they are led, should be led by safe guides; and that they should thus profit by those processes of reasoning and investigation which have been carried on in accordance with logical rules, but which they are not able to verify for themselves" (On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 9).

[3] As the term "iconoclast" has been frequently applied to me by my friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who, moreover, suggests that my historical studies evince a policy of "dynamite," the attention of my reverend critic is especially invited to the following observations of Dr Arnold: "To tax any one with want of reverence, because he pays no respect to what we venerate, is either irrelevant, or is a mere confusion. The fact, so far as it is true, is no reproach, but an honour; because to reverence all persons and all things is absolutely wrong. .·. .·. If it be meant that he is wanting in proper reverence, not respecting what is really to be respected, that is assuming the whole question at issue, because what we call divine, he calls an idol; and as, supposing we are in the right, we are bound to fall down and worship, so, supposing him to be in the right, he is no less bound to pull it to the ground and destroy it" (Lectures on Modern History).

[4] History of Civilisation in England, vol. ii., p. 83. As Turgot finely says: "Ce n'est pas l'erreur qui s'oppose aux progrès de la vérité. Ce sont la mollesse, l'entêtement, l'esprit de routine, tout ce qui porte à l'inaction" (Pensées, Œuvres de Turgot, vol. ii., p. 343).

[5] See Chap. XII., p. 1.

same manner that an antiquary attempts to restore an inscription which is part defaced or obliterated.[1]

"If, indeed," as it has been well observed, "the results of historians led to an immediate practical result; if the conclusion of the writer deprived a man of his life, liberty, or goods, the necessity of guiding his discretion by rules, such as those followed in courts of justice, would long ago have been recognised."[2]

It is, moreover, but imperfectly grasped by Masonic writers, that as a country advances, the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy.[3] Where there is no written record, tradition alone must be received, and there alone it has a chance of being accurate. But where events have been recorded in books, tradition soon becomes a faint and erroneous echo of their pages;[4] and the Freemasons, like the Scottish Highlanders, are apt to take their ancient traditions from very modern books, as the readers of this work,[5] in the one instance, and those of Burton's "History of Scotland"[6] in the other, can readily testify. Yet if an attempt is made to trace such traditions *retrogressively* up to the age to which they are usually attributed, we are presented with no *evidence*, but are merely given the *alleged fact*, a mode of elucidating ancient history, not unlike that pursued by Dr Hickes, who, in order to explain the Northern Antiquities, always went farther north—a method of procedure which might serve to illustrate, but could never explain, and has been compared to going down the stream to seek the fountain-head, or in tracing the progress of learning, to begin with the Goths.[7]

Although it is impossible to speak positively to a negative proposition, nevertheless the writer who questions the accuracy of his predecessors can hardly, by reason of his scepticism, be considered bound to *demonstrate* what they have failed to *prove*.[8] It has been

[1] *Cf.* Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, pp. 247, 248, 291.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197. The author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" (bk. i., chap. i.), thus comments on a hearsay statement respecting the discoveries of that navigator: "It is obvious that, if the present were an inquiry in a court of justice, the evidence which limits Cabot to 56° would be at once rejected as incompetent. The alleged communication from him is exposed in its transmission, not only to all the chances of misconception on the part of the Pope's Legate, but admitting that personage to have truly understood, accurately remembered, and faithfully reported what he heard, we are again exposed to a similar series of errors on the part of our informant, who furnished it to us at second-hand. *But the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence.*" The preceding extract will merit the attention of those persons who attach any historical weight to the newspaper evidence of 1723, which makes Wren a Freemason, or to the hearsay statement of John Aubrey.

[3] "Although," says Buckle, "without letters, there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them" (History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 297).

[4] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland from 1689 to 1748, vol. i., p. 135. [5] See Chap. XII., *passim*.

[6] A parallel might be drawn between the influence upon the popular imagination of such works of fancy as Scott's "Lady of the Lake" and Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry." In his notice of the Highland Costume, Burton observes: "Here, unfortunately, we stumble on the rankest corner of what may be termed *the classic soil of fabrication and fable*. The assertions are abundant unto affluence; the facts few and meagre" (History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 374).

[7] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 457.

[8] This is precisely and exactly what my reviewers (in the Masonic press) seem to require of me, and I respectfully commend to their notice the following remarks on the intolerance of the "Cameroniana," as being capable of a far wider application: "The ruling principle among these men was the simplest and the broadest of all human principles—

well observed—"To every intelligent mind it is clear, that assertion without proof can no more be received to invalidate history, than to confirm and support it; and when objections founded on facts are advanced, it will then be for consideration whether they apply, and to what extent. But till assertion is converted into proof, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the instances produced, those instances must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."[1]

Taylor rightly lays down that, "when historical facts, which in their nature are fairly open to direct proof, are called in question, there is no species of trifling more irksome (to those who have no dishonest ends to serve) than the halting upon twenty indirect arguments, while the *centre proof*—that which clear and upright minds fasten upon intuitively—remains undisposed of."[2] Now, it must be freely conceded, that however strongly the balance of probability may appear to incline *against* the *reception* of Sir Christopher Wren, at any time of his life, into the Masonic fraternity, the question after all must remain an open one, as even his dying declaration to the contrary, were such extant, might be held insufficient to clearly establish this negative proposition.[3] Though *until* "*assertion is converted into proof*, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the objections" raised by me to the current belief, I shall rest content that the latter "must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."

Among these objections, however, is one, which no lapse of time can remove, and it is, the contention that Wren could not have held in the seventeenth century a title which did not then exist. This point I shall not re-argue, but may be permitted to allude to, as by "the removal of the pressure of tradition"[4] in this instance, it is confidently hoped that "the future progress of our knowledge" has been ensured, "by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible."[5]

that which has more or less guided mankind in all ages and all conditions of society—in despotisms, oligarchies, and democracies—among Polytheists, Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians. It was the simple doctrine, that I am right and you are wrong, and that whatever opinion different from mine is entertained by you, must be forthwith uprooted" (Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 33).

[1] J. S. Hawkins, History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture, 1813, p. 89.

[2] History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 224.

[3] In support of this position, the case of the late Duke of Wellington may be cited, who was initiated at the close of the last century in Lodge No. 494 on the Registry of Ireland (F. Q. Rev., 1836, p. 442; Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., 1874-75, p. 198), and of whom Lord Combermere said at Macclesfield in 1852—"Often when in Spain, where Masonry was prohibited, he [Wellington] regretted ∴ ∴ that his military duties had prevented him taking the active part his feelings dictated" (F. Q. Rev., 1852, p. 505). Although the records of No. 494 are said to contain a letter from the Duke, written during the secretaryship of Mr Edward Carleton (1838-53), declining to allow the Lodge to be called after him, "inasmuch as he never was inside any lodge since the day he was made" (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*), the following communication attests that shortly before his death the circumstance of his initiation had quite passed out of his mind: "London, October 13th, 1851—F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr Walsh. He has received his letter of the 7th ult. The Duke has no recollection of having been admitted a Freemason. He has no knowledge of that association" (F. Q. Rev., 1854, p. 88).

[4] Although the *ancient* tradition of Wren's Grand Mastership was first published to the world in a work of comparatively *modern* date (Anderson's Constitutions, 1738), it must not be forgotten that fables, as Voltaire says, begin to be current in one generation, are established in the second, become respectable in the third, whilst in the fourth generation temples are raised in honour of them (Fragments sur l'Histoire, art. i., Œuvres, tome xxvii., pp. 158, 159).

[5] See p. 252; and Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 82.

It is immaterial whether Wren was or was not a mere *member* of the Society. To my mind, and *upon the evidence before us*—to which our attention must be strictly confined—it seems impossible that he could have been, but even if he was, we should only have one speculative or geomatic brother the more, a circumstance of no real moment, and unless supported by new evidence of such a character as to utterly destroy the authenticity of that already produced, not in any way calculated to modify the judgment I have ventured to pass upon his alleged connection with Freemasonry. But the consequences arising from the deeply rooted belief in his being—under what title is immaterial—the Grand Master or virtual head of the Society, have already borne much evil fruit, by leading those who have successively founded schools of Masonic thought, to pursue their researches on erroneous *data*, and as a natural result, to reduce to a minimum the value of even the most diligent inquiry into the past history of the craft. Indeed, a moment's reflection will convince the candid reader that any generalisation of Masonic facts, based on an assumption, that the era of "Grand Lodges" can be carried back to 1663 [1]—when the famous regulations are alleged to have been made, which I have handled with some freedom in the last chapter [2]—must be devoid of any practical utility, or in other words, that in all such cases the want of judgment in the writer can only be supplied by the discrimination of his readers.

By way of illustration, let us take Kloss. It is certain that this author collected his materials with equal diligence and judgment; but yet, we perceive that in much relating to a country not his own, he was often egregiously misinformed.

I am not here considering his misinterpretation of the English statutes,[3] an error of judgment arising, not unnaturally, from the inherent defects of the printed copy to which alone we had access, but the inaccuracies which are to be found in his writings, owing to the confidence he placed in Anderson as the witness of truth.

The writings of Sir James Hall may also be referred to, as affording equally cogent evidence of the wide diffusion of error, owing a similar dependence upon statements for which the compiler of the first two editions of the "Constitutions" is the original authority. In the latter instance, we find, as I have already mentioned, that the *fact* of Wren's Grand Mastership, is actually relied upon, by a non-masonic writer of eminence, as stamping the opinion of the great architect, with regard to the origin of Gothic architecture, as the very highest that the subject will admit of.[4]

How, indeed—when we have marshalled all the authorities, considered their arguments, examined their proofs, and estimated the probability or improbability of what they advance by the *evidence* they present to us—any lingering belief in the existence of Grand Lodges during the seventeenth century can remain in the mind, is a mystery which I can only attempt to solve by making use of a comparison.

Writing in 1633, Sir Thomas Browne informs us, that the more improbable any proposition is, the greater is his willingness to assent to it; but that where a thing is actually impossible, he is, on that account, prepared to believe it! [5]

[1] Chaps. II., p. 105; XII., p. 11; and XV., p. 208.

[2] P. 208, *et seq.*

[3] Chap. VII., pp. 357-360, 362, 366.

[4] Chap. VI., p. 260.

[5] "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *Altitudo*. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, *certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point,

By principles such as these, it is very evident that some living writers are accustomed to regulate their assent, and in this way a belief in Wren's *membership of the Society* will naturally arise out of its extreme improbability,[1] whilst a firm conviction in his having been *Grand Master*, will as readily follow from the circumstance of its utter impossibility![2]

The object of this digression will have been but imperfectly attained, if any lengthened observations are required to make it clear.

Upon the confidence hitherto extended to me by my readers, I shall again have occasion to draw very largely as we proceed. We are about to pass from one period of darkness and uncertainty to another of almost equal obscurity, and which presents even greater difficulties than we have yet encountered. In writing the history of the craft, as far as we have proceeded, the materials have been few and scanty, and I have had to feel my way very much in the dark.

If, under these conditions, I have sometimes strayed from the right path, it will not surprise me, and I shall be ever ready to accept with gratitude the help of any friendly hand that can set me right. All I can answer for is a sincere endeavour to search impartially after truth. Throughout my labours, to use the words of Locke, "I have not made it my business, either to quit or follow any authority. Truth has been my only aim, and wherever that has appeared to lead, my thoughts have impartially followed, without minding whether the footsteps of any other lay that way or no. Not that I want a due respect to other men's opinions, but after all, the greatest reverence is due to truth."[3]

It may be observed, that in my attempt to demonstrate the only safe principles on which Masonic inquiry can be pursued, whilst making a free use of *classical* quotations in support of the several positions for which I contend, the literature of the craft has not been laid under requisition for any addition to the general store. For this reason, and as an excuse for all the others, I shall introduce one quotation more, and this I shall borrow from an address recently delivered by our Imperial *brother*, the heir to the German Crown, who says: "But while earlier ages contented themselves with the authority of traditions, in our days the investigations of

for, to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith but persuasion" (Sir T. Browne, Works, edit. by S. Wilkin—Bohn's Antiq. Lib.—vol. ii., Religio Medici, sect. ix., p. 332). After this expression of his opinions, it is singular to find that only twelve years later (Inquiries into Vulgar Errors), the same writer lays down, that one main cause of error is *adherence to authority*; another, *neglect of inquiry*; and a third, *credulity*.

[1] The remarks on which the biographer of Sebastian Cabot founded his conclusion, "that the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence" (*ante*, p. 253), may be usefully perused by those who accept the paragraphs in the *Postboy* (Chap. XII. p. 9)—the only *positive* evidence on the subject prior to 1738—as determining the *fact* of Wren's membership of the Society. If the argument in respect of Cabot is deemed to be of any force, it follows, *a fortiori*, that we should place no confidence whatever in a mere newspaper entry of the year 1723.

It has been forcibly observed: "*Anonymous testimony to a matter of fact is wholly devoid of weight*, unless, indeed, there be circumstances which render it probable that a trustworthy witness has adequate motives for concealment, or extraneous circumstances may support and accredit a statement, *which, left to itself*, would fall to the ground" (Lewis, On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 23).

[2] Tertullian's apophthegm, "credo quia impossibile est"—*I believe because it is impossible*—once quoted by the Duke of Argyle as "the ancient religious maxim" (Parl. Hist., vol. xi., p. 802), "might," Locke considers, "in a good man pass for a sally of zeal, but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by" (Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. iv., chap. xix., § 11). According to Neander, it was the spirit embodied in this sentence which supplied Celsus with some formidable arguments against the Fathers (General Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. i., p. 227).

[3] Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. i., chap. iv., sec. 23.

historical criticism have become a power. .·. .·. Historical truths .·. can only be secured by historical investigations; therefore such studies are in our time a serious obligation towards the Order, from which we cannot withdraw, having the confident conviction, that whatever the result may be, they can in the end be only beneficial. If they are confirmatory of the tradition, then in the result doubts will disappear; should they prove anything to be untenable, the love of truth will give us the manly courage to sacrifice what is untenable, but we shall then with the greater energy uphold that which is undoubted."[1]

We left off at that part of our inquiry,[2] where the evidence of several writers would seem to point very clearly to the widely-spread existence of Masonic lodges in southern Britain, at a period of time closely approaching the last decade of the seventeenth century.[3] But however naturally this inference may arise from a perusal of the evidence referred to, it may be at once stated that it acquires very little support from the scattered facts relating to the subject, which are to be met with between the publication of Dr Plot's account of the Freemasons (1686), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717).

The period, indeed, intervening between the date of Randle Holme's observations in the "Academie of Armory," to which attention has been directed,[4] and the establishment of a governing body for the English craft, affords rather materials for dissertation than consecutive facts for such a work as the present. It may be outlined in a few words, though by no means the least important portion of this chapter, which the study and inclination of the reader will enable him to fill up.

It is believed that changes of an essential nature were in operation during the years immediately preceding what I shall venture to term the *consolidation* of the Grand Lodge of England, or, in other words, the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The circumstances which conduced to these changes are at once complicated and obscure, and as they have not yet been studied in connection with each other, I shall presently examine them at some length.

That the Masonry which flourished under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England in 1723, differed in some respects from that known at Warrington in 1646, may be readily admitted, but the more serious point, as to whether the changes made were of *form* only, and not of *substance*, is not so easily disposed of. In the first place, the time at which any change occurred, is not only uncertain, but by its nature will never admit of complete precision.

"Criticism," as it has been happily observed, "may do somewhat towards the rectification of historical difficulties, but let her refrain from promising more than she can perform. A spurious instrument may be detected; if two dates are absolutely incongruous, you may accept that which reason shows you to be most probable. Amongst irreconcilable statements you may elect those most coherent with the series which you have formed. *But an approxi-*

[1] From an address delivered by the then Crown Prince of Prussia, in the double capacity of Deputy-Protector of the Three Prussian Grand Lodges, and M. I. Master of the Order of the Countries of Germany (Grand) Lodge, on June 24, 1870 (cited by Dr E. E. Wendt, in a lecture printed in the History of St Mary's Lodge No. 63, 1883, pp. 90-92).

[2] Chap. XV., pp. 244, 246.

[3] Ashmole, 1682; Plot and Aubrey, 1686; Randle Holme, 1688; and Aubrey, 1691. *Ante*, pp. 6, 143, 163, 180. For the dates dependent on the testimony of John Aubrey, see, however, pp. 5, 161.

[4] A.D. 1688. *Ante*, pp. 180, 181.

mation to truth, except so far as concerns single and insulated facts, *is the utmost we can obtain*. We have absolute certainty that the battle of Trafalgar was fought, but there is so much variety in the accounts of the Logs, that we cannot ascertain with precision the hour when the battle commenced, nor the exact position or distance of the fleet from the shore."[1]

In the same way we have reasonable certainty that an alteration in the method of communicating the Masonic secrets took place in the eighteenth century, but there is no evidence that will enable us to fix the date of the alteration itself. "An approximation to the truth is the utmost we can obtain," and in order that our inquiry may have this result, some points occur to me, which in my judgment we shall do well to carefully bear in mind during the progress of our research, as upon their right determination at its close, the accuracy of our final conclusions with regard to many vexed questions in Masonic history, can alone be ensured.

In the first place, let us ask ourselves—were the Masonic systems prevailing in England and Scotland respectively, before the era of Grand Lodges, identical?

They either were, or were not, and far more than would at first sight appear is involved in the reply to which we are led by the evidence.

If they were, the general character of our early *British* Freemasonry, would be sufficiently disclosed by the Masonic records of the Northern Kingdom. A difficulty, however, presents itself at the outset, and it is—the minutes of all Scottish Lodges of the seventeenth century, which are extant, show the essentially *operative* character of these bodies—whilst the scanty evidence that has come down to us—minutes there are none—of the existence of English Lodges at the same period, prove the latter to have been as essentially *speculative*.[2] I am not here forgetting either the Haughfoot records in the one case, or those of Alnwick in the other, which might be cited as invalidating these two propositions, but it will be seen that I limit the application of my remarks to the *seventeenth* century. Not that I undervalue the importance of either of the sets of documents last referred to, but their dates are material, and in both instances the minutes might tend to mislead us, since *if* the customs of the Scottish and English masons *were* dissimilar, the old Lodge at Haughfoot and Galashiels may possibly afford the only example there is, before Desaguliers' time, of the method of working in the south of Britain, having crossed the Border; whilst the very name of the Alnwick Lodge arouses a suspicion of its Scottish derivation.

Leaving undecided for the present the question, whether the two systems were in substance the same, or whether England borrowed her's from Scotland, and repaid the obligation (with interest) at the Revival, let us see what alternative suppositions we can find.

If the Freemasonry of England was *sui generis*, are we to conclude, that like the civilisation of Egypt, it culminated before the dawn of its recorded history? Or, instead of a gradual process of deterioration, is there ground for supposing that there was a progressive improvement, of which we see the great result, in the movement of 1717?

By some persons the speculative character of the Warrington Lodge, so far back as 1646,

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., pp. 116, 117. The same writer remarks: "We can do no more than we are enabled; the crooked cannot be made straight, nor the wanting numbered. The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events" (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

[2] *I.e.*, In the one case the lodges existed for trade purposes, and in the other not.

may be held to point to an antecedent system, or body of knowledge, of which the extent of time is, without further evidence, simply incalculable, whilst others, without inquiry of any kind, will shelter themselves under the authority of great names, and adopt a conclusion, in which our later historians are practically unanimous, that Freemasonry, as it emerged from the crucible in 1723, was the product of many evolutionary changes, consummated for the most part in the six years during which the craft had been ruled by a central authority.

It will be seen, that in tracing the historical development of Freemasonry, from the point of view of those who see in the early Scottish system something very distinct from our own, we must derive what light we can from the meagre allusions to *English* lodges that can be produced in evidence, aided by the dim and flickering torch which is supplied by tradition.

It may be freely confessed, that in our present state of knowledge, much of the early history of the Society must remain under a veil of obscurity, and whilst there is no portion of our annals which possesses greater interest for the student than that intervening between the latter end of the seventeenth century and the year 1723—the date of the earliest entries in the existing minutes of Grand Lodge, and of the first "Book of Constitutions"—it must be as frankly admitted, that the *evidence* forthcoming, upon which alone any determinate conclusion can be based, is of too vague and uncertain a character to afford a sure foot-hold to the historical inquirer.

By keeping steadily in view, however, the main point on which our attention should be directed, many of the difficulties that confront us may be overcome, and without giving too loose a rein to the imagination, some speculations may be safely hazarded, with regard to the period of transition, connecting the old Society with the new, which will be at least consistent with the evidence, and may be allowed to stand as a possible solution of a very complicated problem, until greater diligence and higher ability shall finally resolve it.

An antiquary of the last century has observed: "In Subjects of such distant ages, where History will so often withdraw her taper, Conjecture may sometimes strike a new light, and the truths of Antiquity be more effectually pursued, than where people will not venture to guess at all. One Conjecture may move the Veil, another partly remove it, and a third happier still, borrowing light and strength from what went before, may wholly disclose what we want to know."[1]

Now, I must carefully guard myself from being understood to go the length of laying down, that wherever there is a deficiency of evidence, we must fall back upon conjecture. Such a contention would utterly conflict with all the principles of criticism which, both in this and earlier chapters, I have sought to uphold.

But an historical *epoch* will never admit of that chronological exactitude familiar to antiquaries and genealogists, and the chief objection, therefore, to a generalisation respecting the changes introduced during the period of transition will be, not so much that it wants certainty, as that it lacks precision. For example, there is a great deal of evidence, direct, collateral, and presumptive, to support the belief that but a single form of reception was in vogue in the seventeenth century, and there are no known facts which are inconsistent with it. In 1723, as accredited writings prove, the ceremonies at the admission of Fellow Crafts and Apprentices were distinct from one another. Here is the old story of the Battle of Trafalgar and the confusion in the Logs,[2] over again. We are certain that alterations took place, but the dates

[1] W. Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall, 1764. Preface, p. vii.

[2] *Ante*, p. 258.

cannot be established with precision and exactitude. We can point out the year in which a classification of the Society was published by order of the Grand Lodge; but who can point out the year in which the idea of that classification was first broached?

Upon the grounds stated, it will be allowable to speculate somewhat freely upon the possible *causes*—leading to *results*, which are patent to our senses.

The remaining evidence, that will bring us up to the year 1717, or to the close of what is sometimes described as Ancient Masonry, is, as already stated, of a very fragmentary character. Taking up the thread of our narrative from 1688, we find that Dr Anderson speaks of a London Lodge having met, at the instance of Sir Robert Clayton, in 1693, and on the authority of "some brothers, living in 1730," he names the localities in which six other metropolitan lodges held their assemblies,[1] a statement furnishing, at least so far as I am aware, the only historical *data* in support of the assertion in "Multa Paucis," that the formation of the Grand Lodge of England was due to the combined efforts of *six* private lodges.[2] Meetings of provincial lodges, in 1693 and 1705 respectively, are commemorated by *memoranda* on two of the "Old Charges," Nos. 25 and 28,[3] but the significance of these entries will more fitly claim our attention a little later, in connection with the subject of Masonry in York.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge come next before us,[4] and are of especial value in our examination, as they constitute the only evidence of the actual proceedings of an *English* lodge essentially, if not, indeed, exclusively operative, during the entire portion of our early history which precedes the era of Grand Lodges. That is to say, without these records, whatever we might infer, it would be impossible to prove, from other extant documents, or contemporary evidence of any sort or kind, that in a single lodge the operative predominated over the speculative element. The rules of the Lodge are dated September 29, 1701, and the earliest minute October 3, 1703. It would overtask my space were I here to give a full summary of these records, which, however, will be found in the appendix, so I shall merely notice their leading features, and restrict myself to such as appear to be of importance in this inquiry.

It should be stated, that the question of *degrees* receives no additional light from these minutes, indeed, if the Alnwick documents stood alone, as the sole representative of the class of evidence we have been hitherto considering, there would be nothing whatever from which we might ever plausibly infer, that anything beyond trade secrets were possessed by the members. To some extent, however, a side-light is thrown upon these records by some later documents of a kindred character, and the minutes of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, which date from 1725, ten years prior to its *acceptance* of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, supply much valuable information relative to the customs of early operative lodges, which, even if it does not give us a clearer picture of the Masonry of 1701, is considered by

[1] Chap. XIV., pp. 178, 179; Constitutions, 1738, p. 106; 1756 and 1767, p. 176; and 1784, p. 193.

[2] Chap. XII., p. 37, note 1. See also "The Four Old Lodges," p. 23; and Woodford, A Point of Masonic History (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 255).

[3] Chap. II., pp. 68, 70.

[4] An abstract of these was given by Hughan in the *Freemason*, January 21, 1871, which was reprinted in the *Masonic Magazine*, February 1874, and I have also before me the valuable MS. notes made from the original documents by Mr F. Hockley, to whom I here offer my best thanks. *Cf. ante*, Chaps. II., p. 69, and XIV., p. 156.

some excellent authorities, to hold up a mirror in which is reflected the usages of a period antedating, by at least several years, the occasion of their being committed to writing.

Although the circumstance of no less than three Cheshire lodges having been "constituted"—*i.e.*, warranted—by the Grand Lodge in 1724, the first year in which charters, or as they were then termed, "deputations," were granted to other than London lodges, may be held to prove that the old system, so to speak, overlapped the new, and to justify the conclusion, that the Masonry of Randle Holme's time survived the epoch of transition—this evidence is unfortunately too meagre, to do more than satisfy the mind of the strong probability, to put it no higher, that such was really the case. All three lodges died out before 1756, and their records perished with them. But here the minutes of Grand Lodge come to our assistance, and as will be seen in the next chapter, a petitioner for relief in 1732 claimed to have been made a Mason *by the Duke of Richmond* at *Chichester* in 1696.

The Lodge of Industry affords an example of an operative lodge—with extant minutes—which, although originally independent of the Grand Lodge, ultimately became merged in the establishment.[1]

The original home of this lodge was at the village of Swalwell, in the county of Durham, about four miles from Gateshead; and a tradition exists, for it is nothing more, that it was founded by operative masons brought from the south by Sir Ambrose Crowley, when he established his celebrated foundry at Winlaton about A.D. 1690. Its records date from 1725, and on June 24, 1735,[2] the lodge accepted a "deputation" from the Grand Lodge. The meetings continued to be held at Swalwell until 1844, and from 1845 till the present time have taken place at Gateshead. In the records there appear "Orders of Antiquity, Apprentice Orders, General Orders, and Penal Orders," all written in the old Minute Book by the same clear hand, *circa* 1730. These I shall shortly have occasion to cite, but in the first instance it becomes necessary to resume our examination of the Alnwick documents.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge comprise a good copy of the "Masons' Constitutions" or "Old Charges,"[3] certain rules of the lodge, enacted in 1701, and the ordinary minutes, which terminate June 24, 1757, though the lodge was still in existence, and preserved its operative character until at least the year 1763.[4] The rules or regulations are headed:—

[1] Authorities consulted—By-Laws of the Lodge of Industry, No. 48, 1870; Abstract of the Minutes of the Lodge by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 72, 82, 125, 348); and Letters of Mr Robert Whitfield (Freemason, October 26 and December 11, 1880).

[2] Although no previous lodge was *chartered* in or near Newcastle, the following extracts show that there were several independent or non-warranted lodges in the neighbourhood about this period. "Newcastle-on-Tyne, May 29.—On Wednesday last was held at Mr Bartholomew Pratt's in the Flesh-Market, a Lodge of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at which abundance of Gentlemen assisted, wearing white Leathern Aprons and Gloves. N.B.—Never such an Appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen were ever seen together at this place" (Weekly Journal, No. 272, June 6, 1730). [Newcastle] "December 28, 1734.—Yesterday, being St John's Day, was held the *usual* anniversary of the Most Honourable and Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, at Widow Grey's, on the Quay, where there was the greatest appearance that has been known on that occasion, the Society consisting of the principal inhabitants of the town and country. In the evening they unanimously nominated Dr Askew their Master, Mr Thoresby their Deputy Master, Mr Blenkinsop and Mr Skal their Wardens for the ensuing year" (St James Evening Post).

[3] Chap. II., p. 69.

[4] Rules and Orders of the Lodge of Free Masons in the Town of Alnwick, Newcastle, Printed by T. Slack, 1763.

"ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED BY THE COMPANY AND FELLOWSHIP OF FREEMASONS ATT A LODGE HELD AT ALNWICK, SEPTR. 29, 1701, BEING THE GEN^{LL} HEAD MEETING DAY.

	£	s.	d.
"1*st.*—First it is ordered by the said Fellowship thatt there shall be yearly Two Wardens chosen upon the said Twenty-ninth of Septr., being the Feast of St Michaell the Archangell, which Wardens shall be elected and appoynted by the most consent of the Fellowship.[1]			
"2*nd.*—Item, Thatt the said Wardens receive, commence, and sue all such penaltyes and fforfeitures and fines as shall in any wise be amongst the said Fellowship, and shall render and yield up a just account att the year's end of all such fines and forfeitures as shall come to their hands, or oftener if need require, or if the Master or Fellows list to call for them, for every such offence to pay[2] . .	0	6	8
"3*rd.*—Item, That noe mason shall take any worke by task or by Day, other then the King's work, butt thatt att the least he shall make Three or Four of his Fellows acquainted therewith, for to take his part, paying for every such offence .	3	6	8[3]
"4*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any work thatt any of his Fellows is in hand with all—to pay for every such offence the sume off[4]	2	6	8[5]
"5*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any Apprentice [but he must] enter him and give him his charge within one whole year after. Nott soe doing, the master shall pay for every such offence	0	3	4
"6*th.*—Item, Thatt every master for entering his apprentices shall pay[6] .	0	0	6
"7*th.*—Item, Thatt every mason when he is warned by the Wardens or other of the Company, and shall nott come to the place appoynted, except he have a reasonable cause to shew the Master and Wardens to the contrary; nott soe doing shall pay[7]	0	6	8
"8*th.*—Item, Thatt noe Mason shall shon [shun] his Fellow or give him the lye, or any ways contend with him or give him any other name in the place of meeting			

[1] "That there shall on St John Baptist's day, June 24th, yearly by the Majority of Votes in the assembly be chosen a Master and Warden for the year ensuing, and a Deputy to act in [the] Master's absence as Master" (Swalwell Lodge, General Orders, No. 1). "That the Chief Meeting Day be June 24th each year, the 29th of September, the 27th of December, and the 25th of March, Quarterly meeting days" (*Ibid.*, No. 2). See the rules of the Gateshead Corporation, *ante*, p. 151.

[2] "That the MASTER shall receive all ffines, Penaltys, and moneys collected amongst the ffellowship; And keep the moneys in the public fund-Box of the Company. AND from time to time render a just account of the State thereof when required on penalty of £01—00—00" (*Ibid.*, Penal Orders, No. 3).

[3] The Hockley MS. has, *query* £1, 6s. 8d.

[4] The "Old Charges" are very precise in forbidding one mason "to supplant another of his work." See the Buchanan MS. (15), Chap. II., p. 99; also the Orders of Antiquity (8th) and the Penal Orders (20th) of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 85).

[5] Mr Hockley writes, *query* £1, 6s. 8d., which is the amount deciphered by Hughan.

[6] "When any Mason shall take an APPRENTICE, he shall enter him in the Company's Records within 40 days, and pay 6d. for Registering on Penalty of 00—03—04" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 4).

[7] "Whatever Mason when warned by a Summons from Master & Warden [the last two words erased] shall not thereon attend at the place and time apointed, or within an hour after, without a reasonable Cause hindering, Satisfactory to the ffellowship; he shall pay for his Disobedience the sum of 00—00—06, whether on a Quarterly Meeting or any other occasion" (*Ibid.*, No. 1).

	£	s.	d.
then Brother or Fellow, or hold any disobedient argument, against any of the Company reproachfully, for every such offence shall pay[1]	0	0	6
"9*th*.—Item, There shall noe apprentice after he have served seaven years be admitted or accepted but upon the Feast of St Michael the Archangell, paying to the Master and Wardens[2]	0	6	8
"10*th*.—Item, If any Mason, either in the place of meeting or att work among his Fellows, swear or take God's name in vain, thatt he or they soe offending shall pay for every time[3]	[0	5	4][4]
"11*th*.—Item, Thatt if any Fellow or Fellows shall att any time or times discover his master's secretts, or his owne, be it nott onely spoken in the Lodge or without, or the secreets or councell of his Fellows, thatt may extend to the Damage of any of his Fellows, or to any of their good names, whereby the Science may be ill spoken of, ffor every such offence shall pay[5]	1	6	8
"12*th*.—Item, Thatt noe Fellow or Fellows within this Lodge shall att any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any mason or masons free: Nott acquainting the Master[6] or Wardens therewith, For every time so offending shall pay[7]	3	6	8
"13*th*.—Item, Thatt noe rough Layers or any others thatt has nott served their time, or [been] admitted masons, shall work within the Lodge any work of masonry whatsoever (except under a Master), for every such offence shall pay[8] . .	3	13	4
14*th*.—Item, That all Fellows being younger shall give his Elder fellows the honor due to their degree and standing. Alsoe thatt the Master,[9] Wardens, and all the Fellows of this Lodge doe promise severally and respectively to performe all and every the orders above named, and to stand bye each other (but more particularly to the Wardens and their successors)[10] in sueing for all and every the forfeitures of our said Brethren, contrary to any of the said orders, demand thereof being first made."[11]			

[1] "That no Mason shall huff his ffelow, giue him the lie, swear or take God's name in vain within the accustomed place of meeting, on pain of 00—01—00, on the yearly or Quarterly meeting days" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 2).

[2] "That no apprentice when having served 7 years, be admitted or accepted into the ffellowship, but either on the chief meeting day, or on a Quarterly meeting day" (*Ibid.*, General Orders, No. 3).

[3] See note above to the *eighth* order of the Alnwick Lodge.

[4] A blank here, according to Mr Hockley.

[5] "If any be found not faithfully to keep and maintain the 8 ffraternal signs, and all points of ffelowship, and principal matters relating to the secret craft, each offence, penalty 10—10—00" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 8).

[6] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[7] "That no master or ffelow take any allowance or ffee of any, for their being made a Mason without ye knowledge and consent of Seaven of the Society at least" (Swalwell Lodge, Orders of Antiquity, No. 10). *Cf.* Buchanan MS. (15), Special Charges, § 5; Schaw Statutes No. 1, § 13; Rules of the Gateshead "ffelowshipp;" and Plot's Account of the Freemasons, *ante*, Chaps. II., p. 99; VIII., p. 386; XIV., pp. 151, 164.

[8] See Chaps. II., p. 100 (Buchanan MS., § 16); and VIII., pp. 386, 390 (Schaw Statutes, No. 1, § 15, and No. 2, § 12).

[9] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[10] The absence of any allusion to the *Master*, in view of the observations that follow in the text, should be carefully noted.

[11] "That you reverence your elders according to their degree, and especially those of the Mason's Craft" (Swalwell Lodge, Apprentice Orders, No. 3); and see further, Chaps. II., pp. 98, 99; and VIII., p. 385.

The regulations of the Alnwick Lodge, though duly enacting the manner in which the annual election of Wardens shall be conducted, make no provision, as will be seen, for that of Master; nor among the signatures attached to the code, although those of two members have the descriptive title of "Warden" affixed, is there one which we might deem more likely than another to be the autograph of the actual head of the fraternity. This is the more remarkable, from the fact that in several places *the* Master is referred to;[1] and although we learn from the minute-book that James Mills (or Milles) was "chosen and elected Master" in 1704—there being but a single entry of earlier date (October 3, 1703), from this period till the records come to an end—both Master *and* Wardens were annually elected. Some alteration in the procedure, however slight, must have occurred, as instead of the election taking place on the "Feast of St Michaell," from 1704 onwards, the principal officers were invariably chosen on December 27, the Feast of St John the Evangelist. The latter evidently became the "general head-meeting day" from at least 1704, and the words "made Free Decr. 27th," which are of frequent occurrence, show that the apprentices who had served their time in accordance with the ninth regulation, were no longer "admitted or accepted" on the date therein prescribed.

The fifth and sixth regulations, which relate to the "entering" of apprentices, are worthy of our most careful attention, since they not only cast some rays of light upon our immediate subject—the customs of those early *English* Lodges which were in existence before the second decade of the eighteenth century—but also tend to illuminate some obscure passages in the Masonic records of the sister kingdom, upon which many erroneous statements have been founded.[2]

We have seen that a mason who took an apprentice was required to enter him and *give him his charge* within a year, and in estimating the meaning of these words it will be essential to recollect that a copy of the "Old Charges" formed part of the records of the lodge.[3] This was doubtless read to the apprentice at his entry, and may be easily referred to;[4] but the actual procedure in cases of admission into the lodge, is so vividly presented to us by a passage in the Swalwell records, that I shall venture to transcribe it.

"Forasmuch as you are contracted and Bound to one of our Brethren: We are here assembled together with one Accord, to declare unto you the Laudable Dutys appertaining unto those yt are Apprentices, to those who are of the Lodge of Masonry, which if you take good heed unto and keep, will find the same worthy your regard for a Worthy Science: ffor at the building of the Tower of Babylon and Citys of the East, King Nimrod the Son of Cush, the Son of Ham, the Son of Noah, &c., gave Charges and Orders to Masons, as also did Abraham in Egypt. King David and his Son King SOLOMAN at the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, and many more Kings and Princes of worthy memory from time to time, and did not only promote the ffame of the 7 Liberal Sciences but fformed Lodges, and give and granted their Commissions and Charters to those of or belonging to the Sciences of Masonry, to keep

[1] §§ 2, 7, 9, 12, 14.

[2] *E.g.*, that apprentices were not *members* of the lodge, and that they possessed but a fragmentary knowledge of the Masonic secrets. The Scottish practice with regard to the entering of apprentices will be presently examined.

[3] See, however, Johnson's Dictionary, *s.v.* Charge.

[4] Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, p. 69; and Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, pp. 253, 295.

and hold their Assemblys, for correcting of ffaults, or making Masons within their Dominions, when and where they pleased."[1]

The manuscript last quoted is of value in more ways than one, as whilst indicating with greater precision than any other document of its class, that apprentices under indentures were received into the lodge, and that a ceremony embodying at least the recital of our legendary history took place, the extract given tends to enhance the authority of the Swalwell records, as elucidatory of usages *dating* much farther back, by showing that the lodge was still essentially an operative one, and, so far as this evidence extends, that its simple routine was as yet uninfluenced by the speculative system into which it was subsequently absorbed.

Whether, indeed, the customs of the Swalwell Lodge received, at any period prior to its acceptance of a warrant, some tinge or colouring from the essentially speculative usages which are *supposed* to have sprung up during what I have already termed the epoch of transition—1717-23—cannot be determined; but even leaving this point, as we are fain to do, undecided, the *eighth* Penal Order of the Swalwell fraternity, which I have given in a note to regulation *eleven* of the Alnwick Lodge, possesses a significance that we can hardly overrate.

Reading the latter by the light of the former, we might well conjecture, that though to the Alnwick brethren *degrees*, as we now have them, were unknown, still, with the essentials out of which these degrees were compounded, they may have been familiar. This point, in connection with the evidence of Dr Plot and Randle Holme, will again come before us, but it will be convenient to state, that throughout the entire series of the Alnwick records there is no entry, if we except the regulation under examination, from which, by the greatest latitude of construction, it might be inferred that secrets of any kind were communicated to the brethren of this lodge.

The silence of the Alnwick records with respect to *degrees*, which is continuous and unbroken from 1701 to 1757, suggests, however, a line of argument, which, by confirming the idea that the Swalwell Lodge preserved its operative customs intact until 1730 or later, may have the effect of convincing some minds, that for an explanation of Alnwick regulation No. 11, we shall rightly consult Penal Order No. 8 of the junior sodality, to which attention has already been directed.

If, then, the silence of the Alnwick minutes with regard to "degrees" is held to prove—as it will be by most persons—that the independent character of the lodge was wholly unaffected by the marvellous success of the speculative system; or, in other words, that the Alnwick Lodge and the lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, existed side by side from 1717 to 1757—a period of forty years—without the operative giving way, even in part, to the speculative usages—it follows, *a fortiori*, that we must admit, if we do no more, the strong probability of the Swalwell customs having preserved their vitality unimpaired from the date we first hear of them (1725) until at any rate the year 1730, which is about the period when the Penal and other Orders, to which such frequent reference has been made, were committed to writing.[2]

[1] Swalwell Lodge, Apprentice Orders, No. 1 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 83). These orders are eight in number, and may be termed an abbreviated form of the ordinary prose "Constitutions" or "Old Charges." See *ante*, Chap. II., p. 70 (30).

[2] *Ante*, p. 261; and Chap. II. (30), p. 70.

The notes appended to the Alnwick regulations constitute a running commentary on the text, and indicate the leading points on which, in my opinion, our attention should be fixed while scrutinising these laws.

According to Hughan, sixty-nine signatures are attached to the code, but Mr Hockley's MS. only gives fifty-eight, forty-two of which were subscribed *before* December 27, 1709, four on that date, and the remainder between 1710 and 1722. In several instances, marks, though almost entirely of a monogrammatic character, are affixed. Many names occur in the list, which, if not actually those of persons who have crossed the border, are certainly of Scottish derivation, *e.g.*, there is a Boswell and a Pringell, whilst of the extensive family of the Andersons there are no less than four representatives, two bearing the name of "John," and the younger of whom—"made free" July 17, 1713—is probably the same John Anderson who was Master of the Lodge in 1749, and a member so late as 1753. The protracted membership of certain of the subscribers is a noteworthy circumstance, from which may be drawn the same inference as in the parallel case of the brethren who founded the Grand Lodge of England, some of whom we know to have been active members of that organisation many years subsequently, viz., that no evolutionary changes of a violent character can be supposed to have taken place, since it is improbable—not to say impossible—that either the Alnwick Masons of 1701, or the London brethren of 1717, would have looked calmly on, had the forms and ceremonies to which they were accustomed been as suddenly metamorphosed, as it has become, in some degree, the fashion to believe.[1]

Four members of the Alnwick Lodge, Thomas Davidson,[2] William Balmbrough, Robert Hudson, and Patrick Milles[3]—the last named having been "made free" December 27, 1706, the others earlier—are named in its later records. Hudson was a warden in 1749, and the remaining three, or brethren of the same names, were present at the lodge on St John's Day, 1753.

The minutes of the Alnwick and of the Swalwell Lodges exhibit a general uniformity. The entries in both, record for the most part the "Inrollments of Apprentices," together with the imposition of fines, and the resolutions passed from time to time for the assistance of indigent brethren.

The head or chief meeting day, in the case of the Alnwick brethren, the festival of St John the Evangelist, and in that of the Swalwell fraternity, the corresponding feast of St John the Baptist, was commemorated with much solemnity. Thus, under date of January 20, 1708, we find: "At a true and perfect Lodge kept at Alnwick, at the house of Mr Thomas Davidson, one of the Wardens of the same Lodge, it was ordered that for the future noe member of the said lodge, Master, Wardens, or Fellows, should appear at any lodge to be kept on St John's day in (church[4]), without his apron and common Square fixed in the belt thereof;[5] upon pain

[1] The *names* of members of the Swalwell lodge, especially in the earlier portion of its history, are very sparingly given, in the excerpts to which alone I have had access, but there is at least a sufficiency of evidence, to warrant the conclusion, that the essentially operative character of the lodge remained unchanged for many years *after* 1735, the date of its coming under the rule of Grand Lodge.

[2] Warden apparently from 1701 to 1709, and Master 1710.

[3] Warden 1709-10, and again (or a namesake) in 1752.

[4] *Christmas*, according to Hughan, but given as above, within parenthesis, by Mr Hockley.

[5] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 423.

of forfeiting two shillings and 6 pence, each person offending, and that care be taken by the Master and Wardens for the time being, that a sermon be provided and preached that day at the parish Church of Alnwick by some clergyman at their appointment; when the Lodge shall all appear with their aprons on and common Squares as aforesaid, and that the Master and Wardens neglecting their duty in providing a clergyman to preach as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings."

A minute of the Swalwell lodge, dated the year *before* it ceased to be an independent Masonic body, reads: "Decr. 27, 1734.—It is agreed by the Master and Wardens, and the rest of the Society, that if any brother shall appear in the Assembly[1] without gloves and aprons at any time when summoned by [the] Master and Wardens, [he] shall for each offence pay one shilling on demand."

Between the years 1710 and 1748 the Alnwick records, if not wholly wanting, contain at best very trivial entries. A few notes, however, may be usefully extracted from the later minutes, which, though relating to a period of time somewhat in advance of the particular epoch we are considering, will fit in here better than at any later stage, and it must not escape our recollection, that the Alnwick Lodge never surrendered its independence, and, moreover, from first to last, was an operative rather than a speculative fraternity. Indeed, that it was speculative at all, in the sense either of possessing members who were not operative masons, or of discarding its ancient formulary for the ceremonial of Grand Lodge, is very problematical. If it became so, the influx of speculative *Free*masons on the one hand, or its assimilation of modern customs on the other hand, must alike have occurred at a comparatively late period.

The minutes of the lodge, towards the close of its existence, admit, it must be confessed, of a varied interpretation, and in order that my readers may judge of this for themselves, I subjoin the few entries which appear to me at all material in this inquiry:—

December 27, 1748.—Three persons subscribe their names as having been "made free Brothers" of the lodge, and their signatures are carefully distinguished from those of the Master, Wardens, and the twelve other members present, by the memorandum.—"Bro^{s}. to the assistance of the said lodge."

By a resolution of the same date—December 27, 1748—though entered on a separate page—"It was ordered, that a Meeting of the Society shall be held at the house of M^{r} Thos. Woodhouse, on Sat^{y}. evening next, at 6 o'clock [for the propose of making] proper Orders and Rules for the better regulating *the free masonry*."

Among a variety of resolutions, passed December 31, 1748, are the following:—

"It is ordered that all apprentices that shall offer to be admitted into the s^{d} lodge after serving due apprenticeship, shall pay for such admittance—10s."

"Also that *all other persons* and *strangers not serving a due apprenticeship*, shall pay for such admittance the sum of 17s. 6d."[2]

[1] June 24. See General Orders of the Swalwell Lodge, Nos. 1 and 2 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 83).

[2] "June 14, 1733.—It is agreed by the Society, that any brother of the lodge that hath an apprentice that serves his time equally and lawfully as he ought to do, shall be made free for the sum of 8s. And for any working mason, not of the lodge, the sum of 10s. And to any *gentlemen or other* that is not a working mason, [an amount fixed] according to the majority of the company" (Records of the Swalwell Lodge).

"Ordered that none shall be admitted into the said lodge under the age of 21 or above 40."[1]

"Also, that in case any of the s^d^. members of the s^d^. Society shall fail in the world, it is ordered that there shall be paid weekly out of the s^d^. Lodge, 4s."[2]

The striking resemblance of these old regulations of the Alnwick and Swalwell fraternities, to those of the Gateshead Incorporation,[3] will be apparent to the most casual reader.

Apprentices, in every case, were only admitted to full membership at the expiration of seven years from the dates of their indentures. Whether, indeed, any process analogous to that of "entering" prevailed in the Incorporation, cannot be positively affirmed, but it is almost certain that it did, though the term "entered apprentice" does not occur, at least so far as I am aware, in any *English* book or manuscript, Masonic or otherwise, of earlier date than 1723. From the fifth of the Alnwick "Orders" we can gather with sufficient clearness what an "Entered Apprentice" must have been, but the particular expression first appears in 1725, in the actual minutes of any English *lodge*, of which I have seen either the originals or copies.

The earliest entry in the minute book of Swalwell Lodge runs as follows:—

"September 29, 1725.—Then Matthew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, Masons, appeared in ye lodge of Freemasons, and agreed to have their names registered as 'Enterprentices,' to be accepted next quarterly meeting, paying one shilling for entrance, and 7s. 6d. when they take their freedom."[4]

As the question will arise, whether the terms Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice—all well known in Scotland, in the seventeenth century—were *introduced* into England, and popularised by the author of the first book of Constitutions (1723); the earliest allusion to any grade of the Masonic hierarchy, which is met with in the records of an English lodge—one, moreover, working by inherent right, and independently of the Grand Lodge—may well claim our patient examination.

It may be urged that the entry of 1725 comes two years later than Dr Anderson's "Constitutions," where all the titles are repeatedly mentioned, and the lowest of all, "Entered Prentice," acquires a *prestige* from the song at the end of the book, "to be sung when all *grave* business is over,"[5] which may have greatly aided in bringing the term within the popular comprehension.[6]

Yet to this may be replied, that the Swalwell minutes, not only during the ten years of independency—1725-35—but for a generation or two after the lodge had accepted a charter from the Grand Lodge, teem with resolutions of an exclusively operative character, for example:—"25th March 1754.—That B^ro^. W^m^. Burton having taken John Cloy'd as an apprentice for 7 years, made his apperance and had the apprentice charge read over, and p^d^. for registering, 6d."[7]

[1] A simular regulation was enacted by the Swalwell Lodge *circa* 1754, and was not an unusual one in the *regular* lodges, *e.g.*:—"Feb 5, 1740, a debate arising concerning the entrance of B^ro^ Peek the ensuing lodge night. But he confessing himself to be above 40 years of age, and he was rejected" (Minutes of No. 168, afterwards the "Vacation Lodge," and numbered 76 at the Union, now extinct).

[2] See the "Fund Laws" of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 125).

[3] Chap. XIV., p. 151.

[4] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

[5] "The Enter'd Prentice's Song, by our late Brother Mr Matthew Birkhead, deceased" (Constitutions, 1723).

[6] As will presently appear, "Apprentices" are not alluded to in the York minutes of 1712-25.

[7] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

Here, at a period nearly forty years after the formation of a Grand Lodge, we find one of the lodges under its sway, entering an apprentice in the time-honoured fashion handed down by the oldest of our manuscript Constitutions.

The Swalwell records present other noteworthy features, to which attention will be hereafter directed. Yet, though they have but a slight connection with the immediate subject of our inquiry, it would be unfair to pass them over without notice, as the entries relating to the Orders of the "Highrodiams" and the "Damaskins," which begin in 1746, and are peculiar to this lodge, may be held by some to attest the presence of speculative novelties, that detract from the *weight* which its later documentary evidence would otherwise possess as coming from the archives of an operative sodality. A reference to these entries is therefore given below,[1] whilst such readers as are content with the information contained in this history, may consult a later chapter, where the curious allusions above cited, and some others, will be carefully examined in connection with the origin of the Royal Arch degree.

Before leaving these old minutes, however, there is a singular law, which, as it throws some light upon the doubtful point of how far females were permitted, in those early days, to take part in the proceedings of lodges, I shall venture to transcribe:—

"No woman, if [she] comes to speak to her husband, or any other person, shall be admitted *into the room*, but speak at the door, nor any woman be admitted to serve [those within] wth drink, etc."[2]

The next evidence in point of time, as we pass from the operative records, which have their commencement in 1701, is contained in the following reply from Governor Jonathan Belcher to a congratulatory address, delivered September 25, 1741, by a deputation from the "First Lodge in Boston."

"WORTHY BROTHERS: I take very kindly this mark of your respect. It is now thirty-seven years since I was admitted into the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, to whom I have been a faithful Brother & a well-wisher to the Art of Freemasonry. I shall ever maintain a strict friendship for the whole Fraternity, & always be glad when it may fall in my power to do them any Services."[3]

Governor Belcher was born in Boston in 1681, graduated at Harvard in 1699, and immediately afterwards went abroad, and was absent six years.[4] It was at this time that he was presented to the Princess Sophia and her son, afterwards George II., and made a Mason, as his language would imply, about the year 1704. His next visit to England occurred in 1729, and in the following year he returned to America, on receiving the appointment of Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.[5]

Although Governor Belcher does not name the place of his initiation, it is probable that it took place in London, and the words he uses to describe his "admission" into the Society, will

[1] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., pp. 73, 75, 76; Freemason, Oct. 30, Dec. 4, and Dec. 11, 1880.

[2] Swalwell Lodge—General Orders, No. 6. See *ante*, Chap. II., pp. 68, 90, 91; III., p. 176; VI., p. 319; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 121, 122.

[3] Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1871, p. 376; *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 184; New England Freemason, Boston, U.S.A., vol. i., 1874, p. 67.

[4] Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts), Address upon Henry Price, 1872, p. 22.

[5] "On Monday next, Jonathan Belcher, who is soon to depart in the 'Susannah,' Captain Cary, for his government of New England, is to be entertained at dinner at Mercer's Hall, by the gentlemen trading to that Colony" (Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 248, Feb. 28, 1730).

justify the inference, that on being *made* a Freemason, whatever Masonic Secrets then existed, were communicated to him in their entirety, precisely as we may imagine was the case when Ashmole became a member of the Warrington Lodge, and in the parallel instances of the reception of gentlemen at York, to the records of which Masonic centre I shall next turn.

The history of Freemasonry in York will, however, be only partially treated in the ensuing pages. Its later records will form the subject of a distinct chapter, and I shall attempt no more, at this stage, than to introduce such extracts from the early minutes, as in my judgment are at all likely to elucidate the particular inquiry we are now pursuing.

At present I pass over the *inferences* to be drawn from the existence of so many copies of the "Old Charges," as found a home in the archives of the Grand Lodge of York. Their cumulative value is great, and will be hereafter considered. The names also, which appear on York MS. 4 (25), at once carry us back to the existence of a lodge in 1693. But *where* it was held is a point upon which we can now only vainly speculate, without the possibility of arriving at any definite conclusion.

Happily, there is undoubted evidence, coming from two distinct sources, which in each case points to the vigorous vitality of York Masonry in 1705, and inferentially, to its continuance from a more remote period. At that date, as we learn from a minute-book of the Old Lodge at York, which unfortunately only commences in that year,[1] "Sir George Tempest, Barronet," was the President, a position he again filled in 1706 and 1713. Among the subsequent Presidents were the Lord Mayor of York, afterwards Lord Bingley (1707), the following Baronets, Sir William Robinson (1708-10), Sir Walter Hawksworth (1711-12, 1720-23), and other persons of distinction.

The "Scarborough" MS. (28)[2] furnishes the remaining evidence, which attests the active condition of Yorkshire Freemasonry in 1705. The endorsement in this roll may, without any effort of the imagination, be regarded as bearing indirect testimony to the influence of the Lodge or Society at York. This must have radiated to some extent at least, and an example is afforded by the proceedings at Bradford in 1713. These, I shall presently cite, but the position of York as a local and independent centre of the transitional Masonry, which interposed between the reigns of the purely operative and the purely speculative Societies, will be examined at greater length hereafter. We learn at all events, from the roll referred to (28), that at a *private* lodge held at Scarborough "*in the County of York*," on the 10th of July 1705, "before" William Thompson, *President*, and other Free Masons, six persons, whose names are subscribed, were "admitted into the fraternity." It is difficult to understand what is meant by the term "private lodge," an expression which is frequently met with, as will be shortly perceived, in the minutes of the York body itself. Possibly the explanation may be, that it signified a *special* as distinguished from a *regular* meeting, or the words may imply that an *occasional* and not a *stated*[3] lodge was then held?

Indeed the speculation might even be advanced, that the meeting was in effect a "move-

[1] Now unfortunately missing; but for an account of the vicissitudes both of good and bad fortune, through which the York Records have passed, see Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, *passim*; and Freemasonry in York, *post*.

[2] Chap. II., p. 70.

[3] For the use of these expressions, see *ante*, pp. 10, 178, 179; The Four Old Lodges, pp. 27, 46; Book of Constitutions, 1738, pp. 106, 107, 129, 137.

able lodge," convened by the York brethren. Such assemblies were frequently held in the *county*, and on the occasion of the York Lodge, meeting at Bradford in 1713, no less than eighteen gentlemen of the first families in that neighbourhood were made Masons. A further supposition presents itself, and it is, that we have here an example of the custom of granting written licences to enter Masons at a distance from the lodge, such as we find traces of in the Kilwinning, the Dunblane, and the Haughfoot minutes.[1] If so, we may suppose that the precedent set by the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1677,[2] when the Masons from the Canongate of Edinburgh applied to it for a roving commission or "travelling warrant," was duly followed, and that the Scarborough brethren were empowered to admit qualified persons "in name and behalf" of the Lodge of York?

The earliest of the York minutes—now extant—are contained in a roll of parchment,[3] endorsed "1712 to 1730," and for the following extracts I am indebted to my friend and *collaborateur*, William James Hughan.

"March the 19th, 1712.[4]—At a private Lodge, held at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thomas Shipton, Mr Caleb Greenbury, Mr Jno. Norrison, Mr Jno. Russell, Jno. Whitehead, and Francis Norrison were all of them severally sworne and admitted into the honourable Society and fraternity of Free-Masons.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*

Jno. Wilcock also admitted at the same Lodge.	Thos. Shipton.	Caleb Greenbury.
	Jno. Norrison.	John Russell.
	Fran. Norrison.	John Whitehead.
		John Wilcock."

"June the 24th, 1713.—At a General Lodge on St John's Day, at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr John Langwith was admitted and sworne into the honourable Society and fraternity of Freemasons.

Sir Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Bart., *President.*
Jno. Langwith."

"August the 7th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house o. James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Robert Fairfax, Esq., and Tobias Jenkings, Esq., were admitted and sworne into the hon^ble^ Society and fraternity of Freemasons, as also the Reverend Mr Robert Barker was then admitted and sworne as before.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
Robert Fairfax. T. Jenkyns. Robt. Barber."

"December the 18th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house of Mr James Boreham, in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thos. Hardwick, Mr Godfrey Giles, and Mr Tho. Challoner was admitted and sworne into the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Freemasons before the Worshipfull S^r^ Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Barr^t^., *President.*

Tho. Hardwicke.
Godfrey Giles.
Thomas $\overset{\text{his}}{\underset{\text{mark}}{\top}}$ Challoner."

[1] Chap. VIII.; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 100.

[2] Chap. VIII., p 410.

[3] The entire contents of this roll were copied for Hughan, by the late Mr William Cowling of York.

[4] It is quite patent that if there had been no other evidence of the earlier existence of the Lodge, this record indicates that the meeting of March 19th, 1712, was not the first of its kind.

"1714.—At a General Lodge held there on the 24th June at Mr James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in York, John Taylor, of Langton in the Woulds, was admitted and sworne into the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Freemasons in the City of York, before the Worshipfull Charles Fairfax, Esq. John Taylor."

"At St John's Lodge in Christmas, 1716.—At the house of Mr James Boreham, situate [in] Stonegate, in York, being a General Lodge, held there by the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Free Masons, in the City of York, John Turner, Esq., was sworne and admitted into the said Hono^ble^ Society and Fraternity of Free Masons.

Charles Fairfax, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
John Turner."

"At St John's Lodge in Christmas, 1721.—At Mr Robert Chippendal's, in the Shambles, York, Rob^t^ Fairfax, Esq., then Dep.-President, the said Rob^t^ Chippendal was admitted and sworne into the hon^ble^ Society of Free Masons. Rob. Fairfax, Esq., D.P.
Robt. Chippendal."

"January the 10th, 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at the house of Mrs Hall, in Thursday Market, in the City of York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into y^e^ honourable Society of Free Masons:—

Henry Legh. Richd. Marsh. Edward Paper.

At the same time the following persons *were acknowledged as Brethren of this ancient Society*:[1]—

Edmd. Winwood. G. Rhodes. Josh. Hebson. John Vauner. Francis Hildyard, jun^r^."

"February the 4th, 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Ancient and Hon^ble^ Society of Free Masons:— John Lockwood. Matt^w^. Hall.

At the same time and place, the two persons whose names are underwritten were, *upon their examinations*, received as Masons, and as such were accordingly introduced and admitted into this Lodge.[1] Geo. Reynoldson. Barnaby Bawtry."

"November 4th, 1723.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Wm. Stephenson's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons:— John Taylor. Jno. Colling."

"Feb. 5th, 1723-4.—At a private Lodge at Mr James Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Wm. Tireman. Charles Pick. Will^m^. Musgrave. John Jenkinson. John Sudell."

"June 15, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held in Davy Hall, in the City of York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Daniel Harvey. Ralph Grayme."

"June 22, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free Masons the persons underwritten, viz.:—

Robert Armorer. William Jackson. Geo. Gibson."

[1] Evidently these seven brethren—*acknowledged* and *received* as Masons on January 10 and February 4, 1723—were accepted either as Joining members, or as visitors, hailing from another Lodge or Lodges.

"Dec. 28, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, the following persons were admitted and sworn into y^e^ Society of Free Masons.

Wm. Wright. Ric. Denton. Jno. Marsden. Ste. Bulkley."

"July 21, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Luke Lowther. Chas. Hutton."

"At an adjournment of a Lodge of Free Masons from Mr Jno. Colling, in Petergate, to Mr Luke Lowther's, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of free [and] Accepted Masons—Ed. Bell, Esq., Master.

Chas. Bathurst. John Johnson. John Elsworth. Lewis Wood."

"Augt. 10, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held this day at the Star Inn in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.:—

Jo. Bilton.

The Wors^l^. Mr Wm. Scourfield, M^r^.
Mr Marsden,
Mr Reynoldson, } Wardens."

"Augt. 12, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr, in Stonegate, the underwritten Person was sworn and admitted a member of the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.:—

John Wilmer.

The Worsp^l^. Philip Huddy, M^r^.
Mr Marsden,
Mr Reynoldson, } Wardens."

"Sept. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr Inn, in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into [the] Antient Society of Free Masons.

William Pawson.
Edmond Aylward.
Jon. Pawson.
Francis Drake.[1]
Malby Beckwith."

The Worsp^l^. Wm. Scourfield, M^r^.
Jonathan Perritt,
Mr Marsden, } Wardens.

"A new Lodge being call'd at the same time and Place, the following Person was admitted and sworn into this Antient and Hon^ble^ Society.

Henry Pawson.

The Worsp^l^ Mr Scourfield, M^r^.
Mr Jonathan Perritt,
Mr Marsden, } Wardens."

"Oct. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr James Boreham's, the underwritten Person[s] was [were] admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Antho. Hall.
Philemon Marsh."

[1] Author of "Eboracum; or, History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of York, 1736." As Junior Grand Warden he delivered a speech at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of York, December 27, 1726, which will be noticed hereafter.

"Nov. 3, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Hutton's, at the Bl. Swan in Coney Street, in York, the following Person was admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons. John Smith."

"Dec. 1st, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons before The Worsh[l] E. Bell, Esq., M[r].

Mr Etty, Mr Perritt, } Wardens. Will. Sotheran. John Iveson. Jos. Lodge."

"Dec. 8, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's, being the Starr, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Christof. Coulton. Thos. Metcalfe. Francis Lowther. George Coates. William Day."

"Dec. 24, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Lowther's, at y[e] Starr in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free-Masons.

Matt. St Quintin. Tim. Thompson. Fran[s]. Thompson. William Hendrick. Tho. Bean."

"Dec. 27, 1725.—At a Lodge, held at Mr Philemon Marsh's, in Petergate, the following gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons. Leo[d] Smith was also sworn and admitted at the same time. Chas. Howard.
Richd. Thompson."

"The same day the undermentioned Person was received, admitted, and acknowledged as a member of this Antient and Hon[ble] Society. John Hann.
Isaac ⌶ Scott."

Further extracts from these minutes will be given in their proper place. I have brought down the evidence to 1725, because that year was as memorable in the York annals, as 1717 and 1736 were in those of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively. The most important entries are, of course, those antedating the great event of 1717. None of these require any very elaborate commentary, and I shall therefore allow them, for the most part, to tell their own tale. "Sworne and admitted" or "admitted and sworne" are correlative terms, which, in the documents of the Company or the Guild, appear quite to belong to one another. Thus, the 14th ordinance of the Associated Corvisors (Cordwainers) of Hereford, A.D. 1569, runs:—

"The manner of the *othe* geven to any that shall be *admytted* to the felowshippe or companye—you .·. shall keepe secrete all the lawful councill of the saide felowshippe, and shall observe all manner of rules and ordinances by the same felowshippe, made or hereafter to be made .·. .·. soe helpe me God."[1]

Also, we learn from the ordinances of the Guild of St Katherine, at Stamford, which date from 1494, though, in the opinion of Mr Toulmin Smith, they are "the early translation of a lost original,"[2] that on St Katherine's Day, "when the first euensong is doone, the Alderman and his Bredern shall assemble in their Halle, and *dryncke*. And then shal be called forth all thoo [those] that shal be *admytted* Bredern or Sustern off the Gilde." A colloquy then ensued between the Alderman and the newcomers, the latter being asked if they were willing to

[1] J. D. Devlin, Helps to Hereford History, in an Account of the Ancient Cordwainers' Company of the City, 1848, p. 23.

[2] English Gilds, p. 191.

become "Bredern," and whether they would desire and ask it, in the worship of Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and of the holy virgin and martyr, St Katherine, the founder of the Guild, "*and in the way of Charyte.*"[1] To this "*by their owne Wille,*" they were to answer yea or nay, after which the clerk, by the direction of the Alderman, administered to them an oath of fealty to God, Saints Mary and Katherine, and the Guild. They then kissed the book, were lovingly received by the brethren, *drank a bout*, and went home.[2]

The York minutes inform us that three *Private* lodges were held in 1712 and the following year, two *General* lodges in 1713-14, and a *St John's* Lodge at Christmas, 1716. Confining our attention to the entries which precede the year 1717, we find the proceedings of *three* meetings described as those of "the Honourable Society and *Fraternity* of Freemasons," whilst on two later occasions, *Fraternity* gives place to *Company*, and in the minutes of 1716, these terms are evidently used as words of indifferent application.

Whether a "Deputy President" was appointed by the President or elected by the members as chairman of the meeting, in the absence of the latter official, there are no means of determining. In every instance, however, the Deputy President appears to have been a person of gentle birth and an *Esquire*. It is worthy of note, that Charles Fairfax, who occupied the chair, June 24, 1714, is styled "Worshipful" in the minutes.

Under the dates, July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, certain brethren are named as "Masters," but which of the three was really *the Master*, is a point that must be left undecided. The speculative character of the lodge is sufficiently apparent from the minutes of its proceedings. This, indeed, constitutes one of the *two* leading characteristics of the Freemasonry practised at York, a system frequently though erroneously termed the York Rite—the other, being, if we form our conclusions from the documentary evidence before us, the extreme simplicity of the lodge ceremonial.

Two allusions to the "Freemasons," between the date at which the York records begin (1705) and the year 1717, remain to be noticed. These occur in the *Tatler*, and in each case were penned by Mr (afterwards Sir Richard) Steele, who has been aptly described by Mr J. L. Lewis, in an article on the earlier of the two passages, as "one of the wits of Queen Anne's time—a man about town, and a close observer of everything transpiring in London in his day."[3] The following are extracts from Steele's Essays:—

June 9, 1709.—"But my Reason for troubling you at this present is, to put a stop, if it may be, to an insinuating set of People, who sticking to the LETTER of your Treatise,[4] and not to the spirit of it, do assume the Name of PRETTY[5] Fellows; nay, and even get new Names, as

[1] "Amen! Amen! So mot hyt be!
Say we so alle per Charyté."
—Halliwell Poem. *Cf.* Chap. XIV., p. 217.

[2] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 188, 189. See further, *ibid.*, pp. 316-319; Rev. J. Brand, History and Antiquities of Newcastle, 1789, vol ii., p. 346; Jupp, History of the Carpenters' Company, 1848, p. 8; Dr T. Harwood, History and Antiquities of Lichfield, 1806, p. 311; and Rev. C. Coates, History and Antiquities of Reading, 1802, p. 57.

[3] A Fragment of History (Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., New York, 1865, pp. 144-146).

[4] Referring to the *Tatler*, No. 24—June 4, 1709—also by Steele.

[5] Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," p. 75, makes the Highland robber, Donald Bean Lean, speak of "the recruits who had recently joined Waverley's troop from his Uncle's estate, as '*pretty men*,' meaning (says Scott), not handsome, but stout warlike fellows." Also, at p. 326, note 30, he cites the following lines from an old ballad on the "Battle of the Bridge of Dee:"—

"The Highlandmen are pretty men
For handling sword and shield,
But yet they are but simple men
To stand a stricken field."

you very well hint. ∴. ∴. *They have their Signs and Tokens like Free-Masons;* they rail at Womankind," etc.[1]

May 2, 1710.—[After some remarks on "the tasteless manner of life which a set of idle fellows lead in this town," the essay proceeds] "You may see them at first sight grow acquainted by sympathy, insomuch that one who did not know the true cause of their sudden Familiarities, would think, *that they had some secret Intimation of each other like the Free-Masons.*"[2]

The "Fragment of History" from which I have already quoted, is too long for transcription, but some of Mr Lewis's observations on the passage in the *Tatler*, No. 26—it does not appear that he had seen the equally significant allusion in the *Tatler*, No. 166—are so finely expressed, that I shall here introduce them. He says, "The Writer (Steele) is addressing a miscellaneous public, and is giving, in his usual lively style of description, mixed with good-humoured satire, an account of a band of London dandies and loungers, whom he terms in the quaint language of the day, Pretty Fellows. He describes their effeminacy and gossip, and to give his readers the best idea that they were a closely-allied community, represents them as having 'signs and tokens like the Free-Masons.' Of course he would employ in this, as in every other of his essays, such language as would convey the clearest and simplest idea to the mind of his readers. Is it conceivable, therefore, if Freemasonry was a novelty, that he would content himself with this simple reference?"

The same commentator proceeds, "Signs and tokens are spoken of in the same technical language which is employed at the present time, and as being something peculiarly and distinctively Masonic. What other society ever had its signs except Masons and their modern imitators?[3] In what other, even of modern societies, except the Masonic, is the Grip termed 'a token?' Whether," he continues, "Sir Richard Steele was a Mason, *I do not know*,[4] but I *do know* that, in the extract I have given, he speaks of signs and tokens as matters well known and well understood by the public in his day as belonging to a particular class of men. It is left for the intelligent inquirer to ascertain how long and how widely such a custom must have existed and extended, to render such a brief and pointed reference to them intelligible to the public at large, or even to a mere London public. Again, they are spoken of as *Free-Masons*, and not merely *Masons*, or artificers in stone, and brick, and mortar; and this, too, like the signs and tokens, is unaccompanied by a single word of explanation. If it meant operative masons only, freemen of the Guild or Corporation, why should the compound word be used, connected, as *in the original*, by a hyphen? Why not say Free-Carpenters or Free-Smiths as well?"

Mr Lewis then adds,—and if we agree with him, a portion of the difficulty which overhangs our subject is removed,—"The conclusion forces itself irresistibly upon the mind of every candid and intelligent person that there existed in London in 1709, and for a *long time* before,

[1] The Tatler, No. 26. From Tuesday, June 7, to Thursday, June 9, 1709.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 166. From Saturday, April 29, to Tuesday, May 2, 1710.

[3] The essayist here goes much too far, though his general argument is not invalidated. See Chaps. I., pp. 20-22; V., *passim*; and XV., p. 230.

[4] There is no further evidence to connect Sir Richard Steele with the Society of Freemasons, beyond the existence of a curious plate in Bernard Picart's "Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the various Nations of the Known World," English Edition, vol. vi., 1737, p. 193, where a portrait of Steele surmounts a copy of Pine's "Engraved List of Lodges," arranged after a very singular fashion. See further, Freemasons' Magazine, Feb. 26, 1870, p. 165; and Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, pt. i., pp. 67, 68.

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF DURHAM

Thomas Colcott, London & Edinburgh.

a Society known as the Free-masons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition; and the proof of it is found, not in the assertions of Masonic writers and historians, but in a standard work. It is not found in an elaborate panegyric written by a Masonic pen, but in the bare statement of a fact, unaccompanied by explanation, because it needed none then, as it needs none now, and is one of these sure and infallible guide-marks whence the materials for truthful history are taken, and by which its veracity is tested." [1]

Steele's allusions to the Freemasons merit our closest attention, and if, indeed, the information contained in them should not appear as complete as might be wished, it must not be forgotten that a faint light is better than total darkness.

The passages quoted from the *Tatler*, may well be held to point to something more than was implied by the phrase, "the benefit of the MASON WORD," which, if we follow the evidence, was all that *Scottish* brethren, in the *seventeenth* century, were entitled to.[2] The Masonic systems prevailing in the *two* kingdoms, will be hereafter more closely compared, but having regard to the expediency, of keeping steadily in our minds as we proceed, the important point,[3] towards the determination of which we are progressing, Lyon's definition of what is to be understood by the expression MASON WORD, will assist us in arriving at a conclusion with regard to the special value (if any) of the extracts from the *Tatler*. "The Word," says this excellent authority, "is the only secret that is ever alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel or in those of Kilwinning, Atcheson's Haven, or Dunblane, or any other that we have examined of a date prior to the erection of the Grand Lodge. But that this talisman consisted of something more than a word is evident from the *secrets* of the Mason Word, being referred to in the minute-book of the Lodge of Dunblane, and from the further information drawn from that of Haughfoot, viz., that in 1707 [1702] the Word was accompanied by a grip." Lyon adds,—and in the following remarks I am wholly with him,—"If the communication by Masonic Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the purely Operative regime, *only one known to Scottish Lodges*,[4] viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word and all that was implied in the expression." [5]

It will be observed that Lyon rests his belief in the term "Mason Word" comprising far more than its ordinary meaning would convey, upon lodge-minutes of the *eighteenth* century —the Haughfoot entry dating from 1702,[6] and that of the lodge of Dunblane so late as 1729.[7] These, however, in my judgment, are not sufficiently to be depended upon, in the entire absence of corroboration, as indicating, with any precision, the actual customs prevalent among Scottish Masons in the *seventeenth* century. The Haughfoot minute-book, like some other old manuscripts, notably the Harleian, No. 1942, and the Sloane, No. 3329,[8] opens more questions than it closes; but as the records of this lodge will again claim our attention, I shall at this point

[1] Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., *loc. cit.*

[2] Chap. VIII., pp. 390, 396, 418, 420, 429, 432, 444, 445, 447, and 454.

[3] *I.e.*, whether the early Freemasonry of England and that of Scotland were substantially one and the same thing? See *ante*, p. 258.

[4] The italics are mine.

[5] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 22, 23.

[6] *Ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 447.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[8] Given in Appendix C. of Findel's "History of Freemasonry," and again printed, with lithographed *facsimile*, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, in 1872.

merely refer below[1] to some words of caution, already thrown out, against placing too great a reliance upon the Haughfoot documents, as laying bare the inner life of a *representative* Scottish lodge, even of so late a date as the year 1702.

Neither is the evidence furnished by the Dunblane records, of an entirely satisfactory character. The fact that in 1729, two "entered apprentices" from "Mother Kilwinning," on proof of their possessing "a competent knowledge of the secrets of the MASON WORD," were entered *and passed* in the Lodge of Dunblane[2] is interesting no doubt, but the proceedings of this meeting would be more entitled to our confidence, as presenting a picture of Scottish Masonic life *before* the era of Grand Lodges, if they dated from an earlier period. It is true that in Scotland the year 1736 corresponds in some respects with 1717 in England. Lodges in either country prior to these dates respectively were independent communities. But it does not follow, because nineteen years elapsed before the example set in England (1717) was followed in Scotland (1736), that during this interval the speculative Freemasonry of the former kingdom never crossed the Border. Indeed, the visit of Dr Desaguliers to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721[3] will of itself dispel this illusion, and we may leave out of sight reasons that might be freely cited, which would afford the most convincing proof of the influence of English ideas and English customs on the Scottish character, between the Treaty of Union (1707) and "the Forty-Five"[4]—a period of time that overlaps at both ends the interval which divides the two Grand Lodges. That the larger number of the members of the Lodge of Dunblane were non-operatives, is also a circumstance that must not be forgotten, and it is unlikely that the noblemen and gentlemen, of whom the lodge was mainly composed, were wholly without curiosity in respect of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England, which in 1729 had been just twelve years established. The probability, indeed, is quite the other way, since we learn from the minutes that on September 6, 1723, William Caddell of Fossothy, a member of the lodge, presented it with a "Book intituled the Constitutions of the Free Masons .·. .·. by Mr James Andersone, Minister of the Gospell, and printed at London .·. Anno Domini 1723."[5]

But putting all the objections I have hitherto raised on one side, and assuming, let us say, that the allusion to "the Secrets of the MASON WORD" can be carried back to the seventeenth century, what does it amount to? I am far from contending that the term "secrets" *may* not comprise the "signs and tokens" in use in the South. But the question is, will such a deduction be justified by the *entire body* of documentary evidence relating to the early proceedings of Scottish lodges? Are the mention of a *grip* in the Haughfoot minutes, and the allusion to *secrets* in those of Dunblane, to be considered as outweighing the uniform silence of the records of all the other Scottish lodges, with regard to aught but the MASON WORD itself, or to the "benefit" accruing therefrom?[6]

Here, for the present, I break off. A few final words have yet to be said on the compara-

[1] *Ante*, p. 258. [2] Chap. VIII., p. 420; Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 417.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-153. The details of Desaguliers' reception by the Lodge of Edinburgh are fully given by the Scottish Historian, who, however, has founded on them—as I shall presently endeavour to show—rather more than they will safely bear. *Cf. post*, pp. 285, 286.

[4] It is somewhat singular that Cameron of Lochiel, Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, and other leading members of the Lodge of Dunblane, were prominent actors on the Stewart side in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Lord John Drummond was Master in 1743-45 (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 414).

[5] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 416. [6] See the observations in Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

tive development of the two Masonic systems, but these will be more fitly introduced when I have brought up the evidence to the year 1723. But before attempting to describe the rise and progress of the "Premier Grand Lodge of the World," a remarkable manuscript of uncertain date must be briefly noticed, as by so doing I shall hold the scales evenly, since to waive its consideration altogether until a later period, or to examine its pretensions at length in this place, would in either case be equivalent to dealing with the writing *chronologically*, an obligation happily not forced upon me, and which I shall not rashly assume.

"The antiquity and independence of the three degrees" are *claimed* to be satisfactorily attested by the evidence of Sloane MS. 3329. Therefore (it is argued), as the existence or non-existence of degrees before the era of Grand Lodges is the *crux* of Masonic historians, *if* this MS. is of earlier date than 1717—*cadit quæstio*. But inasmuch as there is no other *proof* —if the premises are conceded—that *degrees*, in the modern acceptation of the term, were known in Masonry until the third decade of the eighteenth century, even the most superstitious believer in the antiquity of the Sloane MS. should pause before laying down that their earlier existence is conclusively established—by relying on that portion *only* of the paleographical evidence which is satisfactory to his own mind.

Sloane MS. 3329 will be presently examined in connection with other documents of a similar class, and I now turn to the great Masonic event of the eighteenth century—the ASSEMBLY of 1717—out of which sprang the Grand Lodge of England, the Mother of Grand Lodges.

Unfortunately the minutes of Grand Lodge only commence on June 24, 1723.

For the history, therefore, of the first six years of the new *régime*, we are mainly dependent on the account given by Dr Anderson in the "Constitutions" of 1738, nothing whatever relating to the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, except the "General Regulations" of 1721, having been inserted in the earlier edition of 1723. From this source I derive the following narrative, in which are preserved as nearly as possible both the orthographical and the typographical peculiarities of the original[1]:—

"KING GEORGE I. enter'd *London* most magnificently on 20 *Sept.* 1714. And after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716, the few *Lodges* at *London* finding themselves neglected by Sir *Christopher Wren*,[2] through fit to cement under a *Grand Master* as the Center of Union and Harmony, *viz.*, the *Lodges* that met,

"1. At the *Goose* and *Gridiron* Ale-house in St *Paul's Church-Yard*.

"2. At the *Crown* Ale-house in *Parker's-Lane* near *Drury-Lane*.

"3. At the *Apple-Tree* Tavern in *Charles-street, Covent-Garden*.

"4. At the *Rummer* and *Grapes* Tavern in *Channel-Row, Westminster*.[3]

"They and some old Brothers met at the said *Apple-Tree*, and having put into the Chair

[1] Except other authorities are cited, the ensuing account down to the meeting of Grand Lodge, at the White Lion, Cornhill, April 25, 1723, is taken from the "New Book of Constitutions," 1738, pp. 109-115.

[2] See Chap. XII., *passim*.

[3] On removing from Oxford to London in 1714, Dr Desaguliers settled in *Channel-Row, Westminster*, and continued to reside there until it was pulled down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster. George Payne, his immediate predecessor as Grand Master, lived at New Palace Yard, Westminster, where he died February 23, 1757. Both Desaguliers and Payne were members in 1723 of the lodge at the "Horn" Tavern in New Palace Yard, Westminster, which is described in the "Constitutions" of 1738 (p. 185) as "the *Old Lodge* removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, *Channel-Row*, whose *Constitution* is immemorial." (*Now* the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4.)

the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*), they constituted themselves a GRAND LODGE pro Tempore in *Due Form*, and forthwith revived[1] the Quarterly *Communication* of the *Officers* of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge) resolv'd to hold the *Annual* ASSEMBLY *and Feast*, and then to chuse a GRAND MASTER from among themselves, till they should have the Honour of a Noble Brother at their Head.

"Accordingly

On St *John Baptist's* Day, in the 3d year of KING GEORGE I., A.D. 1717, the ASSEMBLY and *Feast* of the *Free and accepted Masons* was held at the foresaid *Goose and Gridiron* Ale-house.

"Before Dinner, the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) in the Chair, proposed a List of proper Candidates; and the Brethren by a Majority of Hands elected MR ANTONY SAYER, Gentleman, *Grand Master* of *Masons*,

who being forthwith invested with the Badges of Office and Power by the said *oldest Master*, and install'd, was duly congratulated by the Assembly who pay'd him the Homage.[3]

{ Mr *Jacob Lamball*, Carpenter, / Capt. *Joseph Elliot*,[2] } Grand Wardens.

"Sayer, *Grand Master*, commanded the *Masters* and *Wardens* of Lodges to meet the *Grand* Officers every *Quarter* in *Communication*,* at the Place that he should appoint in his Summons sent by the *Tyler*.

* "N.B.—It is call'd the *Quarterly Communication*, because it should meet *Quarterly* according to antient Usage. And

When the *Grand Master* is present it is a Lodge in *Ample Form*; otherwise, only in *Due Form*, yet having the same Authority with *Ample Form*.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place 24 *June* 1718.

"Brother *Sayer* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Brother GEORGE PAYNE[4] Esq[r] *Grand Master* of *Masons* who being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homaged, recommended the strict Observance of the Quarterly Communication; and desired any Brethren to bring to the

{ Mr *John Cordwell*, City Carpenter, / Mr *Thomas Morrice*,[5] Stone Cutter, } Grand Wardens.

[1] It must be carefully borne in mind, that this *revival* of the Quarterly Communication was *recorded* twenty-one years after the date of the occurrence to which it refers; also, that no such "revival" is mentioned by Dr Anderson in the Constitutions of 1723.

[2] The positions of these worthies are generally reversed, and the *Captain* is made to take precedence of the *Carpenter*, but the *corrigenda* appended to the "Book of Constitutions" directs that the names shall be read as above.

[3] In an anonymous and undated work, but which must have been published in 1763 or the following year, we are told that "the Masters and Wardens of *six* Lodges assembled at the *Apple Tree* on St *John's* Day, 1716, and after the oldest Master Mason (who was also the Master of a lodge) had taken the Chair, they constituted among themselves a GRAND LODGE '*pro tempore*,' and revived their Quarterly Communications, and their Annual Feast" (The Complete Free-mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets, p. 83). All subsequent writers appear to have copied from Anderson in their accounts of the proceedings of 1717, though the details are occasionally varied. The statement in "Multa Paucis" is evidently a "blend" of the events arranged by Anderson under the years 1716 *and* 1717, and that the author of "Multa Paucis" had studied the Constitutions of 1738 with some care, is proved by his placing Lambell [*Lamball*] and Elliot in their proper places as *Senior* and *Junior* Grand Warden respectively. The word *six* can hardly be a misprint, as it occurs twice in the work (pp. 83, 111), but see *ante*, p. 260.

[4] Although Payne is commonly described as a "learned antiquarian," he does not appear to have been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 93, has the following: "*Deaths.*—Jan. 23. Geo. Payne, Esq., of New-Palace-yd. *Promotions.*—Arthur Leigh, Esq., secretary to the tax-office (George Payne, Esq., dec.).

[5] A member of the Masons' Company. See *ante*, p. 150.

Grand Lodge any old *Writings* and *Records* concerning *Masons* and *Masonry* in order to shew the Usages of antient Times: And this Year several old Copies of the *Gothic Constitutions* were produced and collated.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place, 24 *June* 1719. Brother *Payne* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Reverend Brother

JOHN *Theophilus Desaguliers*, L.L.D. and F.R.S., *Grand Master* of *Masons*, and being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homaged, forthwith reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons*. Now several *old* Brothers, that had neglected the *Craft*, visited the *Lodges;* some *Noblemen* were also made Brothers, and more *new* Lodges were constituted. { Mr *Antony* Sayer foresaid, / Mr *Tho. Morrice* foresaid, } *Grand Wardens.*

"ASSEMBLY and Feast at the foresaid Place 24 *June* 1720. Brother *Desaguliers* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud

GEORGE PAYNE, Esq^r; again *Grand Master* of *Masons;* who being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homag'd, began the usual Demonstrations of Joy, Love and Harmony. { Mr *Thomas Hobby*, Stone-Cutter, / Mr *Rich. Ware*, Mathematician, } *Grand Wardens.*

"This Year, at some *private* Lodges, several very valuable *Manuscripts* (for they had nothing yet in Print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr *Nicholas Stone* the Warden of *Inigo Jones*) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers; that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands.[1]

"At the *Quarterly* Communication or *Grand Lodge*, in *ample* Form, on St *John Evangelist's* Day 1720,[2] at the said Place

"It was agreed, in order to avoid Disputes on the *Annual* Feast-Day, that the *new Grand Master* for the future shall be named and proposed to the *Grand Lodge* some time before the Feast, by the present or *old Grand Master;* and if approv'd, that the Brother proposed, if present, shall be kindly saluted; or even if absent, his Health shall be toasted as *Grand Master Elect.*

"Also agreed, that for the future the *New Grand Master*, as soon as he is install'd, shall have the sole Power of appointing both his *Grand Wardens* and a *Deputy* Grand Master (now found as necessary as formerly) according to antient Custom, when *Noble* Brothers were *Grand* Masters.[3]

[1] Dallaway, citing Ware's Essay in the Archæologia (vol. xvii., p. 83), says: "Perhaps they thought the new mode, though dependent on taste, was independent of science, and, like the Caliph Omar, held what was agreeable to the new faith useless, and what was not, ought to be destroyed" (Discourses upon Architecture, p. 428). An antagonistic writer wittily observes: "[Freemasonry] professes to teach the seven liberal arts, and also the black art; professes to give one a wonderful secret, which is, that she has none; who sprung from the clouds, *formed by the smoke of her own records, which were burnt for the honour of the mystery*," etc. (Quoted by Dr Oliver in his "Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry," 1846, vol. ii., preface, p. vi.).

[2] Although Quarterly Communications are *said* to have been enjoined by Sayer, none seem to have taken place up to the above date. Subsequently, with the exception of the stormy year, 1722, they were held with frequency.

[3] At the risk of being found tedious, I must again ask the reader to bear in mind that the above narrative was compiled many years *after* the events occurred, upon which Dr Anderson moralises. To quote my own remarks, expressed some years ago: "The first innovation upon the usages of the Society occurred December 27, 1720, when the office of Deputy Grand Master was established, and the Grand Master was empowered to *appoint* that officer, together with the

"Accordingly

At the Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on *Lady-Day* 1721, at the said Place *Grand Master* PAYNE proposed for his Successor our most Noble Brother.

"John Duke of Montagu,[1] *Master* of a Lodge; who being present, was forthwith saluted *Grand Master Elect*, and his Health drank in *due* Form; when they all express'd great Joy at the happy Prospect of being again patronized by *noble Grand Masters*, as in the prosperous Times of *Free Masonry*.[2]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master*, observing the *Number* of Lodges to encrease, and that the General *Assembly* requir'd more Room, proposed the next *Assembly* and *Feast* to be held at *Stationers-Hall, Ludgate Street;* which was agreed to.

"Then the *Grand Wardens* were order'd, as usual, to prepare the Feast, and to take some *Stewards* to their Assistance, Brothers of Ability and Capacity, and to appoint some Brethren to attend the Tables; for that no strangers must be there.[3] But the *Grand* Officers not finding a proper Number of *Stewards*, our Brother Mr Josiah Villenau, Upholder in the *Burrough Southwark*, generously undertook the whole himself, attended by some Waiters, *Thomas Morrice, Francis Bailey*, &c.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at *Stationers-Hall*, 24 *June* 1721 in the 7th Year of King GEORGE I.[4]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master*, with his *Wardens*, the former *Grand* Officers, and the *Masters* and *Wardens* of 12 Lodges, met the *Grand Master Elect* in a *Grand Lodge* at the *King's Arms* Tavern[5] St *Paul's Church-yard*, in the Morning; and having forthwith recognized their Choice of Brother MONTAGU they made some new Brothers,[6] particularly the noble PHILIP Lord

two wardens. This encroachment upon the privileges of members seems to have been strenuously resisted for several years, and the question of *nomination* or *election* was not finally settled until April 28, 1724" (The Four Old Lodges, 1879, p. 30).

[1] See Chap. XIII., p. 126.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 255, 256; and Chap. XII., *passim*.

[3] Notwithstanding the precautions taken to exclude the uninitiated, if we believe the witty author of the "Praise of Drunkenness" (*ante*, pp. 127, 128), one *stranger*, at least, succeeded in obtaining admission to *a* meeting of the Grand Lodge held at Stationers' Hall.

[4] Up to this period there appear to have been *seven* meetings of the Grand Lodge, of which one was held at the "Apple Tree Tavern" in Charles Street, Covent Garden, and the remainder at the "Goose and Gridiron" Alehouse in St Paul's Churchyard.

Thus the four earliest Grand Masters were elected in the local habitation of the "old lodge of St Paul"—a circumstance which, as far as I know, furnishes the only evidence at all consistent with Preston's statement—That the new Grand Master was always proposed and presented for approval in the Lodge of Antiquity (original No. 1) before his election in the Grand Lodge (Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 257; *ante*, Chap. XII., p. 47).

[5] Preston, who styles it "the *Queen's* Arms," says in a note: "The old lodge of St Paul's, now the Lodge of Antiquity, having been removed hither" (Illustrations, p. 262)—but the lodge in question is entered in the Grand Lodge books as meeting at the "Goose and Gridiron" in 1723, 1725, and 1728, and continued to do so until 1729, as we learn from Pine's Engraved list. Of course, the lodge *may* have removed from the Goose and Gridiron to the King's Arms *after* 1717, and have gone back again *before* 1723? But as the Grand Lodge met at the former house up to Lady-day 1721, this will only leave three months within which the senior lodge could have changed its *locale*, unless we abandon the supposition of the Goose and Gridiron having been the common meeting-place of the private lodge and the governing body from 1717 to 1721. To the possible objection, that these apparently trivial matters are beneath the dignity of history, I reply, that inasmuch as we have Preston's sole authority for much that is *alleged* to have occurred between 1717 and 1723, his accuracy in *all* matters, where there are opportunities of testing it, cannot be too patiently, or too minutely considered.

[6] As the famous "General Regulations" of the Society were "approv'd" at this meeting, the *proviso* that appren-

Stanhope, now Earl of *Chesterfield:* And from thence they marched on Foot to the *Hall* in proper Clothing and due Form; where they were joyfully receiv'd by about 150 *true* and *faithful*, all clothed.

"After Grace said, they sat down in the antient Manner of *Masons* to a very elegant Feast, and dined with Joy and Gladness. After Dinner and Grace said, Brother PAYNE, the old *Grand Master*, made the *first Procession* round the *Hall*, and when return'd he proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"JOHN MONTAGU, Duke of Montagu, GRAND MASTER of *Masons!* and Brother *Payne* having invested his *Grace's* WORSHIP with the Ensigns and Badges of his Office and Authority, install'd him in *Solomon's* Chair and sat down on his Right Hand; while the Assembly own'd the Duke's Authority with due Homage and joyful Congratulations, upon this Revival of the *Prosperity* of *Masonry*.

"MONTAGU, G. Master, immediately call'd forth (without naming him before) as it were carelesly, John Beal, M.D. as his *Deputy Grand Master*, whom Brother *Payne* invested, and install'd him in *Hiram Abbiff's* Chair on the *Grand Master's Left Hand*.

"In like Manner his *Worship* call'd forth and appointed { Mr *Josiah Villeneau*, Mr *Thomas Morrice*, } *Grand Wardens*, who were invested and install'd[1] by the last *Grand* Wardens.

"Upon which the *Deputy* and *Wardens* were saluted and congratulated as usual.

"Then MONTAGU, G. *Master*, with his *Officers* and the *old Officers*, having made the 2d *procession* round the *Hall*, Brother Desaguliers made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry:* And after Great Harmony, the Effect of brotherly Love, the *Grand Master* thank'd Brother *Villeneau* for his Care of the *Feast*, and order'd him as *Warden* to close the *Lodge* in good Time.

"The Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on 29 Sept. 1721, at *King's-Arms* foresaid, with the former *Grand* Officers and those of 16 *Lodges*.

"His Grace's *Worship* and the *Lodge* finding Fault with all the Copies of the *old Gothic Constitutions*, order'd Brother *James Anderson*, A.M., to digest the same in a new and better Method.

"The Grand Lodge in *ample* Form on St JOHN'S Day 27 *Dec.* 1721, at the said *King's Arms*, with former *Grand* Officers and those of 20 Lodges.

"MONTAGU, *Grand Master*, at the Desire of the *Lodge*, appointed 14 learned Brothers

tices, unless by dispensation, were to "be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here"—*i.e.*, at the Grand Lodge—which occurs in Article XIII., *may* date from June 24, 1721, though in the process of "digesting" these rules into a "new method," of which we have the result, in the code of laws enacted in 1723, Dr Anderson, with equal probability, *may* have borrowed the *proviso* from the "immemorial *Usages* of the Fraternity," with which it is expressly stated that he "compar'd them." See the 9th and 12th Orders of the Alnwick Lodge (*ante*, p. 263); Chaps. III., pp. 129 (LXIV.), 149; VIII., p. 450; and XIV., p. 151. It is somewhat singular, that in Anderson's account of the proceedings on the day of St John the Baptist, 1721, we have the only evidence that the ceremony of Initiation, Passing, or Raising, was ever *actually* performed in the Grand Lodge.

[1] "Installation—the act of giving visible possession of a rank or office by placing in the proper seat" (Johnson's Dictionary).

There is no reason to believe that anything more than this was implied by the term "install'd," which, as will be seen above, was used in 1721 to describe the ceremonial in vogue at the investment of *all* Grand Officers.

to examine Brother *Anderson's*[1] Manuscript, and to make Report. This *Communication* was made very entertaining by the Lectures of some *old Masons*."

At this point, and before proceeding with the narrative of Dr Anderson, some additional evidence from other sources will be presented.

Between 1717 and 1720—both dates inclusive—there are no allusions in the newspaper files at the British Museum,[2] or in contemporary writings, which possess any bearing on Masonic history. In 1721, however, the Society, owing, it may well have been, to the acceptance by the Duke of Montagu of the office of Grand Master, rose at one bound into notice and esteem.

If we rely upon the evidence of a contemporary witness, Masonry must have languished under the rule of Sayer, Payne, and Desaguliers. An entry in the diary of Dr Stukeley[3] reads:—

"Jan. 6, 1721. I was made a Freemason at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock Street [London], with M^{r} Collins and Capt. Rowe, who made the famous diving engine."

The Doctor adds—"I was the first person made a Freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately upon that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members."[4]

Stukeley, who appears to have dined at Stationers' Hall on the occasion of the Duke of Montagu's installation, mentions that Lord Herbert and Sir Andrew Fountaine—names omitted by Anderson—were present at the meeting, and states that Dr Desaguliers "pronounced an Oration," also that "Grand Master Pain produced an old MS. of the Constitutions" (Chap. II., p. 60, note 1), and "read over a new sett of Articles to be observed."

The following reasons for becoming a Freemason are given by Dr Stukeley in his autobiography:—

"His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be

[1] It is highly probable that Anderson was admitted into Masonry before he crossed the border, but it is unlikely that he became a member of an *English* lodge prior to 1721. Had he been initiated or affiliated in London at any period anterior to June 24, 1720, I think that, instead of electing Payne for a second term, the Grand Lodge would have chosen Anderson to preside over it for the year ensuing. See the extracts from the diary of Dr Stukeley, which follow in the text, and particularly the first.

[2] *Ante*, p. 10.

[3] Dr William Stukeley was born at Holbeach in Lincolnshire, November 7, 1687, and having taken the degree of M.B. at Cambridge, 1709, commenced practice as a physician at Boston in his native county; but, in 1717, removed to London, and on March 3, in the same year, he was elected F.R.S., an honour also conferred upon John, Duke of Montagu, the earliest of our "noble Grand Masters," at the same date; became one of the re-founders of the Society of Antiquaries, 1718; in 1726 removed to Grantham; and in 1729 he entered into holy orders, and was presented to the Rectory of All Saints, Stamford. In 1747 the Duke of Montagu gave him the Rectory of St George the Martyr, Queen Square, where he died March 3, 1765, in his 78th year. Stukeley's antiquarian works are more voluminous than valuable. He was a member of the "Gentlemen's Society" of Spalding, a literary association patronised by many well-known antiquaries and Freemasons, *e.g.*, Dr Desaguliers, the Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Coleraine (Grand Masters of England, 1719, 1723, 1727); Joseph Ames, David Casley, Francis Drake (Grand Master of *All* England, 1761-2); Martin Folkes (Dep. G. M., 1724), Sir Richard Manningham, Dr Thos. Manningham (Dep. G. M., 1752-56), and "Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, Knight of St Lazarus" (March 12, 1729).

[4] For these extracts I am indebted to Mr T. B. Whytehead, who has favoured me with the notes made by the Rev. W. C. Lukis from the actual Diary, now in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St John, of Dinmore House, Herefordshire.

the remains of the mysterys of the antients; when, with difficulty, a number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion, not only spred over Brittain and Ireland, but [over] all of Europe."

The Diary proceeds:—

"Dec. 27th, 1721.—We met at the Fountain Tavern, Strand, and by the consent of the Grand Master present, Dr Beal [D. G. M.] constituted a lodge there, where I was chose Master."

Commenting on this entry, Mr T. B. Whytehead observes: "Nothing is named about the qualification for the chair, and as Bro. Stukeley had not been twelve months a Mason, it is manifest that any brother could be chosen to preside, as also that the verbal consent of the Grand Master, or his Deputy, was sufficient to authorise the formation of a lodge."[1]

The statement in the Diary, however, is inconsistent with two passages in Dr Anderson's narrative, but as the consideration of this discrepancy will bring us up to March 25, 1722, I shall first of all exhaust the evidence relating to the previous year.

This consists of the interesting account[2] by Lyon of the affiliation of Dr Desaguliers as a member of the Scottish Fraternity.

"Att Maries Chapell the 24 of August 1721 years—James Wattson present deacon of the Masons of Edinr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Desauguliers, fellow of the Royall Societie, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace James Duke of Chandois, late Generall Master of the Mason Lodges in England, being in town and desirous to have a *conference* with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified *in all points of Masonry*,[3] they received him as a Brother into their Societie."

"Likeas, upon the 25th day of the sd moneth, the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers, haveing mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell, Esq^{r}., Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston, and Hugh Hathorn, Baillies; James Nimo, Thesaurer; William Livingston, Deacon-convener of the Trades thereof; and George Irving, Clerk to the Dean of Guild Court,—and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly."[4]

"And sicklike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Barronet; Robert Wightman, Esq^{r}., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond, Esq., late Theasurer therof; Archibald M'Aulay, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they receaved as members of the Societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day James Key and Thomas Aikman, servants to James Wattson, deacon of the masons, were admitted and receaved entered apprentices, and payed to James Mack, warden, the ordinary dues as such. Ro. Alison, Clerk."

[1] Freemason, July 31, 1880.

[2] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 151.

[3] This may either mean that Desaguliers passed a satisfactory examination in all the Masonic Secrets then known in the Scottish metropolis, or the words italicised may simply import—*in Masonic phrase*—that the *two* parties to the *conference* were mutually satisfied with the result.

[4] Neither in this, or in the following entry, is there anything to indicate that the persons admitted "Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts" were entrusted with further secrets than those communicated to the "Fellow Crafts and Masters" of the seventeenth century. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 407, 408, 435.

Dr Desaguliers' visit to Edinburgh appears to have taken place at the wish of the magistrates there, who, when they first brought water into that city by leaden pipes, applied to him for information concerning the quantity of water they could obtain by means of a given diameter.[1]

At this time, says Lyon, "a revision of the English Masonic Constitutions was in contemplation;[2] and the better to facilitate this, Desaguliers, along with Dr James Anderson, was engaged in the examination of such ancient Masonic records as could be consulted. Embracing the opportunity which his sojourn in the Scottish capital offered, for comparing what he knew of the pre-symbolic constitutions and customs of English Masons, with those that obtained in Scotch Lodges, and animated, no doubt, by a desire for the spread of the new system,[3] he held a conference with the office-bearers and members of the Lodge of Edinburgh. That he and his brethren in Mary's Chapel should have so thoroughly understood each other on all the points of Masonry, shows either that in their main features the secrets of the old Operative Lodges of the two countries were somewhat similar, or that an inkling of the novelty had already been conveyed into Scotland. The fact that English versions of the Masonic Legend and Charges were in circulation among the Scotch in the middle of the seventeenth century favours the former supposition;[4] and if this be correct, there is strong ground for the presumption that the conference in question had relation to Speculative Masonry and its introduction into Scotland."[5]

The same distinguished writer then expresses his opinion that on both the 25th and the 28th of August, 1721, "the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the Lodge would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce," and goes on to account for the Doctor's having confined himself to the two lesser degrees, by remarking that "it was not till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed."[6] Lyon adds

[1] Dr T. Thomson, History of the Royal Society, 1812, bk. iii., p. 406.

[2] There is no *evidence* to show that a revision of the "Constitutions" was in contemplation before September 29, 1721.

[3] This is conjecture, pure and simple, and it might with far greater probability be inferred, that Desaguliers, whose tendency to conviviality is well known, thought that a little innocent mirth in the society of his Masonic brethren would form an agreeable interlude between the duties he was required to perform in a professional capacity, and his homeward journey?

[4] It is difficult to reconcile the above remarks with some others by the same writer, which appear on the next page of his admirable work, viz.: "Some years ago, and when unaware of Desaguliers' visit to Mary's Chapel, we publicly expressed our opinion that the system of Masonic Degrees, which, for nearly a century and a half, has been known in Scotland as Freemasonry, was an *importation* from England, seeing that in the processes of initiation and advancement, conformity to the new ceremonial required the adoption of genuflections, postures, etc., which, in the manner of their use—the country being then purely Presbyterian—were regarded by our forefathers with abhorrence as relics of Popery and Prelacy" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 153).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[6] This is incorrect. The regulation in question was only *enacted* in 1722-23, *i.e.*, as far as can be positively affirmed. It *may*, of course, have formed a part of Payne's code (1721), but under either supposition there is nothing in the language of the "Constitutions" of 1723 which will justify the *conclusion*, that at the date of its publication the term "Master" signified anything but "Master of a Lodge." Indeed, further on in his History, Lyon himself observes: "The Third Degree could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated that the '*key* of a fellow-craft' is that by

that he "has no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry, to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August 1721."

The affiliation of a former Grand Master of the English Society, as a member of the Scottish Fraternity, not only constitutes a memorable epoch in the history of the latter body, but is of especial value in our general inquiry, as affording some assured *data* by aid of which a comparison of the Masonic Systems of the two countries may be pursued with more confidence, than were we left to formulate our conclusions from the evidence of either English or Scottish records, dealing only with the details of the individual system to which they relate.

Before again placing ourselves under the guidance of Dr Anderson, two observations are necessary. One, that the incident of Desaguliers' affiliation is recorded under the year 1721—though its full consideration will occur later—because, in investigations like the present, *dates* are our most material facts, yet unless arranged with some approach to chronological exactitude, they are calculated to hinder rather than facilitate our research, by introducing a new element of confusion.

The other, that nowhere do the errors of the "Sheep-walking School" of Masonic writers stand out in bolder relief than in their annals of the year 1717, where the leading *rôle* in the movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, is assigned to Desaguliers.

Laurence Dermott (of whom more hereafter), in the third edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[1] published in 1778, observes:—

"Brother Thomas Grinsell, a man of great veracity (elder brother of the celebrated James Quin, Esq.), informed his lodge No. 3 in London (in 1753), that eight persons, whose names were Desaguliers, Gofton, King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden, De Noyer, and Vraden, were the geniusses to whom the world is indebted for the memorable invention of Modern[2] Masonry."

Dermott continues—"Mr Grinsell often told the author [of the "Ahiman Rezon," *i.e.*, himself] that he (Grinsell) was a Free-mason before Modern Masonry was known. Nor is this to be doubted, when we consider that Mr Grinsell was an apprentice to a weaver in Dublin, when his mother was married to Mr Quin's father, and that Mr Quin himself was seventy-three years old when he died in 1766."[3]

Passing over intermediate writers, and coming down to the industrious compilation of Herr Findel, we find the establishment of the first Grand Lodge described as being due to the exertions of "several brethren who united for this purpose, among whom were King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden," etc. "At their head," says this author, "was Dr J. Theophilus Desaguliers."[4]

which the secrets communicated in the ancient Lodges could be unravelled" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 210). See in the Constitutions of 1723—The Charges of a Free-Mason, No. IV.; and the General Regulations, No. XIII.

[1] *Ante*, p. 36.

[2] The terms "Ancients" and "Moderns" were coined by Laurence Dermott to describe the Regular and the Seceding Masons respectively. There is a great deal in a good "cry," and though the titular "Ancients" were the actual "Moderns," much of the success which attended the Great Schism was due to Dermott's unrivalled audacity, both in the choice of phrases, which placed the earlier Grand Lodge in a position of relative inferiority, and in ascribing to his own a derivation from the "Ancient Masons of York."

[3] Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother, 3d edit., 1778.

[4] History of Freemasonry, p. 136.

Now, it happens, strangely enough, that at an occasional lodge held at Kew on November 5, 1737, the eight persons named by Dermott (and no others) were present, and took part at the initiation and passing of Frederick, Prince of Wales![1]

Resuming the thread of our narrative, the "Constitutions" proceed:—

"Grand Lodge at the *Fountain*,[2] Strand, in *ample* Form, 25 *March* 1722, with former *Grand* officers and those of 24 *Lodges*.

"The said *Committee* of 14 reported that they had perused Brother *Anderson's* Manuscript, *viz.*, the *History, Charges, Regulations, and Master's Song*, and after some Amendments, had approv'd of it: Upon which the *Lodge* desir'd the *Grand Master* to order it to be printed. Meanwhile

"Ingenious Men of all Faculties and Stations being convinced that the *Cement* of the *Lodge* was Love and Friendship, earnestly requested to be made *Masons*, Affecting this amicable Fraternity more than other Societies, then often disturbed by warm Disputes.

"*Grand Master* MONTAGU'S good Government inclin'd the better Sort to continue him in the Chair another Year; and therefore they delay'd to prepare the *Feast*."

At this point, and with a view to presenting the somewhat scattered evidence relating to the year 1722, with as much chronological exactitude as the nature of the materials before me will permit, I shall introduce some further extracts from Dr Stukeley's Diary, as the next portion of Dr Anderson's narrative runs on, without the possibility of a break, from June 24, 1722, to January 17, 1723.

"May 25th, 1722.—Met the Duke of Queensboro', Lord Dumbarton, Hinchinbroke, &c., at Fountain Tavern Lodge, to consider of [the] Feast of St John's."

"Nov. 3rd, 1722.—The Duke of Wharton and Lord Dalkeith[3] visited our lodge at the Fountain."[4]

These current notes by a Freemason of the period merit our careful attention, the more so, since the inferences they suggest awaken a suspicion, that in committing to writing a recital of events in which he had borne a leading part, *many years after the occurrences he describes*, Dr Anderson's memory was occasionally at fault, and therefore we should scrutinise very closely the few collateral references in newspapers or manuscripts, which antedate the actual records of Grand Lodge.

The entries in Stukeley's Diary of May 25 and November 3, 1722, are hardly reconcilable with the narrative (in the "Constitutions") which I here resume.

[1] Dr Desaguliers, *Master*; William Gofton and Erasmus King, *Wardens*; Charles Calvert, Earl of Baltimore; the Hon. Colonel James Lumley; the Hon. Major Madden; Mr de Noyer; and Mr Vraden (The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, p. 137).

[2] This conflicts with the entry, already given (December 27, 1721), from Dr Stukeley's Diary. According to Anderson, the Grand Lodge was held at the "King's Arms" in "*ample* Form"—*i.e.*, the Grand Master was present—on December 27, 1721—the ordinary business, together with the lectures delivered at this meeting, must have taken up some considerable time, and it is unlikely that either *before* or *after* the Quarterly Communication, the Grand Master, the Deputy, and a *posse* of the brethren, paid a visit to the "Fountain."

[3] This nobleman, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch, succeeded the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master.

[4] Two remarkable entries in Dr Stukeley's Diary are: "Nov. 7th, 1722.—Order of the Book instituted." "Dec. 28th, 1722.—I din'd with Lord Hertford, introduced by Lord Winchelsea. I made them both members of the Order of the Book, or Roman Knighthood."

"But *Philip*, Duke of *Wharton*,[1] lately made a Brother, tho' not the *Master* of a *Lodge*, being ambitious of the Chair, got a Number of Others to meet him at *Stationers-Hall* 24 *June* 1722. And having no *Grand* Officers, they put in the Chair the *oldest Master Mason* (who was not the *present* Master of a *Lodge*, also *irregular*), and without the usual decent Ceremonials, the said *old Mason* proclaim'd aloud

"*Philip Wharton*, Duke of *Wharton*, Grand Master of *Masons*, and

{ Mr *Joshua Timson*, Blacksmith, / Mr *William Hawkins*, Mason, } { *Grand Wardens*, } but his Grace appointed no *Deputy*,[2] nor

was the *Lodge* opened and closed in due Form. Therefore the *noble* Brothers[3] and all those that would not countenance Irregularities, disown'd *Wharton's* Authority, till worthy Brother MONTAGU heal'd the Breach of Harmony, by summoning

"The Grand Lodge to meet 17 *January* 172¾ at the *King's-Arms* foresaid, where the *Duke* of *Wharton* promising to be *True* and *Faithful*, *Deputy Grand* Master *Beal* proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"PHILIP WHARTON, Duke of *Wharton*, GRAND MASTER of *Masons*, who appointed Dr Desaguliers the *Deputy Grand* Master,

{ *Joshua Timson*, foresaid, / *James* Anderson, A.M., } { *Grand Wardens*, } for *Hawkins* demitted as always out of Town.

When former *Grand* Officers, with those of 25 *Lodges*,[4] paid their Homage.

"G. Warden *Anderson* produced the *new* Book of *Constitutions* now in Print, which was again approv'd, with the Addition of the *antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge*.

"Now *Masonry* flourish'd in Harmony, Reputation, and Numbers; many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first Rank desir'd to be admitted into the *Fraternity*, besides other Learned

[1] Born in 1698. Son of the Whig Marquis to whom is ascribed the authorship of *Lilliburlero*. After having, during his travels, accepted the title of Duke of Northumberland from the Old Pretender, he returned to England, and evinced the versatility of his political principles by becoming a warm champion of the Hanoverian government; created *Duke* of Wharton by George I. in 1718. Having impoverished himself by extravagance, he again changed his politics, and in 1724 quitted England never to return. Died in indigence at a Bernardine convent in Catalonia, May 31, 1731. The character of Lovelace in "Clarissa" has been supposed to be that of this nobleman; and what renders the supposition more likely, the *True Briton*, a political paper in which the Duke used to write, was printed by Mr Richardson.

[2] At this meeting, according to the *Daily Post*, June 27, 1722, "there was a noble appearance of persons of distinction," and the Duke of Wharton was chosen Grand Master, and Dr Desaguliers *Deputy Master*, for the year ensuing.

[3] The authority of Anderson, on all points within his own knowledge, is not to be lightly impeached. But it is a curious fact, that the journals of the day (and the Diary of Dr Stukeley) do not corroborate his general statement,—*e.g.*, the *Daily Post*, June 20, 1722, notifies that tickets for the Feast must be taken out "before next Friday," and declares that "all those *noblemen* and gentlemen *that have took tickets*, and do not appear at the hall, will be look'd upon as false brothers;" and the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 30, 1722, describing the proceedings, says: "They had a most sumptuous Feast, *several of the nobility*, who are members of the Society, being present; and his Grace the Duke of Wharton was then unanimously chosen governor of the said Fraternity."

[4] Findel, following Kloss, observes: "Only twenty Lodges, ratified [the Constitutions]; five Lodges would not accede to, or sign them" (History of Freemasonry, p. 159). This criticism is based on the circumstance, that *twenty-five* Lodges were represented at the meeting of January 17, 1723, whilst the Masters and Wardens of *twenty* only, signed the APPROBATION of the "Constitutions" of that year. It must be borne in mind, however, that the "Constitutions" submitted by Anderson in January 1723, *were in print*, and that the vicissitudes of the year 1722, must have rendered it difficult to obtain even the signatures o. *twenty*, out of the *twenty-four* representatives of lodges by whom the "Constitutions" were ordered to be printed on March 25, 1722.

Men, Merchants, Clergymen, and Tradesmen, who found a *Lodge* to be a safe and pleasant Relaxation from Intense Study or the Hurry of Business, without Politicks or Party. Therefore the *Grand Master* was obliged to constitute more *new Lodges*, and was very assiduous in *visiting* the *Lodges* every Week with his *Deputy* and *Wardens;* and his *Worship* was well pleas'd with their kind and respectful Manner of receiving him, as they were with his affable and clever conversation.

"Grand Lodge in *ample* Form, 25 *April* 1723, at the *White-Lion, Cornhill*, with former *Grand* Officers and those of 30 *Lodges* call'd over by G. Warden *Anderson*, for no *Secretary* was yet appointed. When

"WHARTON, *Grand Master*, proposed for his Successor the Earl of *Dalkeith* (now *Duke* of *Buckleugh*), *Master* of a *Lodge*, who was unanimously approv'd and duly saluted as *Grand Master Elect.*"

In bringing to a close these extracts from the "Constitutions" of 1738, and before proceeding to compare the Scottish system of Freemasonry with its English counterpart, a short biography of the "Father of Masonic History" becomes essential.

This will assist us, on the one hand, in estimating the weight of authority, due to a record of events, uncorroborated for the most part on any material points, and on the other hand, in arriving at a definite conclusion, with regard to the extent to which the masonic systems in the two Kingdoms borrowed from one another.

In tracing the circumstances of Dr Anderson's life, I have derived very little assistance from the ordinary Dictionaries of Biography.[1] Chambers has evidently copied from Chalmers, and the latter introduced an element of confusion in his notices of the worthies bearing the surname of Anderson, which has caused Mackey and other Masonic encyclopædists to give the place and date of birth of James Anderson, Advocate and Antiquary, as those of his namesake, the Doctor of Divinity, and compiler of the "Constitutions."

This has arisen from Chalmers stating in his memoir of Adam Anderson, author of the "History of Commerce," that he was the brother of James Anderson, the *Freemason*, and in that of James Anderson, the *Antiquary*, that he was brother to Adam Anderson, the historian. *Our* Doctor, therefore, has had Edinburgh assigned as his native town, whilst the date of his birth has been fixed at August 5, 1662. In reality, however, both his age and birth-place are unknown, though, for reasons to be presently adduced, a presumption arises that he was born and educated at Aberdeen.

A short memoir of Dr Anderson was given in the *Scots Magazine*,[2] but the circumstances of his life are more fully referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[3] (1783), by a correspondent who writes under the letter B., and furnishes the following particulars respecting *Adam* Anderson, a gentleman he professes to have both *known* and esteemed.

"Adam Anderson was a native of Scotland; he was brother to the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., editor of the "Diplomata Scotiæ"[4] and "Royal Genealogies," many years since minister of

[1] R. Chambers, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, vol. i.; A. Chalmers, General Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii.; and D. Irving, Lives of Scottish Writers, 2d edit., 1839.

[2] Vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [3] Vol. liii., p. 41.

[4] Here we have, possibly, the *fons et origo* of the confusion that has arisen between the *Antiquary* and the *Freemason*. James Anderson, the Edinburgh advocate—born August 5, 1662, died April 3, 1729—was the author of "Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus," a splendid folio volume, published after his death in 1739.

the Scots Presbyterian Church in Swallow Street, Piccadilly, and well-known in those days among the people of that persuasion resident in London, by the name of Bishop Anderson, a learned but imprudent man, who lost a considerable part of his property in the fatal year 1720: he married, and had issue, a son, and a daughter, who was the wife of an officer in the army; his brother Adam was for 40 years a clerk in the South Sea House, and at length arrived to his *acmé* there, being appointed chief clerk of the Stock and New Annuities, which office he retained till his death in 1765. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, by charter dated June 9, 5 Geo. II. (1732). He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots Corporation in London. ∴ ∴

"Mr Anderson died *at his house*,[1] in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, I apprehend about the year 1764."

Although the anonymous writer of the preceding memoir falls into some slight errors,[2] in portions of his narrative where there are opportunities of testing its accuracy, this memorial of Dr Anderson is the most trustworthy we can refer to, as being the only one in which a personal knowledge of his subject can be inferred from the expressions of the writer.

For this reason I have given it at length, and it may be observed, that the mistake in citing *Doctor* Anderson as the author of the learned treatise on the charters and coins of Scotland, has probably arisen from the coincidence of the death of the *Freemason* occurring in the same year as the publication of the posthumous work of the *Antiquary* (1739).

Dr Anderson's *magnum opus* was his "Royal Genealogies,"[3] produced, it is said, at the cost of twenty years' close study and application.[4] At the close of his life, he was reduced to very slender circumstances, and experienced some great misfortunes,[5] but of what description we are not told. The *Pocket Companion* for 1754 points out "great defects" in the edition of the "Constitutions," published the year before his death (1738), and attributes them either to "his want of health, or trusting [the MS.] to the management of strangers." "The work," it goes on to say, "appeared in a very mangled condition, and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand-Master Payne, were in many cases interpolated, and in others, the sense left very obscure and uncertain."[6]

Upon the whole, it is sufficiently clear, that the "New Book of Constitutions" (1738), which contains the only connected history of the Grand Lodge of England, for the first six years of its existence (1717-1723), was compiled by Dr Anderson at a period when troubles crowded thickly upon him, and very shortly before his death. This of itself would tend to detract from the weight of authority with which such a publication should descend to us. Moreover, if the discrepancies between the statements in the portion of the narrative which I have reproduced, and those quoted from "Multa Paucis," Dr Stukeley's Diary, and the journals of the day, are carefully noted, it will be impossible to arrive at any other conclusion—

[1] "Friday, died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, *at the South Sea House*, in his 73d year, Mr Adam Anderson, author of the 'Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce,' in two volumes, folio, lately published" (Public Advertiser, Monday, January 14, 1765).

[2] See the two last notes.

[3] Royal Genealogies, or The Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam to these Times, etc., folio, 1732. Second edit., 1736.

[4] Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Pocket Companion, and History of Free-Masons, 1754, preface, pp. vi., vii.

without, however, impeaching the good faith of the compiler—than that the history of the Grand Lodge, from 1717 to 1723, as narrated by Anderson, is, to say the least, very unsatisfactorily attested.[1] Dr Anderson died May 28, 1739,[2] and it is a little singular that none of the journals recording his decease, or that of his brother[3] Adam (1765), give any further clue to the place of their birth, than the brief statement that they were "natives of Scotland."

There seems, however, some ground for supposing that Dr James Anderson was born at Aberdeen or in its vicinity, and it appears to me not improbable, that the records of the Aberdeen Lodge might reveal the fact of his having been either an initiate or an affiliate of that body.

It is at least a remarkable coincidence—if nothing more—that almost the same words are used to describe James Anderson, the compiler of the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), and James Anderson, the compiler of the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England (1723). Thus the assent of the seventeenth lodge on the English Roll, in 1723, to the Constitutions of that year, is thus shown:—

XVII. James Anderson, A.M.
The Author of *this* Book,[4] } Master.

The assimilation into the English Masonic System of many operative terms indigenous to Scotland, is incontestable.[5] Now, although there are no means of deciding whether Anderson was *initiated* in, or *joined* the English Society,[6] there is evidence from which we may infer, either that he examined the records of the Lodge of Aberdeen, or that extracts therefrom were supplied to him.

In support of this position, the *eleventh* subscription to the Aberdeen Statutes may be again referred to.

James Anderson, "Glassier and Measson," the *clerk* of the lodge in 1670, was still a member (and Master) in 1696.[7] In a list before me, of "Clerks of the Aberdeen Lodge," but which unfortunately only commences in 1709, the first name on the roll is that of *J. Anderson*,

[1] The *early* history of the Freemasons, as related in the same work, is quite unworthy of serious consideration, and Professor Robison rightly inveighs against "the heap of rubbish with which Anderson has disgraced his Constitutions of Free Masonry—the basis of Masonic History" (Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, 5th edit., 1798, p. 17).

[2] "Yesterday died, at his house in Exeter Court, Dr James Anderson, a Dissenting teacher" (London Evening Post, from May 26 to May 29, 1739). A similar notice appears in *Read's Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 2; and the *London Daily Post* of May 29 says, "the deceased was reckoned a very facetious companion."

[3] I may observe, that the relationship between *James* and *Adam* Anderson, rests upon the authority of the anonymous contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1783, vol. liii., p. 41). One allusion to the Freemasons is made, indeed, by Adam Anderson, but very little can be inferred from it. Quoting the Stat. Hen. VI., cap. i., he says—"Thus we see this Humour of *Free-masonry* is of no small antiquity in England" (History of Commerce, 1764, vol. i., p. 252).

[4] Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 74; and *cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 434, No. 11.

[5] Certainly *Cowan* and *Fellow-craft*, and possibly *Master Mason*, *Entered*, *Passed*, *Raised*, etc.

[6] If Dr Stukeley's statement is to be believed, Anderson could not have been initiated in *London* until 1721 (*ante*, p. 284). It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the latter doctor is not named in the proceedings of Grand Lodge until September 29, 1721. His admission or affiliation, therefore, into English Masonry probably occurred *after* the election as Grand Master of the Duke of Montagu. In this view of the case, the information he furnishes with regard to the Masonic events of the years 1717-1720, must have been derived from *hearsay*.

[7] Chap. VIII., p. 434.

which is repeated year by year until 1725.[1] At the time, therefore, when James Anderson, the Presbyterian Minister, published the English Book of Constitutions (1723), *a* J. Anderson —presumably the *glazier* of 1670—was the lodge clerk at Aberdeen. Now, if the *author* of one Masonic book, and the *writer* of the other, were both natives of Aberdeen, the similarity of name will imply relationship, and in this view of the facts, it would seem only natural that the younger historian should have benefited by the research of his senior. Clearly, the glazier and clerk of 1670 *may* not have been the clerk of 1709-24; also, Dr Anderson *may* have had no connection with Aberdeen. These propositions are self evident, but though I have searched for many weary hours in the library of the British Museum and elsewhere, I can find nothing which conflicts with the idea, that the brothers, Adam and James Anderson, were natives of Aberdeen.

However this may be, Dr Anderson was certainly a Scotsman, and to this circumstance must be attributed his introduction of many operative terms from the vocabulary of the sister kingdom into his "Book of Constitutions." Of these, one of the most common is, the compound word *Fellow-craft*,[2] which is plainly of Scottish derivation. *Enter'd Prentice*[3] also occurs, and though presented as *a quotation* from an old *English* manuscript, it hardly admits of a doubt that Anderson *embellished* the text of his authority by changing the words "new men" into "enter'd Prentices."[4]

Allusions to the Freemasonry of Scotland are not infrequent. "Lodges there," with "Records and Traditions"—"kept up without interruption many hundred years"—are mentioned in one place,[5] and in another we read that "the Masons of Scotland were impower'd to have a certain and fix'd Grand Master and Grand Warden"[6]—here, no doubt the writer had in his mind the Laird of Udaucht, or William Schaw.[7]

Again, in the "Approbation" appended to his work, Anderson expressly states that he has examined "several copies of the *History*, *Charges*, and *Regulations*, of the *ancient* FRATERNITY, from Scotland" and elsewhere.[8]

The word *Cowan*, however, is reserved for the second edition of the Constitutions,[9] where also the following passage occurs, relative to the Scottish custom of lodges meeting in the open air,[10] a usage probably disclosed to the compiler by the records of the Aberdeen Lodge, or by his namesake, their custodian. The words run—

"The *Fraternity* of old met in *Monasteries* in foul Weather, but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St JOHN *Evangelist's Day*, and from thence walk'd in due Form to the Place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of the old *Scots Masons*, particularly of those in the antient Lodges of *Killwinning*, *Sterling*, Aberdeen," etc.[11]

Our next task will be, to compare the Masonic systems prevailing in Scotland and England respectively, at a date preceding the era of Grand Lodges, or, to slightly vary the

[1] The Constitutions, etc., of the Aberdeen Mason Lodge, 1853. Appendix, p. xxiv.

[2] Constitutions, 1723, *passim*.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] "That *enter'd Prentices* at their making, were charg'd not to be Thieves, or Thieves-Maintainers" (Constitutions, 1723, p. 34). "At the first beginning, *new men* . ·. be charged . ·. that [they] should never be thieves, nor thieves' maintainers" ("Cooke" MS., lines 912-917). *Cf.* Chap. II., pp. 103, 104.

[5] Constitutions, 1723, p. 37.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 425, 426.

[8] Constitutions, 1723, p. 73.

[9] Preface, p. ix., and pp. 54, 74.

[10] *Ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 428, 429.

[11] Constitutions, 1738, p. 91.

expression, to contrast the usages of the Craft in the two Kingdoms, as existing at a period anterior to the epoch of transition.

The difficulties of disentangling the subject from the confusion which encircles it, are great, but I trust not insuperable. Dr Anderson's narrative of occurrences—termed with lamentable accuracy, "The Basis of Masonic History"—has become a *damnosa hæreditas* to later historians. Even the prince of Masonic critics, Dr George Kloss, has been misled by the positive statements in the "Constitutions."[1] It is true that this commentator did not blindly follow (as so many have done) the footsteps of Anderson. For example, he declares that Freemasonry originated in England, and was thence transplanted into other countries, but he admits, nevertheless, that it is quite possible *from Anderson's History*, to prove that it went out from France to Britain, returning thence in due season, and then again going to Britain, and finally being re-introduced into France in the manner affirmed by French writers.[2]

Sir David Brewster, in his learned compilation,[3] alludes to numerous and elegant ruins then still adorning the villages of Scotland, as having been "erected by foreign masons, who introduced into this island the customs of their order." He also mentions, as a curious fact, having often heard—in one of those towns where there is an elegant abbey, built in the twelfth century—that it was "erected by a company of industrious men, who spoke a foreign language, and lived separately from the townspeople."[4] As Brewster had previously observed, that the mysteries of the Free Masons were probably the source from which the Egyptian priests derived that knowledge, for which they have been so highly celebrated,[5] it seems to me that a good opportunity of adding to the ponderous learning which characterises his book, was here let slip. According to the historians of the Middle Ages, the Scotch certainly came from Egypt, for they were originally the issue of Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh, and who bequeathed to them her name.[6] It would therefore have been a very simple matter, and quite as credible as nine-tenths of the historical essay with which his work commences, had Sir David Brewster brought Scottish Masonry directly from Egypt, instead of by the somewhat circuitous route to which he thought fit to accord the preference.

It is not a little singular, that in Lawrie's "History of Freemasonry"—to quote the title by which the work is best known—a Masonic publication, it may be observed, of undoubted merit,[7] whilst the traditions of the *English* fraternity are characterised as "silly and uninteresting stories," those of the Scottish Masons are treated in a very different manner. Thus, the accounts of St Alban, King Athelstan, and Prince Edwin, which we meet with in the "Old

[1] *Ante*, p. 255.

[2] G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich (1725-1830), Darmstadt, 1852, pp. 13, 14.

[3] See Chap. VIII., p. 383. [4] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 90, 91.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[6] *Cf.* Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 312; and Lingard, History of England, vol. ii., p. 187.

[7] "The first Historian of the Grand Lodge of Scotland who attempted to divest the History of Freemasonry of that jargon and mystery in which it had previously been enveloped; and to afford something like a classical view of this ancient and respectable Institution, was Bro. Alex. Laurie, *Grand Secretary*" (Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, pt. i., p. 7). *Cf. ante*, Chap VIII., pp. 383, 384. Lawrie, it should be noticed, was *not* the Grand Secretary in 1804, and only became so—probably through the reputation acquired from the work bearing his name—a few years later.

Charges," are described as "merely assertions, not only incapable of proof from authentic history, but inconsistent, also, with several historical events which rest on indubitable evidence." In a forcible passage, which every Masonic writer should learn by heart, Brewster then adds, "those who invent and propagate such tales, do not, surely, consider that they bring discredit upon their order by the warmth of their zeal; and that, by supporting what is false, they debar thinking men from believing what is true."[1]

After such an admirable commentary upon the vagaries of Masonic historians, it is, to say the least, extremely disappointing, to find so learned a writer, when dealing with Scottish legends of the Craft, altogether ignoring the canons of criticism, which he laid down with so much care in the former instance.

Whatever may have been the real cause of this diversity of treatment, it at least brings to recollection the old adage:

> "A little nonsense, now and then,
> Is relished by the wisest men."

Or, it is possible, that the distinguished *savant* and man of letters, who was discharging what must have been a somewhat uncongenial task, in finding arguments to uphold the great antiquity of Freemasonry, was prompted by sentimental feelings, to assume for his own nation a Masonic precedency, to which it could lay no valid claim. Mentally ejaculating (we may well believe) "Scotland for ever"—he informs us, "that Free Masonry was introduced into Scotland by those architects who built the Abbey of Kilwinning, is manifest, not only from those *authentic documents*, by which the existence of the Kilwinning Lodge has been traced back as far as the end of the fifteenth century, but by other *collateral arguments, which amount almost to a demonstration.*"[2] Next, we learn, that "the Barons of Roslin, as hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland, held their principal annual meetings at Kilwinning,"[3] and are further told that the introduction of Masonry into England occurred at about the same time as in Scotland, —"but whether the English received it from the Scotch Masons at Kilwinning,"—so the words run,—"or from other brethren who had arrived from the Continent, there is no method of determining."[4]

"Legends," to employ the words of one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic writers, "are stubborn things when they have once forced themselves into a locality."[5] It is improbable that the popular belief in "Hereditary Grand Masters," with a "Grand Centre" at

[1] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, pp. 91, 92. Findel, following Kloss, remarks, "The inventors of Masonic Legends were so blind to what was immediately before their eyes, and so limited in their ideas, that, instead of connecting them with the period of the Introduction of Christianity, and with the monuments of Roman antiquity, which were either perfect or in ruins before them, they preferred associating the Legends of their Guilds with some tradition or other. The English had the York Legend, reaching back as far as the year 926. The German Mason answers the question touching the origin of his Art, by pointing to the building of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (876); and the Scotch Mason refers only to the erection of Kilwinning—1140" (History of Freemasonry, pp. 105, 106).

[2] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 89, 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 100. Lyon observes, "he [Lawrie, *i.e.* Brewster] does not seem to have been staggered in his belief by the consideration that the St Clairs [of Roslin] had no territorial or other connection with Kilwinning or its neighbourhood, or by reflecting on the improbability of Masons from Aberdeen, Perth, St Andrews, Dundee, Edinburgh, and other places, in an age when long journeys were attended with both difficulties and dangers, travelling to a distant obscure hamlet to adjust differences in connection with their handicraft" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 66).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[5] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 106.

Kilwinning, will ever be effectually stamped out. The mythical character of both these traditions, has, indeed, been fully exposed by the latest and ablest of Scottish historians of the Craft.[1] But passing from fable to fact, it will be unnecessary to concern ourselves any further with the compilation of 1804, except so far as the vivid imagination of Sir David Brewster, has suggested a possible derivation of English from Scottish Masonry. The probability, not to put the case any higher, is, indeed, quite the other way, but "as waters take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run," so may the Masonic customs, though proceeding from the same source, have varied according to the regions and circumstances where they were planted. Neither the traditions nor the usages of the Craft have come down from antiquity in one clear unruffled stream. Why the *two* Masonic bodies followed in their development such different paths, it is the province of history to determine. Such a task lies, indeed, beyond my immediate purpose, and would exceed the limits of this work. Still, however, whilst leaving the problem to be dealt with by an historian of the future, it may be possible, nevertheless, in the ensuing pages, to indicate some promising lines of inquiry, which will lead, in my judgment, to the elucidation of many points of interest, if pursued with diligence.

It has been already noticed,[2] that the two legendary centres of Masonic activity—York and Kilwinning—were comprised within the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria.[3] Disrael[i] observes,—"The casual occurrence of the ENGLES leaving their name to this land has bestowed on our country a foreign designation; and—for the contingency was nearly arising—had the Kingdom of Northumbria preserved its ascendancy in the octarchy, the seat of dominion had been altered. In that case, the lowlands of Scotland would have formed a portion of England; York would have stood forth as the metropolis of Britain, and London had been but a remote mart for her port and her commerce."[4]

A speculation might be advanced, though it rests on no shadow of proof, but is nevertheless a somewhat plausible theory, that the Italian workmen imported by Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid,[5] may have formed Guilds—in imitation of the Collegia, which perhaps still existed in some form in Italy—to perpetuate the art among the natives, and hence the legend of Athelstan and the Grand Lodge of York. But unfortunately, Northumbria was the district most completely revolutionised by the Danes, and again effectually ravaged by the Conqueror.[6]

The legend pointing to Kilwinning as the original seat of Scottish Masonry, based as it is upon the story which makes the institution of the *Lodge*, and the erection of the *Abbey* (1140) coeval, is inconsistent with the fact that the latter was neither the first nor second Gothic structure erected in Scotland.[7] Moreover, we are assured on good authority that a minute

[1] See Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 65, 66.

[2] Chap. XIII., p. 23.

[3] "Northumbria extended from the Humber to the Forth, and from the North Sea inland to the eastern offsets of the Pennine Range. Its western limit in the country now called Scotland is more uncertain, but would probably be fairly represented by a line drawn from the Liddel through Selkirk or Peebles to the neighbourhood of Stirling" (Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.*).

[4] Amenities of Literature, vol. i., p. 41.

[5] Chap. VI., p. 272.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[7] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 242.

inspection of its ruins proves its erection to have been antedated by some eighty or ninety years.[1] Still, whether at Kilwinning or elsewhere, it is tolerably clear that the Scottish stone-workers of the twelfth century came from England. The English were able to send them, and the Scots required them. Also, it is a fair presumption from the fact of numerous Englishmen of noble birth having, at the instance of the King, settled in Scotland at this period, that Craftsmen from the South must soon have followed them.[2] Indeed, late in the twelfth century, "the two nations, according to Fordun, seemed one people, Englishmen travelling at pleasure through all the corners of Scotland; and Scotchmen in like manner through England."[3]

When the Legend of the Craft, or in other words the Masonic traditions which we find enshrined in the "Old Charges," was or were introduced into Scotland, it is quite impossible to decide. If, indeed, a traditionary history existed at all in Britain, before the reign of Edward III., as I have ventured to contend that it must have done,[4] this, for several reasons, would seem the most likely period at which such transfusion of ideas occurred. It is true that *probability* in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow. *Le vraisemblable n'est pas toujours vrai*, and *le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable*. Yet it is free from doubt that *after* the war of independence in the thirteenth century, the Scottish people, in their language, their institutions, and their habits, gradually became estranged from England.[5] A closer intercourse took place with the French, and "the Saxon institutions in Scotland were gradually buried under foreign importations."[6] "The earliest ecclesiastical edifices of England and Scotland show the same style of architecture—*in many instances the same workmen*. When, *after* the devastations of the war of independence, Gothic architecture was resumed, it leaned, in its gradual development from earlier to later styles, more to the Continental than the English models; and when the English architects fell into the thin mouldings and shafts, depressed arches, and square outlines of the Tudor-Gothic, Scotland took the other direction of the rich, massive, wavy decorations and high-pointed arches of the French Flamboyant."[7]

But even if we go the length of believing that English Masons, or at least their customs, had penetrated into Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the circumstances of that unfortunate kingdom from 1296 to 1400, have yet to be considered. Throughout this period, Scotland was continually ravaged by the English. In 1296, they entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed, and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants, after which they marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin, and completely desolated

[1] "The earliest date, even were it in England, that could be fixed for the erection of a structure like Kilwinning Abbey, would be A.D. 1220" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh). *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 185, note 1.

[2] See a letter in the *Freemason* of June 19, 1869, signed "Leo." The writer—*semble*, Mr W. P. Buchan—remarks, "In the 12th and 13th centuries, England, I should say, was the Mother of Scottish Operative *Masonry*, just as in the 18th century, she was of Speculative *Freemasonry*."

[3] Rev. G. Ridpath, Border History of England and Scotland, 1810, p. 76. *Cf.* Sir D. Dalrymple, Annals of Scotland, vol. i., p. 158.

[4] Chap. XIII., p. 219.

[5] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i., p. 516.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 518. "In the mansions of the gentry, the influence of France was still more complete; for when the English squires were building their broad, oriel-windowed, and many-chimneyed mansions of the Tudor style, the Scottish lairds raised tall, narrow fortalices, crowned with rich clusters of gaudy, painted turrets, like the châteaux of Guienne and Berri" (*Ibid.*). *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 264, 284-286.

the country.[1] In 1298 the English again broke in, burnt Perth and St Andrews, and ravaged the whole country, south and west.[2] In 1322, Bruce, in order to baffle an English invasion, was obliged to lay waste all the districts south of the Firth of Forth. In 1336, Edward III. destroyed everything he could find, as far as Inverness, whilst in 1355, in a still more barbarous inroad, he burnt every church, every village, and every town he approached. Nor did the country fare better at the hands of his successor, for Richard II. traversed the southern counties to Aberdeen, scattering destruction on every side, and reducing to ashes the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee.[3] It has been estimated, that the frequent wars between Scotland and England since the death of Alexander III. (1286), had occasioned to the former country the loss of more than a century in the progress of civilisation.[4] We are told that, in the fifteenth century, even in the best parts of Scotland, the inhabitants could not manufacture the most necessary articles, which they imported largely from Bruges.[5] At Aberdeen, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not a mechanic in the town capable to execute the ordinary repairs of a clock.[6]

Dunfermline, associated with so many historic reminiscences, at the end of the fourteenth century was still a poor village, composed of wooden huts.[7] At the same period, the houses in Edinburgh itself were mere huts thatched with boughs, and even as late as 1600 they were chiefly built of wood.[8] Down, or almost down, to the close of the sixteenth century, skilled labour was hardly known, and honest industry was universally despised.[9]

If it be conceded, therefore, that prior to the war of independence the architecture of Scotland, and with it the customs of the building trades, received an English impress, we must, I think, also admit the strong improbability—to say no more—of the influence thus produced, having survived the period of anarchy, which has been briefly described. Neither is it likely that French or other Continental customs became permanently engrafted on the Scottish Masonic system.[10] Indeed, it is clear almost to demonstration, that the usages wherein the Masons of Scotland differed from the other trades of that country were of English derivation. The "Old Charges" here come to our aid, and prove, if they do no more,

[1] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., pp. 13, 14.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 15, 16.

[4] J. Pinkerton, History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 166, 167.

[5] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 61. Lyon, in chap. xxiv. of his "History," prints the Seal of Cause, incorporating the Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh, A.D. 1475, and observes (p. 233), "The reference which is made to BRUGES in the fourth item, is significant, as indicating one of the channels through which the Scottish Crafts became acquainted with customs obtaining among their brethren in foreign countries." He adds, "the secret ceremonies observed by the representatives of the builders of the mediæval edifices of which Bruges could boast, may have to some extent been adopted by the Lodges of Scotch Operative Masons in the fifteenth century" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 234).

[6] W. Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen, 1818, vol. i., p. 99.

[7] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 62.

[8] G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. i., p. 802; Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 30.

[9] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 31. "Our manufactures were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks, and were of no reputation. These were, for the most part, workmen for home consumpt, such as *Masons*, house-carpenters, armourers, blacksmiths, taylors, shoemakers, and the like" (*Ibid.*, citing "The Interest of Scotland considered," 1733, p. 82).

[10] The possible influence of the "Companionage," and the "Steinmetzen," upon *British* Freemasonry, will be considered in the next chapter.

that in one feature at least the Scottish ceremonial was based on an English prototype.[1] The date when the "Legend of the Craft" was introduced into Scotland is indeterminable. The evidence will justify an inference, that a copy of our manuscript Constitutions was in the possession of the Melrose Lodge in 1581.[2] Still, it is scarcely possible, if we accept this date, that it marks the *introduction* into Scotland of a version of the "Old Charges." From the thirteenth century to the close of the sixteenth, the most populous Scottish cities were Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, and St Andrews.[3] English craftsmen, or English craft usages, it may be supposed, passed into Scotland by way of the great towns rather than of the smaller ones. Melrose, it is true, stands on the border line of the two countries, and its beautiful Abbey, as previously stated, is also betwixt the two in style.[4] But even were we to accept the dates of erection of the chief ecclesiastical buildings, as those of the introduction of Masonry into the various districts of Scotland, it would be found, says the historian of the Lodge of Melrose, that Kelso stood first, Edinburgh second, Melrose *third*, and Kilwinning fourth.[5] On the whole we shall, perhaps, not go far astray, if we assume that the lost exemplars of the "Old Charges" extant in both kingdoms, or to speak more correctly, those of the normal or ordinary versions, were in substance identical.[6] This would carry back the ceremony of "reading the Charges," as a characteristic of Scottish Masonry, to the period when our manuscript Constitutions assumed the coherent and, as it were, stereotyped form, of which either the Lansdowne (3) or the Buchanan (15) MSS. affords a good illustration.[7] As against this view, however, it must not escape our recollection that the only direct evidence pointing to the existence in Scotland of versions of the Old Charges *before* the seventeenth century, consists of the memorandum or attestation, a copy of which is appended to Melrose MS., No. 2 (19).[8] It runs—

Extracted be me AM. upon the 1 2 3 and 4 dayes of December anno MDCLXXIIII.	Be it knouen to all men to whom these presents shall come that Robert Wincester hath lafuly done his dutie to the science of Masonrie in witnes wherof J. [I] John Wincester his Master frie mason have subscribit my name and sett to my mark in the Year of our Lord 1581 and in the raing of our most Soveraing Lady Elizabeth the (22) Year.

If it is considered that more has been founded on this entry than it will safely bear,[9] or in other words that it *does not* warrant the inference, with regard to MS. 19 being a copy of a sixteenth century version, a further supposition presents itself. It is this. All Scottish copies of the "Old Charges" may then date *after* the accession of James I. to the

[1] Chaps. II., pp. 89, 90; VIII., p. 433. *Cf.* Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 108, 421.

[2] Chap. II., pp. 66, 89.

[3] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 29.

[4] Chap. VIII., p. 286.

[5] W. F. Vernon, in the *Masonic Magazine*, February, 1880. *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. i.; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 449.

[6] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 206.

[7] *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 207.

[8] This having been only partially given at Chap. II., pp. 90, note 1, is now shown above in full.

[9] *Cf.* Chaps. II., pp. 66, 90; VIII., pp. 409, 451; XIV., p. 194 (3*a*); and Hughan's description of Melrose MS., No. 2, in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. vii., 1880, p. 289.

English throne (1603), and the question arises, Can the words "leidgeman to the King of England" be understood as referring to this monarch? If so, some difficulties would be removed from our path, but only, alas, to give place to others.

When James at the death of Queen Elizabeth proceeded to England, the principal native nobility accompanied him.[1] Nor was this exodus restricted to the upper classes. Howell, writing in 1657, assigns as a reason for the cities of London and Westminster, which were originally far apart, having become fully joined in the early years of the seventeenth century, the great number of Scotch who came to London on the accession of James I., and settled chiefly along the Strand.[2] It may therefore be contended that *if* about the close of the sixteenth century the Mason's lodges in England had ceased to exist, the great influx of Scotsmen just alluded to, might reasonably account for the Warrington meeting of 1646,[3] before which there is no evidence of *living* Freemasonry in the South. This, of course, would imply either that the Scottish Lodges, which we know existed in the sixteenth century, *then* possessed versions of the "Old Charges," or that for some period of time at least, they were without them.

The latter supposition would, however, be weakened by the presumption of the English Lodges having died out, since it would be hardly likely that from their fossil remains the Scotch Masons extracted the manuscript Constitutions, which they certainly *used* in the seventeenth century.

My own view is that that William Schaw, the Master of Work and General Warden, had a copy of the "Old Charges" before him when he penned the Statutes of 1598 and 1599,[4] and with regard to the Warrington Lodge (1646), that it was an out-growth of something essentially distinct from the Scotch Masonry of that period.

On both these points a few final words remain to be expressed, but before doing so, it will be convenient if I resume and conclude the observations on the general history of Scotland, which I have brought down to the year 1657, and show the possibility of the legislative Union of 1707, having conduced in some measure to the (so-called) Masonic Revival of 1717.

At the accession of William III. (1689) every Scotsman of importance, who could claim alliance with the revolutionary party, proffered his guidance to the new King through the intricacies of his position. But the clustering of these gratuitous advisers became so troublesome to him, that the resort of members of the Convention to London was prohibited.[5]

After the Union of the two Kingdoms (1707), the infusion of English ideas was very rapid. Some of the most considerable persons in Scotland were obliged to pass half the year in London, and naturally came back with a certain change in their ideas.[6] The Scotch nobles looked for future fortune, not to Scotland but to England. London became the centre of their intrigues and their hopes.[7] The movement up to this period, it may be remarked, was entirely in one direction. The people of Scotland knew England much better than the people of England knew

[1] Irving, History of Dumbartonshire, 1860, pp. 137, 166; Bishop Guthry, Memoirs, 1702, pp. 127, 128.
[2] Londinopolis, Historical Discourse and Perlustration of London, p. 346.
[3] Chap. XIV., p. 140.
[4] Chap. VIII., pp. 385, 389, 397.
[5] Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 19.
[6] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 85.
[7] Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., p. 165.

Scotland—indeed, according to Burton, the efforts of the pamphleteers to make Scotland known to the English, at the period of the Union, resemble the missionary efforts at the present day (1853) to instruct the people about the policy of the Caffres or the Japanese.[1]

A passing glance at the Freemasonry of the South in 1707—the year of the Union between the two kingdoms—has been afforded us by the essay of Sir Richard Steele.[2] Upon this evidence, it is argued with much force, that a Society known as the Freemasons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition, must have existed in London in 1709, and for a *long time* before.[3]

This position, with the reservation that the words *signs* and *tokens*,[4] upon which Steele's commentator has relied—like the equivalent terms cited by Aubrey, Plot, Rawlinson, and Randle Holme[5]—do *not* decide the *vexata quaestio* of Masonic degrees, will, I think, be generally conceded. But I am here concerned with the date only of Steele's first essay (1709). Whether the customs he attests were new or old will be considered later. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to assume, that about the period of the Union, there was a marked difference between the ceremonial observances of the English[6] and of the Scottish Lodges. This conclusion, it is true, has yet to be reduced to actual demonstration, but the further *proofs* on which I rely—notably the lodge procedure of Scotland—will be presently cited, when every reader will be able to form an independent judgment with regard to the proposition which I have ventured to lay down.

It seems to me a very natural deduction from the evidence, that during the ten years which intervened between the Treaty of Union (1707), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), the characteristics of the Masonic systems, which existed, so to speak, side by side, must have been frequently compared by the members of the two brotherhoods. Among the numerous Scotsmen who flocked to London, there must have been many geomatic[7] masons, far more, indeed, than, at this lapse of time, can be identified as members of the Craft. This is placed beyond doubt by the evidence that has come down to us. To retrace our steps somewhat, we find that the Earl of Eglinton, Deacon of "Mother" Kilwinning in 1677, having "espoused the principles which led to the Revolution, enjoyed the confidence of William the Third."[8] Sir Duncan Campbell, a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh, was the personal friend and one of the confidential advisers of Queen Anne.[9] Sir John Clerk, and Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, were also members of this lodge.[10] The former, one of the Barons of the Exchequer for Scotland, from 1707 to 1755, was also a Commissioner for the

[1] History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i., p. 523. [2] *Ante*, p. 275, *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Shakespeare, Taming of the Shrew, iv. 4; and Titus Andronicus, ii. 5. In the former play, Lucentio winks and laughs, and leaves a servant behind "to expound the meaning or moral of his signs and tokens." In the latter, Demetrius says of Lavinia, whose *hands* have been cut off, and tongue cut out, "See, how with signs and tokens she can scrowl."

[5] Chaps. XII., pp. 6, 17; XIV., pp. 164, 183.

[6] By this is meant, of course, the Lodges in the Southern metropolis. The English Masonic system, as a whole, will be examined with some fulness in the next chapter.

[7] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 437, note 2. [8] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 52.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 155. See, however, *ante*, p. 285. If initiated, as Lyon states, in the time of Queen Anne, he must have *joined* the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721!

[10] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 147. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 408.

Union, a measure, the success of which was due in no small degree to the tact and address of the latter, who was one of the foremost Scottish statesmen of his era.[1] The Treaty of Union also found an energetic supporter in the Earl of Findlater, whose name appears on the roll of the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670.[2]

Inasmuch as the names just cited, are those of persons at one end of the scale, whilst the bulk of the Scottish Craft were at the other end, it is plainly inferential, that many masons of intermediate degree in social rank, must also have found their way to the English metropolis.

Let me next endeavour, by touching lightly on the salient features of Scottish Masonry, to show what the ideas and customs were, from which the founders or early members of the Grand Lodge of England, *could* have borrowed. In so doing, however, I hasten to disclaim the notion of entering into any rivalry with the highest authority upon the subject under inquiry. But, not to say, that in the remarks which follow, I have derived great assistance from notes freely supplied by Lyon, it must be remembered, as Mackey points out, that the learned and laborious investigations of the Historian of "Mother Kilwinning" and "Mary's Chapel," refer only to the Lodges of Scotland. He adds, "There is no sufficient evidence that a more extensive system of initiation did not prevail at the same time, or even earlier, in England and Germany." "Indeed," he continues, "Findel has shown that it did in the latter country."[3] Passing over the alleged identity of the Steinmetzen with the Freemasons, which has been already disposed of,[4] the remarks of the veteran encyclopædist will be generally acquiesced in. They are cited, however, in this place, because they justify the conclusion, that some statements by Lyon, with regard to the Freemasonry of *England*, are evidently mere *obiter dicta*, and may be passed over, therefore, without detracting in the slightest degree from the value of his work as an authentic history of *Scottish* Masonry. Among these is the allusion to Desaguliers as "the pioneer and co-fabricator of symbolical Masonry," a popular delusion, the origin of which has been explained at an earlier page.[5]

Leaving, however, the Freemasonry of England for later examination, let me next, in the shortest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, summarise those features of the Scottish system which await final examination.

Turning to the Schaw Statutes, which are based, according to my belief, upon the "Old

[1] See the numerous references to this nobleman, in Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i.

[2] Chap. VIII., p. 434. The Earls of Marchmont, Eglinton, and Findlater, were accused by Lockhart of having sold their country for £1104, 15s. 7d.; £200; and £100, respectively. "It has been related," observes Burton, "that the Earl of Marchmont had so nicely estimated the value of his conscience, as to give back 5d. in copper, on receiving £1104, 16s. The price for which the Lord Banff had agreed to dispose of himself, was £11, 2s.—an amount held to be the more singularly moderate, as he had to throw in a change of religion with his side of the bargain, and become a Protestant that he might fulfil it!" (History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 485, 486).

[3] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Word.

[4] See Chap. III.; and G. W. Speth, The Steinmetz Theory Critically Examined—shortly to be published.

[5] *Ante*, p. 287. Warburton observes, "An historian who writes of past ages ought not to sit down with the reasons former writers give for things, but examine them, and prove their truth or falsehood—this distinguishes an historian from a mere compiler" (Literary Remains, edited by the Rev. F. Kilvert, 1841, p. 288), *cf. ante*, p. 251. It may be worth remarking, that the talented author of the "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh" does not profess to give more than the result of researches among the manuscripts and documents preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge, and in those of Mother Kilwinning, the Lodge of Edinburgh, and other *Scottish* Masonic bodies, dating from the seventeenth century or earlier (Preface, pp. vii., viii.).

English Charges" or Manuscript Constitutions,[1] we find ordinances of earlier date referred to. These, if not the ancient writings with which I have ventured to identify them, must have been some regulations or orders now lost to us. However this may be, the Schaw Statutes themselves present us with an outline of the system of Masonry peculiar to Scotland in 1598-99, which, to a great extent, we are enabled to fill in by aid of the further documentary evidence supplied from that kingdom, and dating from the succeeding century.

The Schaw Statutes are given in Chapter VIII., though not in their vernacular idiom. For this reason a few literal extracts from the two *codices*, upon which some visionary speculations have been based, become essential. These, however—not to encumber the text—will appear in the notes, where they can be referred to by those of my readers, for whom the old Scottish dialect has attractions.

Many of the clauses are in close agreement with some which are to be found in the "Old Charges," whilst others exhibit a striking resemblance to the regulations of the Steinmetzen,[2] and of the craft guilds of France.[3] Schaw, there can hardly be a doubt, had ancient writings to copy from, and what they were I have already ventured to suggest. That trade regulations, all over the world, are characterised by a great family likeness may next be affirmed, and for this reason the points of similarity between the Scottish and the German codes appear to me to possess no particular significance, though with regard to the influence of French customs upon the former, it may be otherwise.

Lyon's *dictum*, that the rules ordained by William Schaw were applicable to Operative Masons alone, will be regarded by most persons as a verdict from which there is no appeal. This point is one of some importance, for although addressed ostensibly to all the Master Masons within the Scottish realm, the Statutes have special reference to the business of *Lodges*, as distinguished from the less ancient organisations of the Craft known as *Incorporations*, holding their privileges direct from the crown, or under Seals of Cause granted by burghal authorities.[4]

The purposes for which the old Scottish lodges existed, are partly disclosed by the documents of 1598 and 1599, though, as the laws then framed or codified were not always obeyed, the "items" of the Warden-General, point in more than one instance to customs that were notoriously more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Of this, a good illustration is afforded by the various passages in the two codes which appear to regulate the *status* of apprentices. Thus, according to the Statutes of 1598, no apprentice was to be made *brother* and fellow craft until the period of his servitude had expired.[5] That is to say, on being made free, or attaining the position of a full craftsman, he was admitted or accepted into the fellowship,[6] or to use a more modern expression, became a member of the lodge.

[1] *Ante*, p. 300, and Chap. VIII., p. 397.

[2] *E.g.*, compare the Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), Articles 1-6, with §§ II., XLII., II., IV., XI., VI. of the Strassburg Code respectively (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 385, 386; and III., p. 119 *et seq.*); also Nos. 8, 9, 10, 13, and 15 of the former, with Nos. XV., XV. (and LIV., LV.), LXI., LXIV., and LXIV. of the latter.

[3] Especially is this the case with regard to the Essay or Masterpiece, named in both editions of the Schaw Statutes. *Cf.* Articles 13 of the 1st and 10 of the 2d, with the Montpellier Statutes of 1586 (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 386, 390; and IV., pp. 203-206).

[4] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 16.

[5] § 9.

[6] *Cf.* p. 263, note 2, and Chap. XIV., p. 151.

That the apprentices in Schaw's time stood on quite a different footing from that of the Masters and fellows, is also attested by the second code,[1] and that their *status* in the lodge during the seventeenth century was still one of relative inferiority to the *members*[2] in some parts of Scotland, is as certain as that in others they laboured under no disability whatever, and were frequently elected to the chair.[3] "Beyond providing for the 'orderlie buiking' of apprentices, the Schaw Statutes are silent as to the constitution of the lodge at entries. On the other hand, care is taken to fix the number and quality of brethren necessary to the reception of masters or fellows of craft, viz., six masters and two entered apprentices.[4] The presence of so many masters was doubtless intended as a barrier to the advancement of incompetent craftsmen, and not for the communication of secrets with which entered apprentices were unacquainted; for the arrangement referred to proves beyond question that whatever secrets were imparted in and by the lodge were, as a means of mutual recognition, patent to the intrant. The 'trial of skill in his craft,'[5] the production of an 'essay-piece,'[6] and the insertion of his name and mark in the lodge book, with the names of his 'six admitters' and 'intendaris' as specified in the act,[7] were merely practical tests and confirmations of the applicant's qualifications as an apprentice, and his fitness to undertake the duties of journeyman or master in Operative Masonry; and the apprentice's attendance at

[1] §§ 10-12. The subordinacy of apprentices in *England* is also abundantly proved by the language of the "Old Charges," though, as we have seen, in tracing upwards or backwards, the evidence from all other sources becomes exhausted when the year 1646 is reached, without apparently bringing us any nearer to a purely or even partly operative *regime*. *Cf. ante*, p. 300, and Chap. XIV., p. 143.

[2] Of the Lodge of Glasgow, Lyon remarks, "unlike other pre-eighteenth century lodges, its membership was exclusively operative, and although doubtless giving the mason word to entered apprentices, none were recognised as members till they had joined the incorporation, which was composed of Mason burgesses" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 413). By the rules, however, of the Operative Lodge of Banff (1765), a person became a member on "being Made an Entred Apprentice" (Freemason, March 20, 1869; and Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 37).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 394; and Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning, Freemason's Magazine, July to December 1863, pp. 95, 154, 236. An apprentice was elected master of the legendary parent of Scottish Freemasonry so late as 1736 (*Ibid.*, p. 237).

[4] Schaw Stat. No. 1 (1598), § 13.—"*Item*, That na maister or fallow of craft be ressauit [*received*] nor admittit wtout the numer of sex maisteris and twa enterit prenteissis, the wardene of that ludge being ane [*one*] of the said sex, and that the day of the ressauyng [*receiving*] of the said fallow of craft or maister be ordrlie buikit and his name and mark insert in the said buik wt the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be alsua insert in thair buik. Providing alwayis that na man be admittit wtout ane assay [*essay*] and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 386).

[5] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 6.—"*Item*, it is ordanit be my lord warden generall, that the warden of Kilwynning, as secund in Scotland, elect and chuis sex of the maist perfyte and worthiest of memorie within [*thair boundis*], to tak tryall of the qualificatioun of the haill masonis within the boundis foirsaid, *of thair art, craft, scyance and antient memorie;* to the effect the warden deakin may be answerable heiraftir for sic personis as is committit to him, and within his boundis and jurisdictioun" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 12; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390).

[6] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 10.—"*Item*, it is ordainit that all fallows of craft at his entrie pay to the commoun bokis of the ludge the soume of ten pundis mone [*money*], with xs. worthe of gluffis [gloves], or euir [before] he be admittit, and that for the bankatt [*banquet*]; *and that he be not admittit without ane sufficient essay and pruife of memorie and art of craft*, be [*by*] the warden, deacon, and quarter maisteris of the ludge, conforme to the foirmer; and quhairthrow thai may be the mair answerable to the generall warden" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390). It will be seen that the "Essay" is referred to in both codes. *Cf.* the last note but one.

[7] Schaw Statutes No. I. (1598), § 13. See note above, and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 386.

such an examination could not be otherwise than beneficial to him, because of the opportunity it afforded for increasing his professional knowledge."[1]

No traces of an annual "tryall of the art and memorie and science thairof of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss,"[2] were found by Lyon in the recorded transactions of Mary's Chapel or in those of the Lodge of Kilwinning. But as already mentioned,[3] the custom was observed with the utmost regularity by the Lodge of Peebles,[4] and is alluded to with more or less distinctness in the proceedings of other lodges.[5] It has been shown that the presence of apprentices at the admission of fellows of craft was rendered an essential formality by the Schaw Statutes of 1598. This regulation appears to have been duly complied with by the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning,[6] and in the former at least, the custom of apprentices giving or withholding their consent to any proposed accession to their own ranks was also recognised. But whether the latter prerogative was exercised as an inherent right, or by concession of their superiors in the craft, the records do not disclose. The earliest instance of the recognition of apprentices as active members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, is furnished by a minute of June 12, 1600, whence it appears that at least four of them attested the entry of William Hastie,[7] whilst in those of slightly later date, certain entered prentices are represented as "consenting and assenting" to the entries to which they refer. The presence of apprentices *in the lodge* during the making of fellow-crafts is also affirmed by Lyon, on the authority of minutes which he cites,[8]—a "fact," in his opinion, utterly destructive of the theory which has

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 17.

[2] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 13.—"*Item*, it is ordainit be [by] the generall warden, that the luge of Kilwynning, being the second luge in Scotland, *tak tryall of the art of memorie and science thairof, of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss according to ather* [*either*] *of their vocationis; and in cais that thai have lost onie point thairof*, eurie [*every*] of thame to pay the penaltie as followis, for their slewthfulness, viz., ilk fallow of craft, xxs.; ilk prenteiss, xis.; and that to be payit to the box for the commoun weil zeirlie; and that conforme to the commoun vse and pratik of the commoun lugis of this realm" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 421.

[4] "Dec. 27, 1718.—This being St John's day the Honourable Society of Masons mett, and after prayer, proceeded to an examination of entered apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and which was done *hinc illæ* to the general satisfaction of the whole brethren" (Old Records of the Lodge of Peebles, Masonic Magazine, vol. vi., p. 355).

[5] *E.g.*, those at Kelso, Melrose, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Atcheson Haven. *Cf.* Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 28; Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 369; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 420, 429. The records of the last-named lodge contain the following minute: [December 27, 1722.] "The which day the Companie being convened, feinding a great loss of the Enterd Prentises not being tryed every S[t] John's-day, thinks it fitt for the futter [*future*] that he who is Warden (or any in the Company who he shall call to assist him) shall every S[t] John's-day, in the morning, try every Entered Prentis that was entered the S[t] John's-day before, under the penalty of on croun [*one crown*] to the box" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 18). The following item in the Melrose records (1696)—"There was three payd for not being perfyt," shows that fines were imposed on ignorant or uninstructed members (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*, note 2; and *cf.* the Aberdeen Statutes—*ante*, Chap. VIII.—*s. v.* Intender).

[6] The second by-law of the Lodge of Brechin, enacted December 27, 1714, runs:—"It is statute and ordained that none be entered to this lodge unless either the Master of the Lodge, Warden, and Treasurer, with two free Masters and two entered prentices be present" (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 110). *Cf.* the Buchanan MS., Special Charges, No. 5; Smith, English Gilds, pp. 21, 31, 267, 328; and Plot's allusion to "5 or 6 of the Ancients of the Order," *ante*, Chaps. II., p. 99; and XIV., p. 164.

[7] "Blais Hamilton, Thos. Couston, Thos. Tailzefeir, and Cristill Miller, who were made fellows of craft in March 1601, November 1606, December 1607, and December 1609 respectively" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 74).

[8] "November 26, 1601; November 10, 1606; February 24, 1637; and June 23, 1637" (*Ibid.*).

been advanced, "that apprentices were merely present at the constitution of the lodge for the reception of fellows of craft or masters, but were not present during the time the business was going on."[1] A minute of the year 1679 shows, however, very plainly, that whether *in* or *out of* the lodge, the apprentices were in all respects fully qualified to make up a quorum for the purposes either of initiation or the reception of fellows.

"Decembar the 27, 1679: Maries Chappell. The which day Thomas Wilkie, deacon, and Thomas King, warden, and the rest of the brethren convened at that tyme, being represented unto them the great abuse and usurpation committed be John Fulltoun, mason, on [*one*] of the friemen of this place, by seducing *two entered prentises* belonging to our Lodge, to witt, Ro. Alison and John Collaer, and other omngadrums, in the moneth of august last, within the sheraffdome of Air: Has taken upon himself *to passe and enter* sevrall gentlemen without licence or commission from this place: Therfore for his abuse committed, the deacon and maisters hes forthwith enacted that he shall receave no benefit from this place nor no converse with any brother; and lykwayes his servants to be discharged from serving him in his imployment; and this act to stand in force, ay and whill [*until*] he give the deacon and masters satisfaction."[2]

It has been sufficiently demonstrated, though the evidence is not yet exhausted, that the apprentice, at his entry, was placed in full possession of the secrets of the lodge. But here we must be careful not to confuse the Masonic nomenclature prevailing in the two kingdoms respectively. The term "Free Mason," of which, in Scotland, except in the "Old Charges," the use first appears in the records of Mary's Chapel, under the year 1636, and does not reappear until 1725, was in that country until the eighteenth century, a mere abbreviation of "Freemen Masons."[3] Thus, David Dellap on being *made* an *entered apprentice* at Edinburgh in 1636,[4] must have had communicated to him, whatever of an esoteric character there was to reveal, precisely as we are justified in believing must have happened in Ashmole's case, when *made* a *Free Mason* at Warrington in 1646.[5] Yet, though the latter became a *Free Mason* at admission, whilst the former did not, both were clearly *made* brethren of the lodge.[6] The bond of brotherhood thus established may have been virtually one and the same thing in the two countries, or it may, on the other hand, have differed *toto cælo*. But unless each of the Masonic systems be taken as a whole, it is impossible to adequately bring out the distinctions between the two. Consulted in portions, dates may be verified, and facts ascertained, but the significance of the entire body of evidence escapes us—we cannot enjoy a landscape reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror.

[1] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh. This point is completely set at rest by the evidence of the Aberdeen and Kilwinning records, the laws of the former lodge (1670) having been "ordained" by the "Maister Meassones *and* Entered Prentises," whilst the minutes of the latter (1659) show that apprentices not only assisted in the transaction of business, but that they frequently presided at the meetings (*Ibid.*, pp. 423-427; Freemason's Magazine, July to December 1863, pp. 95, 287).

[2] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[3] Chaps. VIII., p. 407; XIV., p. 160, note 10. "The adoption in January 1735 by the Lodge of Kilwinning, of the distinguishing title of *Freemasons*, and its reception of symbolical Masonry, were of simultaneous occurrence. The same may be said of Canongate Kilwinning" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 80).

[4] Chap. VIII., p. 407.

[5] Chaps. XIV., p. 140; XV., pp. 240, 245.

[6] The *free masons* of the lodges of Edinburgh (1636), Melrose (1674), and Alnwick (1701), must have occupied an analogous position to that of the *freemen* of the Gateshead Company. *Cf.* Chaps. VIII., pp. 407, 409; II., p. 89; XVI., p. 263; and XIV., p. 151.

Proceeding, therefore, with our examination of Scottish Masonry, it may be confidently asserted, that though the admissions of *gentlemen* into the Lodge of Edinburgh, both before and after the entry of David Dellap (1636), are somewhat differently recorded, the procedure, at least so far as the communication of anything to be kept secret, was the same.

Believers in the antiquity of the present third degree, are in the habit of citing the records of the Lodge of Edinburgh, as affording evidence of gentlemen masons having, in the seventeenth century, been denominated "master masons." The entries of General Hamilton and Sir Patrick Hume are cases in point.[1] But though each of these worthies was enrolled as a "fellow *and master*," their Masonic *status* did not differ from that of Lord Alexander and his brother Henry, who were enrolled, the one as a "fellow of craft," and the other as a "fellow and brother."[2] The relative position, indeed, of the incorporation and the lodge placed the making of a master mason beyond the province of the latter.[3]

"Only in four of the minutes, between December 28, 1598, and December 27, 1700, is the word 'master' employed to denote the Masonic rank in which intrants were admitted in the Lodge of Edinburgh; and it is only so used in connection with the making of theoretical Masons, of whom three were gentlemen by birth, and two master wrights."[4] It is worthy of observation, also, as Lyon forcibly points out, "that all who attest the proceedings of the Lodge, practical and theoretical masons alike, are in the earliest of its records in general terms designated Masters—a form of expression which occurs even when one or more of those to whom it is applied happen to be apprentices."[5]

The same historian affirms—and no other view would seem possible, unless we discard evidence for conjecture—that "if the communication of Mason Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the *purely Operative régime*, only one known to Scotch Lodges, viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word, *and all that was implied in the expression*."[6] Two points are involved in this conclusion. One, the essentially *operative* character of the early Masonry of Scotland; the other, the comparative simplicity of the lodge ceremonial. Taking these in their order, it may be necessary to explain that a distinction must be drawn between the *character* and the *composition* of the Scottish Lodges. In the former sense all were *operative*, in the latter, all, or nearly all, were more or less *speculative*. By this must be understood that the lodges in Scotland discharged a function, of which, in England, we meet with no trace, save in our manuscript Constitutions, until the eighteenth century. It is improbable that the Alnwick Lodge (1701)[7] was the first of its kind, still, all the evidence we have of an earlier date (with the exception noted) bears in quite a contrary direction. The Scottish lodges, therefore, existed, to fulfil certain operative

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 408. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 407; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 210. [3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 210.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Of the Scottish mode of initiation or Masonic reception, the same authority remarks: "*That this was the germ whence has sprung Symbolical Masonry*, is rendered more than probable by the traces which have been left upon the more ancient of our Lodge records—especially those of Mary's Chapel—of the gradual introduction, during the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, of that element in Lodge membership which at first modified and afterwards annihilated the original constitution of these ancient courts of Operative Masonry" (*Ibid.*). See, however, *ante*, pp. 258, 302; and the observations on *degrees* in the ensuing chapter.

[7] *Ante*, pp. 258, 260, *et seq.*

requirements, of which the necessity may have passed away, or at least has been unrecorded in the south.[1]

In Chapter VIII. will be found some allusions to the presence, side by side, of the operative and speculative elements, in the lodges of Scotland.[2] The word *speculative* has been turned to strange uses by historians of the craft. In this respect I am no better off than my predecessors, and the reference to "Speculative Freemasonry" at p. 437, is at least ambiguous, if nothing more. It is there argued that the speculative ascendancy which, in 1670, prevailed in the Lodge of Aberdeen, might be termed, in other words, *Speculative Freemasonry*. This is true, no doubt, in a sense, but the horizon advances as well as recedes, and I find in some few instances, that a subject provisionally dealt with, at an earlier stage, requires some qualifying remarks. Indeed, as it has been well expressed, "The idea in the mind is not always found under the pen, any more than the artist's conception can always breathe in his pencil."

Without doubt, the Earls of Findlator and Errol, and the other noblemen and gentlemen, who formed a majority of the members of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), were speculative or honorary, and not operative or practical masons. The same may be said of the entire beadrole of Scottish worthies whose connection with the craft has been already glanced at.[3] But the speculative element within the lodges was a mere excrescence upon the operative. From the earliest times, in the cities of Scotland, the burgesses were accustomed to purchase the protection of some powerful noble by yielding to him the little independence that they might have retained.[4] Thus, for example, the town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name.[5] Few of the Scottish towns ventured to elect their chief magistrate from among their own people; but the usual course was, to choose a neighbouring peer as provost or bailie.[6] Indeed, it often happened that his office became hereditary, and was looked upon as the vested right of some aristocratic family.[7] In the same way the lodges eagerly courted the countenance and protection of the aristocracy. Of this, many examples might be given, if, indeed, the fact were not sufficiently established by the evidence before us.[8] But the hereditary connection of the noble house of Montgomerie with the Masonic Court of Kilwinning must not be passed over, as it shows, that to some extent at least, the "mother" lodge of Scottish tradition grew up under the shelter of Eglinton Castle.[9]

"The grafting of the non-professional element on to the stem of the operative system of masonry," is said to have had its commencement in Scotland about the period of the Reformation,[10] nor are we without evidence that will justify this conclusion. According to the solemn

[1] *Ante*, p. 258. [2] Pp. 406, 433, 437. [3] Chap. VIII., *passim*.

[4] *Cf.* Buckle, History of Civilisation, vol. iii., pp. 32, 33.

[5] "Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar and March, partaking of their influences, whether unfortunate or happy" (G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. ii., p. 416).

[6] P. F. Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iv., p. 225.

[7] *Cf.* Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 33, and the authorities cited.

[8] Chap. VIII., *passim*. Lyon observes, "it is worthy of remark that with singularly few exceptions, the non-operatives who were admitted to Masonic fellowship in the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning during the seventeenth century, were persons of quality, the most distinguished of whom, as the natural result of its metropolitan position, being made in the former lodge" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 81).

[9] Chap. VIII., pp. 388, 395. For further proof of this connection, which extended to a comparatively recent period, see Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 52, 245; and R. Wylie, History of Mother Lodge Kilwinning, 1878, *passim*.

[10] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT HOLMESDALE.

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declaration of a church court in 1652,[1] many masons having the "word" were ministers and professors in "the purest tymes of this kirke," which may mean any time after the Reformation of 1560, but must, at least, be regarded as carrying back the admission of honorary members into masonic fellowship, beyond the oft-quoted case of John Boswell, in 1600.[2] But as militating against the hypothesis, that honorary membership was then of frequent occurrence, the fact must be noted, that the records of Lodge of Edinburgh contain no entries relating to the admission of *gentlemen* between 1600 and 1634,—the latter date, moreover, being thirty-eight years before the period at which the presence of Geomatic Masons is first discernible in the Lodge of Kilwinning.[3] But whatever may have been the motives which animated the parties on either side—Operatives or Speculatives—the tie which united them was a purely honorary one.[4] In the Lodge of Edinburgh, Geomatic Masons were charged no admission fee until 1727.[5] The opinion has been expressed that a difference existed between the ceremonial at the admission of a theoretical, and that observed at the reception of a practical mason. This is based upon the inability of non-professionals to comply with tests to which operatives were subjected ere they could be passed as fellows of craft.[6] Such was probably the case, and the distinction is material, as naturally arising from the presumption that the *interests* of the latter class of intrants would alone be considered in a court of purely operative masonry.

Passing, however, to the second point—the simplicity of the lodge ceremonial—and I must here explain that I use this expression in the restricted sense of the *masonic reception* common to both classes alike—the operative tests from which gentlemen were presumably exempt are of no further interest in this inquiry. The geomatic[7] class of intrants, if we follow Lyon, were "in all likelihood initiated into a knowledge of the legendary history of the mason craft, and had the Word and *such other secrets* communicated to them, as was necessary to their recognition as brethren, in the very limited masonic circle in which they were ever likely to move—limited, because *there was nothing of a cosmopolitan character*, in the bond which [then] united the members of lodges, nor had the Lodge of Edinburgh *as yet* become acquainted with the dramatic degrees of speculative masonry."[8] Subject to the qualification, that the admission of a *joining member* from the Lodge of Linlithgow, by the brethren of the Lodge of Edinburgh, in 1653,[9] attests that the bond of fellowship was something more than a mere token of membership of a particular lodge, or of a masonic society in a single city, the proceedings at the entry or admission of candidates for the lodge are well outlined by the Scottish historian. The ceremony was doubtless the same—*i.e.*, the esoteric portion of it, with which we are alone concerned—whether the intrant was an operative apprentice, or a speculative fellow-craft, or master.[10] The legend of the craft was read, and "the benefit of the MASON WORD" conferred.

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 444.

[2] *I.e.*, by the election of Lord Cassillis to the deaconship.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 406, *q.v.*; and 407.

[4] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82.

[7] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 437, note 2.

[8] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 409:—"Dec. 22, 1702.—William Cairncross, mason in Stockbridge, gave in his petition desiring liberty to associate himself with this lodge, which being duly considered, and *he being examined before the meeting*, they were fully satisfied *of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow-craft*, and therefore admitted him into their Society as a member thereof in all tyme coming, and upon his solemn promise in the terms of the Society, anent which he accordingly gave" (Minutes of the Haughfoot Lodge, Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[10] The practice of the Lodge of Kilwinning shows that gentlemen became *apprentices* at their entry, and not fellows of craft or masters, as was commonly the case in the Lodge of Edinburgh.

The Schaw Statutes throw no light on the ceremony of masonic initiation, beyond justifying the inference, that extreme simplicity must have been its leading characteristic. The WORD is the only secret referred to throughout the seventeenth century in any Scottish records of that period.[1] The expression "Benefit of the Mason Word" occurs in several statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670).[2] The Atcheson-Haven records (1700) mention certain "disorders of the lodge" which it was feared would "bring all law and order, and consequently the mason word, to contempt."[3] The Haughfoot minutes (1702) mention a grip, though I may here interpolate the remark, that my belief in a plurality of secrets being appurtenant to the WORD,[4] that is to say, before their introduction from England, at some period now indeterminable, but not before the last quarter of the seventeenth century—has been somewhat disturbed by a further study of the subject since the publication of the eighth chapter of this history.

The same records detail the admission of two members in 1710, who "received the word in common form,"[5] an expression which is made clearer by the laws of the Brechin Lodge (1714), the third of which runs—"It is statute and ordained that when any person that is entered to this lodge shall be receaved by the Warden in the common form," etc.[6] Liberty to give the "Mason Word" was the principal point in dispute between Mary's Chapel and the Journeymen, which was settled by "Decreet Arbitral" in 1715, empowering the latter "to meet together as a society for giving the Mason Word."[7]

The *secrets* of the Mason Word are referred to, as already stated, in the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane,[8] and what makes this entry the more remarkable is, that the "secrets" in question were revealed, after due examination, by two "*entered apprentices*" from the Lodge of Kilwinning—in which latter body the ceremony of initiation was of so simple a character, down at least to 1735,[9] as to be altogether destructive, in my opinion, of the construction which has been placed upon the report of the examiner deputed by the former lodge, to ascertain the masonic qualifications of the two applicants for membership. In the last-named year (1735), as I have already shown,[10] two persons who had been severally received into masonry by individual operators at a distance from the lodge, being found "in lawful possession of the *word*," were recognised as members of Mother Kilwinning "in the station of apprentices."

The custom of entering persons *to* the lodge—in the observance of which one mason could unaided make another—has been already cited as suggesting a total indifference to uniformity in imparting to novitiates the secrets of the craft.[11] The masonic ceremonial, therefore, of a lodge addicted to this practice, will not carry much weight as a faithful register of contemporary

[1] *Ante*, pp. 277, 278.

[2] §§ 1, 4, and 5. Stat. I. runs:—"Wee, Master Masons *and Entered Prentises*, all of us under subscryuers, doe here protest and vowe as hitherto *wee* have done at *our* entrie when *we* received the benefit of the Mason Word," etc. (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 423. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 428).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 447.

[4] See *ante*, pp. 258, 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 448.

[5] Freemasons' Magazine, Oct. 2, 1869, p. 306. "Jan. 24, 1711.—Mr John Mitchelson admitted Apprentice and Fellow-Craft in common form" (*Ibid.*).

[6] Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, p. 110.

[7] Chap. VIII., p. 418; Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[8] *Ante*, p. 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 420.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 396; Freemasons' Magazine, August 29, 1868, p. 154.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Chap. VIII., p. 454. Mr W. P. Buchan says:—"Seeing how difficult it is even now, with all the aids to help and oft-recurring meetings, to get office-bearers and brethren to work one ceremony properly, how did the old lodges get on before 1717, who only met once a year? Oh! how elaborate must the ceremony have been, when one mason could make another!" (Freemasons' Magazine, July to Dec. 1869, p. 409).

usage. For this reason, as well as for others already expressed,[1] the evidence of the Dunblane records seems to me wholly insufficient to sustain the theory for which they have served as a foundation.

In this view of the case, there will only remain the minutes of the Lodge of Haughfoot as differing in any material respect from those of other lodges of earlier date than 1736. From these we learn that in *one* Scottish lodge, in the year 1702, both *grip* and *word* were included in the ceremony. Unfortunately "the minutes commence abruptly, at page 11, in continuation of other pages now missing, which, for an evident purpose, viz., *secrecy*, have been torn out."[2] The evidence from this source is capable, as observed at an earlier page, of more than one interpretation, and to the gloss already put upon it[3] I shall add another, premising, however, that it has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend[4] rather with the view of stimulating inquiry than of attempting to definitely settle a point of so much importance. The passage then—"*of entrie as the apprentice did*"—(it is urged) implies that the candidate was *not* an apprentice, but doubtless a fellow-craft. "*Leaving out (the common judge)*[5]*—they then whisper the word as before, and the Master Mason*[6] *grips his hand in the ordinary way.*" But as the candidate (it is contended) already possessed the apprentice or mason word, this word must have been a new one. "*As before*" could hardly apply to the identity of the word, but to the manner of imparting it, *i.e.*, whispered, as in the former degree. So also the *ordinary way* must mean in the manner usual in that degree.

Of the two conjectures with regard to the singular entries in the Haughfoot minutes—which my readers now have before them—either may possibly be true; but as they stand without sufficient proof it must be granted likewise that they may both possibly be false. At least they cannot preclude any other opinion, which, advanced in like manner, will possess the same claim to credit, and may perhaps be shown by resistless evidence to be better founded.

Under any view of the facts, however, the procedure of the Lodge of Haughfoot (1702) must be regarded as being of a most abnormal type, and as it derives no corroboration whatever from that of other lodges of corresponding date, we must admit, if we do no more, the impossibility of positively determining whether both *grip* and *word* were communicated to Scottish brethren in the *seventeenth* century.[7]

The old Scottish MASON WORD is unknown.[8] It has not as yet been discovered, either what it was, or to what extent it was in general use. Neither can it be determined whether

[1] *Ante*, pp. 277, 278.

[2] Letter from Mr R. Sanderson, Prov. G. Sec., Peebles and Selkirk, dated April 21, 1884.

[3] Chap. VIII., pp. 447, 448. [4] Mr G. W. Speth.

[5] Mr Sanderson expresses his inability to throw any light on this phrase, except that it may refer to *Cowans* or outsiders. A better solution, however, has been suggested in a recent letter from Lyon, who directs attention to the "St Clair Charters," printed in his well-known work (pp. 58-62; and see also p. 426), wherein the Laird of Roslin and his heirs are named as Patrons, Protectors, and Overseers of the Craft, owing to the dilatory procedure of the ordinary (*ordiner*) or "Common Judges." *Query*, "A prince and ruler in Israel?"

[6] In Chapter VIII., at p. 447, I have given "Master" *simpliciter*, but, as will appear from the following excerpt, the true meaning of the term was not obscured:—"Haughfoot, 14th Jan., 1704 years.—The meeting also continued John Hoppringle of yt. ilk *Master* Mason, till St John's Day next" (Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[7] See *ante*, pp. 258, 277; and Chap. VIII., p. 448; and compare with Chap. III., p. 147.

[8] I take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance freely rendered by the Grand Secretary of Scotland (D. M. Lyon), Mr William Officer, and Mr Robert Sanderson, throughout this inquiry.

at any given date prior to 1736, it was the same in Scotland as it was in England. Each nation, and indeed each different locality (it has been urged), *may* have had a word (or words) of its own.[1] On this point, alas, like so many others, which confront the students of our antiquities—"ingenious men may readily advance plausible arguments to support whatever theory they shall choose to maintain; but then the misfortune is, every one's hypothesis is each as good as another's, since they are all founded on conjecture."

If the use of any one word was universal, or to speak with precision, if the word in Scotland was included among the *words*, which we are justified in believing, formed a *portion* of the secrets disclosed in the early English lodges, it was something quite distinct from the familiar expressions, which at the *introduction* of *degrees*, were *imported* into Scotland.

Mr Officer writes,[2] "I have read many old Minute-Books of a date prior to 1736. The expression in them all is the WORD, or sometimes the '*Mason's Word.*' Singularly, in none of the Minute-Books is there the slightest reference to any change in the form of admission or ritual. *The change was made*, but it is dealt with as if the old system continued."[3] The same correspondent further records his belief, and herein he is in exact agreement with Lyon, that the *alteration* of the Scottish ritual was due primarily to the influence of Desaguliers. Indeed, the latter authority emphatically declares[4] that "the reorganisation and creation of offices in the old Scottish Lodges *after 1721*, show that a NEW system had been introduced."

The minutes of "Canongate Kilwinning" contain the earliest Scottish record extant, of the admission of a master mason under the modern Masonic Constitution. This occurred on March 31, 1735.[5] But it is believed by Lyon that the degree in question was first practised north of the Tweed by the "Edinburgh Kilwinning Scots Arms." This, the first speculative Scotch lodge, was established February 14, 1729, and with its erection came, so he conjectures—though I must confess that I cannot quite bring myself into the same way of thinking—"the formal introduction of the third degree, with its Jewish Legend and dramatic ceremonial."[6]

This degree is for the first time referred to in the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning" in 1736, and in those of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1738. The Lodges of Atcheson's Haven, Dunblane, Haughfoot, and Peebles were unacquainted with it in 1760, and the degree was not generally worked in Scottish lodges until the seventh decade of the last century.[7]

But as I have already had occasion to observe, the love of mystery being implanted in human nature never wholly dies out. A few believers in the great antiquity of Masonic degrees still linger in our midst. Some cherish the singular fancy that the obsolete phraseology of the Schaw Statutes,[8] reveals evidence confirmatory of their hopes, whilst others, relying on the axiom—"that in no sense is it possible to say, that a conclusion drawn from circumstantial evidence can amount to absolute certainty,"[9] find in the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records, with regard to any *alteration* of ritual—a like consolation. Both theories or speculations have been considered with some fulness,—the latter in an earlier

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 309. Vogel observes:—"A worthy old Salute-mason assures me that the masons are divided into three classes. The Letter-masons, the Salute-masons, and the Freemasons. The Freemasons are truly the richest, but, he added, they work by our word and we by theirs" (Briefe die Freimaurerei breffetend, 1785).

[2] In a letter dated June 6, 1884.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432; and *post*, pp. 813, 814.

[4] In a letter dated June 16, 1884.

[5] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 213. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 411.

[6] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[8] *Ante*, pp. 303-305, and see particularly p. 305, note 2.

[9] Taylor, Law of Evidence, 1858, p. 76.

chapter,[1] and the former in the present one. Some rays of light, however, remain to be shed on the general subject. These, I think, my readers will discern in the following extracts from the minutes of the Lodge of Kelso, which seem to me to reduce to actual demonstration, what the collateral facts or circumstances satisfactorily proved, have already warranted us in believing, viz., that the system of three degrees was gradually introduced into Scotland in the eighteenth century.

"Kelso, 18th June 1754.—The Lodge being ocationaly met and opened, a petition was presented from Brother Walter Ker, Esq. of Litledean, and the Rev. Mr Robert Monteith, minister of the Gospel at Longformacus, praying to be passed fellow-crafts, which was unanimously agreed to, and the Right Worshipful Master, *deputed Brother Samuel Brown, a visiting Brother, from Canongate, from Leith,*[2] *to officiate as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus, from same Lodge, to act as wardens on this occation, in order yt wee might see the method practiced in passing fellow crafts in their and the other Lodges in and about Edr.* [*Edinburgh*], and they accordingly passed the above Brothers Ker and Monteith, Fellow Crafts, who gave their obligation and pay'd their fees in due form. Thereafter the Lodge was regularly closed."

"*Eodem Die.*—The former Brethren met as above, continued sitting, when upon conversing about Business relating to the Craft, and the forms and Practice of this Lodge in particular, *a most essential defect of our Constitution was discovered, viz.,—that this lodge had attained only to the two Degrees of Apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and knowing nothing of the Master's part, whereas all Regular Lodges over the World are composed of at least the three Regular Degrees of Master, Fellow Craft, and Prentice. In order, therefor, to remedy this defect in our Constitution,* Brothers Samuel Brown, Alexander Palmer, John Fergus, John Henderson, Andrew Bell, and Francis Pringle, *being all Master Masons, did form themselves into a Lodge of Masters—Brother Brown to act as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus as Wardens, when they proceeded to raise Brothers James Lidderdale, William Ormiston, Robert Pringle, David Robertson, and Thomas Walker, to the rank of Masters, who qualified and were receiv'd accordingly.*"

"In the above minute," says the historian[3] of the Lodge, "*we have clearly the origin of a Master Mason's Lodge in Kelso.*" Indeed, it might be possible to go further, and to contend, that the second *degree* was also introduced at the same meeting? But without labouring this point, which the evidence adduced will enable every reader to determine in his own mind, there is one further quotation, with which I shall terminate my extracts from these records.

December 21, 1741.—"Resolved that annually att said meeting [on St John's day, in the Councill house of Kellso], there should be a *public examination* by the Master, Warden, and other members, *of the last entered apprenttces and oyrs* [others], that it thereby may appear what progress they have made under their respective Intenders, that they may be thanked or censured conform[able] to their respective Demeritts."[4]

The cumulative value of the evidence just presented, is greater than would at first sight appear. Quoting the traditionary belief of the Melrose Masons, who claim for their lodge an

[1] VIII., pp. 431, 432.

[2] Doubtless the "Canongate *and* Leith, Leith and Canongate" lodge, of which a sketch has been given in Chap. VIII., p. 415, *et seq.*

[3] W. F. Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, pp. 47, 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

antiquity coeval with the Abbey there, which was founded in 1136, Vernon considers he has at least as good authority—in the absence of documents—for dating the institution of masonry in Kelso, at the time when David I. brought over to Scotland a number of foreign operatives to assist in the building of the Abbey of Kelso (1128). "The very fact," he urges, "that the Abbey was dedicated to *St John the Evangelist* and the Virgin Mary, and that the Kelso lodge was dedicated to the same saint, would seem to bear out this idea."[1] But whatever the measure of antiquity to which St John's Lodge, Kelso, can justly lay claim, its existence is carried back by the evidence of its own records, to 1701, from which we also learn that it preserved its independence—*i.e.*, did not join the Grand Lodge of Scotland—until 1753.[2] We find, therefore, an old operative lodge, one, moreover, working by inherent right—in which rather than in those subordinate to a *new* organisation, we might naturally expect that *old* customs would remain for the longest time unmodified—testing, in 1741, the craftsmen and apprentices "according to their vocations," in strict conformity with the Schaw Statutes of 1599.[3] The continuance of this practice up to so late a period, coupled with the circumstance that the third degree—if we go no further—was *introduced* into the procedure of the lodge, *after* its acceptance of a charter, prove therefore, to demonstration, that the tests and "tryalls" enjoined by William Schaw, were *not* the preliminaries to any such ceremony (or ceremonies), as the brethren of St John's Lodge were *made acquainted with*, in 1754.[4] Thus, two facts are established. One, that the examinations which took place periodically in the old lodges of Scotland were entirely of an operative character. The other, that the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records with regard to the *introduction* of degrees, is *not* uniform and unbroken.[5]

The Kelso minutes, which have been strangely overlooked—by myself as well as others—indicate very clearly, the manner in which the English novelties must frequently have become engrafted on the masonry of Scotland, *viz.*, by radiation from the northern metropolis. No other records are equally explicit, and those of the Lodge of Edinburgh, especially, leave much to be desired. The office of clerk to this body, during the transition period of the lodge's history, was held by Mr Robert Alison, an Edinburgh writer, who, by the guarded style in which he recorded its transactions, has contributed to veil in a hitherto impenetrable secrecy, details of the most important epoch in the history of Scottish Freemasonry, of which from his position he must have been cognisant.[6] But, as I have already ventured to contend,[7] the silence

[1] Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 5. *Cf. ante*, p. 299.

[2] It was agreed on December 28, 1753, that the Treasurer was to pay the expense of a charter from the Grand Lodge. The charter is dated February 6, 1754 (Vernon, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

[3] §§ 6, 10, 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, 305.

[4] *If* we may believe "a Right Worshipful Master, S. C." [Scotch Constitution], the Lodge of Melrose, in 1871, "was carrying on the same system that it did nearly 200 years before." He states, "I entered into conversation with an old Mason, whose father belonged to the lodge, and he *told me*, that his father *told him*, his grandfather was a member of the Melrose lodge, and their style of working was the same as at present. I made a calculation from this, and it took me back nearly 200 years"! (Freemason, Dec. 30, 1871). Without, indeed, accepting for an instant, the fanciful conjecture above quoted, it is highly probable, that the Lodge of Melrose, which has never surrendered its independence, was longer in becoming indoctrinated with the English novelties, than the other lodges—whose acceptance of the speculative system, as they successively joined the Grand Lodge, may be inferred from the example of the Lodge of Kelso.

[5] *Cf. ante*, p. 312; and Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

[6] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 43.

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 431, 432.

—or, after the evidence last presented, it will be best to say, *comparative silence*—of these early records with respect to degrees, will satisfy most minds that they could have been known, if at all, but a short while before being mentioned in the minutes which have come down to us. The "Lodge of Journeymen," then composed exclusively of fellow-crafts, took part in the erection of the Grand Lodge in 1736, by which body it was recognised as a *lawful* lodge, dating from 1709. The historian of the lodge—who, by the way, expresses a well-grounded doubt, whether the *grades* of apprentice and fellow-craft, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name—informs us, that it contented itself for forty years with the two *grades* or *degrees* referred to, as no indication of its connection with the Master's degree is found until the year 1750. On St John's Day of that year, it made application to the Lodge of Edinburgh, to raise three of its members to the dignity of Master Masons. The application was cordially received, and the three journeymen were admitted to that degree "without any payment of composition, but only as a brotherly favour." For the same privilege, a fee of fourpence was imposed on two brothers in the following year; but on August 16, 1754, the Master announced, that their Mother Lodge of Mary's Chapel had made an offer to raise every member of the Journeymen Lodge at the rate of twopence per head![1]

Whether the two *grades*, into which the members of "Journeymen" and the "Kelso" Lodges were divided, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name, is quite immaterial to the actual point we are considering. *If* the *degree* of fellow-craft was incorporated with the procedure of the Kelso Lodge prior to June 18, 1754, the minute of that date sufficiently attests how imperfectly it had taken root. The secrets communicated in the "Journeymen" Lodge—at least during that portion of its history which is alone interesting to the student of our antiquities—can be gauged with even greater precision.

The "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715 has been happily termed the "Charter" of the Journeymen Lodge. By this instrument, the Incorporation of Masons are absolved from accounting to the Journeymen, "for the moneys received for giveing the *Masson Word* (as it is called), either to freemen or Journeymen," as well before the date of the Decreet Arbitral as in all time to come. Next, "for putting ane end to the contraversaries aryseing betwixt the said ffreemen and Journeymen of the said Incorporation of Massons, anent the giveing of the *Masson Word*, and the dues paid therefore," the arbiters decide that the *Incorporation* are to record in their books an Act and Allowance, allowing the Journeymen "to meet togeither by themselves as a Society for giveing the *Masson Word*, and to receive dues therefor." But "the whole meetings, actings, and writeings" of the latter, were to be confined to the collecting and distributing of their funds obtained from voluntary offerings, or from "giveing the *Masson* Word." Also, it was laid down, that all the money received by the Journeymen, either by voluntary donations or "for giveing the *Masson Word*," was to be put into a common purse, and to be employed in no other way than in relieving the poor and in burying the dead. In the third place the Journeymen were to keep a book, and to strictly account for "all moneys received for giveing the *Masson Word*" or otherwise.[2] The Deed of Submission and the Decreet Arbitral, together with the Letters of Horning, which complete the series of these interesting, though not

[1] William Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, No. 8, Edinburgh, 1884, pp. 68, 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, chap. iv., and Appendix No. ii. See also Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143; *ante*, p. 310; and Chap. VIII., p. 418.

euphonious documents, are printed by Provost Hunter in the work already referred to, and with the exception of the last named and most mysterious of the three—which is rather suggestive of a popular superstition—also by Lyon in his admirable history.

It is a singular fact, that the differences thus settled by arbitration, were between the Journeymen and the *Incorporation*, not the *Lodge* of Mary's Chapel. Nor is the Lodge ever referred to in the proceedings. If, therefore, the idea is tenable that incorporations and guilds were custodians of the *Mason* Word, with the privilege or prerogative of conferring it, or of *controlling* its communication, quite a new line of thought is opened up to the masonic antiquary. The practice at Edinburgh, in 1715, may have been a survival of one more general in times still further remote from our own. The Scottish lodges may, at some period, have resembled agencies or deputations, with vicarious authority, derived in their case from the incorporations and guilds. The suggestions which have prompted these observations come unhappily too late for me to linger over them. Documentary evidence[1] that might put the whole matter in a clear light, will not reach me until these pages have passed through the press, so the further information—if such it should prove to be—must of necessity be relegated to the Appendix.

Leaving, therefore, this point an open one, we learn from the "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715, in which it is *six* times mentioned, that there was only *one* word.

The same conclusion is brought home to us by a Scottish law case reported in 1730, but I believe heard in 1729. In this, the lodge at Lanark sought to interdict the masons at Lesmahagow from giving the "*Mason Word*" to persons resident there.[2]

In each of these instances, only one word—the *Mason Word*—is alluded to. "Had there been more words than one," as the friend[3] points out, to whom I am indebted for the reference above, "that fact would have appeared on the face of the proceedings, and there being only *one word*, it necessarily follows that there was only *one degree*."

It is sufficiently apparent that the ancient formulary of the Scottish lodges consisted of the communication of the WORD, and—as already observed[4]—*all that was implied in the expression.*

Here, with one final quotation, I shall take leave of this branch of our subject, but the form of oath, and some portions of the catechism given in Sloane MS., 3329—a writing which in the opinion of some high authorities, is decisive as to the antiquity and independence of the three degrees[5]—savour so much of the Scottish idiom, that I shall introduce them. The italics are mine.

[1] Now being searched for by Mr Melville, the Registrar of Court Records, Edinburgh, at the instance of Mr W. Officer, who has obliged me with notes which have suggested the remarks in the text.

[2] June 11, 1730.—Masons of the Lodge of Lanark, *contra* Hamilton (Lord Kames, Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session, Edinburgh, vol. ii., p. 4). This case is evidently referred to in a publication of the year 1747, entitled, "Magistracy settled upon its only true and scriptural basis. An inquiry into the Associate Presbytery's answers to Mr Nairn's reasons of dissent. Published in name, and subscribed by several of those who adhere to the Rutherglen, Sanquar, and *Lanark* declarations, etc. With a protestation against the *mason-word*, by five masons, 8d." (Scots' Magazine, vol. ix., 1747, p. 404). *Cf. Ibid.*, vols. xvii., 1755, p. 132; xix., 1757, pp. 432, 583; Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 132, *et seq.*; and Burton, History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 343.

[3] Mr W. Officer, in a letter dated Oct. 7, 1884.

[4] *Ante*, p. 277.

[5] Notably the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in his reprint of this MS., 1873, p. 21—*q. v.*

"THE OATH.

"*The mason word and every thing therein contained* you shall keep secrett you shall never put it in writing directly or Indirectly you shall keep all that we or your *attend*[rs] [1] shall bid you keep secret *from Man Woman or Child Stock or Stone* [2] and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in a y[e] Constitucion all this you promise and swere faithfully to keep and observe without any manne[r] of Equivocation or mentall resarvation directly or Indirectly so help you god and by the Contents of this book.

"So he kisses the book," etc.

The following are extracts from the catechism:—

(Q.) "What is a just and perfect or just and Lawfull Lodge?

(A.) "A just and perfect Lodge is *two Interprintices*,[3] two fellow Craftes, and two Mast[rs], more or fewer, the more the merrier, the fewer the bett[r] chear, but if need require five will serve, that is *two Interprintices*,[4] two fellow Craftes, and one Mast[r] *on the highest hill or Lowest Valley*[5] of the World without the crow of a Cock or the bark of a Dogg.

(Q.) "What were you sworne by?

(A.) "By God and the square."[6]

Although it is tolerably clear that degrees—as we now have them—were grafted upon *Scottish* Masonry in the eighteenth century, a puzzle in connection with their *English* derivation still awaits solution. It is this. The degrees in question—or to vary the expression, *the only degrees* comprised within the "old landmarks"[7] of Freemasonry—viz., those of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice, bear titles which are evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of Scotland. Master Mason, it is true, was a term common in both kingdoms, but viewed in conjunction with the others, the *three* expressions may be regarded as having been taken *en bloc*, from the operative terminology of the northern kingdom. Thus, we find England furnishing Scotland with Masonic degrees, which, however, bear titles exactly corresponding with those of the *grades* of Operative Masonry in the latter country. This is of itself somewhat confusing, but more remains behind.

[1] "ATTENDER—companion, associate" (Johnson's Dictionary). *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, note 4; and 305, note 5.

[2] The oath of a freischöffen, *i.e.*, vehmic judge—as given by Grimm—begins, "to keep, hele, and hold the vehm from man from wife, from turf from branch, from stick and stone, from grass and herb," etc. (Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 51). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XV., pp. 230, 238, 240, note 3.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 304, note 4.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf. ante*, pp. 231, 293; and Chap. VIII., pp. 428, 429. According to Grimm, "The old gericht was always held in the open; under the sky, in the forest, under wide spreading trees, *on a hill*, by a spring—anciently, at some spot sacred in pagan times, later, at the same spot from the force of tradition. It was also held in *hollows or valleys*, and near large stones" (*op. cit.*, pp. 793, 800, 802). *Cf.* Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 264, 265.

[6] "There ought no frie mason, neither M[r] nor fellow, y[t] taketh his work by great to take any Loses [*cowans*], if he can have any frie masons or lawfull taken prentices, and if he can have none of them, he may take so many as will serve his turne, and he ought not *to let ym[s] know y[e] privilege of ye compass, Square, levell and ye plum-rule*, but to sett out their plumming to them, . ·. . ·. and if there come any frie mason, he ought to displace one of ye Loses" (Melrose MS., No. 19, Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, p. 294). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. I., p. 23; III., pp. 136, 152, 166.

[7] See No. xxxix. of the "General Regulations" of 1723 (Appendix, *post*).

If the degrees so imported into Scotland, had a much earlier existence than the date of their transplantation, which is fixed by Lyon at the year 1721, but may, with greater probability, be put down at 1723 or 1724, then this difficulty occurs. Either the degrees in question existed, though without distinctive titles, or they were *re-named* during the epoch of transition, and under each of these suppositions we must suppose that the English (Free) Masons, who *were* familiar with symbolical degrees, borrowed the words to describe them from the Scottish Masons *who were not?* It is true, evidence may yet be forthcoming, showing that *degrees* under their present appellations, are referred to before the publication of the Constitutions of 1723. But we must base our conclusions upon the only evidence we possess, and the silence of all extant Masonic records of earlier date, with regard to the three symbolical grades of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Apprentice, will be conclusive to some minds that they had then no existence. By this, however, I do not wish it to be implied, that in my own belief, degrees or grades in Speculative Masonry had their first beginning in 1723.

It is almost demonstrably certain that they did not. But they are first *referred to* in unequivocal terms in the Constitutions of that year, and the *titles* with which they were then labelled, cannot be traced (in conjunction) any higher, as speculative or non-operative terms.

The subject of *degrees*, in connection with the *Free*-masonry of the south, will be presently considered, but this phase of our inquiry will be preceded by some final references to the documentary evidence of the north, which will conclude this chapter.

In the Schaw Statutes (1598) will be found *all* the operative terms, which, so far as the evidence extends, were first turned to speculative uses by the Freemasons of the south. "Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice," *as grades of symbolical Masonry*, are not alluded to in any book or manuscript of earlier date than 1723. Indeed, with the exception of the first named, the expressions themselves do not occur—at least I have not met with them in the course of my reading—in the printed or manuscript literature preceding the publication of Dr Anderson's "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The title, "Master Mason," appears, it is true, in the Halliwell Poem,[1] and though not used in the MS. next in seniority,[2] will also be found in several versions of the "Old Charges."[3] The term or expression is also a very common one in the records of the building trades, and is occasionally met with in the Statutes of the Realm,[4] where its earliest use—in the Statute of Labourers[5] (1350)—has somewhat perplexed our historians. The words *mestre mason de franche pere* were cited by Mr Papworth as supporting his theory—"that the term *Freemason*, is clearly derived from a mason who worked free-stone, in contradistinction to the mason who was employed in rough work."[6] Upon this, and the commentary of Dr Kloss, Findel founds a conclusion that "the word Free-Mason occurs for the first time in the Statute 25, Edward III. (1350),"[7]—which is next taken up, and again amplified by Steinbrenner, who, although he leaves out the word *mason*, in his

[1] "Mayster (or Maystur) Mason" (lines 88, 206).

[2] The "Cooke," No. 2.

[3] *E.g.*, the Lansdowne (3) and the Antiquity (23) MSS. *Cf.* Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, pp. 35, 68; and *ante*, Chap. XV., p. 212.

[4] *Cf.* Chaps. VI., pp. 302, 303, 306, 307, 318; VII., pp. 338, 367; XIV., p. 146; and Mr Wyatt Papworth's Papers "On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages" (cited in Chap. VI., p. 302, note 1), *passim*.

[5] 25 Edward III., Stat. ii., c. 3, *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 338.

[6] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VI., pp. 307, 308.

[7] History of Freemasonry, p. 79. See *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 338, note 2.

quotation from the statute, attaches to "*mestre de franche-pere*" a most arbitrary and illusory signification. "Here," he says, "*Free-mason*"—how he gets at the second half of the compound word is not explained—"evidently signifies a *Free-stone-mason*—one who works in *Free-stone*, as distinguished from the *rough* mason, who merely built walls of rough unhewn stone."[1] "This latter sort of workmen," observes Mackey—who, after quoting the passages just given, in turn takes up the parable, and, it may be remarked, accords to Steinbrenner the entire merit of the research, out of which it arises—"was that class called by the Scotch Masons *Cowans*, whom the Freemasons were forbidden to work with, whence we get the modern use of that word."[2] But nowhere, except in the documents of the Scottish Craft, do we meet with the names, which have been employed from the year 1723, to describe the Freemasons of the two lower *degrees*. "Fellows" and "Apprentices"—or more commonly "Prentices"[3]—are constantly referred to, but not "Fellow-*Crafts*," or *Entered* Apprentices—titles apparently unknown, or at least not in use, in the south. "Cowans" are also alluded to by the Warden General, but English Masons were not familiarised with this expression until it was substituted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738,[4] for the terms *layer*,[5] *lyer*, *lowen*, *loses*, etc.,[6] where they are used in the "Old Charges" to distinguish the ordinary workman from the sworn brother.

The terms or expressions, Master Mason, Fellow Craft, Entered Apprentice, and Cowan, appear, from documentary evidence, to have been in common use in Scotland, from the year 1598 down to our own times. These operative *titles*—now conferred on the recipients of *degrees*—are named in the Schaw Statutes (1598), the records of Mary's Chapel (1601), and the laws of the Aberdeen Lodge (1670).[7] There, so to speak, they are presented *en bloc*, which make the references the more comprehensive and significant, but all three titles occur very frequently in the early minutes of Scottish lodges, though that of "Master Mason" is often curtailed to "Master."[8]

The word "Cowan" has been previously referred to,[9] but in support of my argument, that the operative vocabulary of the sister kingdom furnished many of the expressions of which we find the earliest southern use in the publications of Dr Anderson, a few additional remarks will be offered.

According to Lyon—"of all the technicalities of Operative Masons that have been pre-

[1] The Origin and Early History of Masonry, 1864, p. 111.

[2] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, 1874, *s.v.* Freemason.

[3] The Halliwell MS. (1) has, *Prentysse*, *prentys*, and *prentes*; the Cooke (2), *prentis*, *prentes*, and *prentishode*; the Lansdowne (3) gives *Prentice*, which, however, in the Antiquity Roll (23) is modernised into *apprintice*.

[4] Pp. ix., 54, 74.

[5] The use of the word *layer*—the commonest of these terms—in preference to *cowan*, in the Kilwinning (16) and Atcheson Haven (17) MSS., furnishes another argument in support of the thesis,—that "all Scottish versions of the 'Old Charges' are of English origin." *Cf. ante*, pp. 263, 299, 300, 303; and Chaps. II., p. 90; VIII., p. 433.

[6] From a collation of thirty-five versions of the "Old Charges," I find that *layer*—under varied spellings, which, however, are *idem sonantia*—occurs in Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 22a, 24, 25a, 26, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39; *lyer*, in Nos. 13, 14, 14a, 15, 28; *lowen*, in Nos. 3 and 23; *loses*, in No. 19; *strangers*, in No. 11; *rough mason* in No. 25; *rough hewer* in No. 45; and *lewis* in No. 31a. Nos. 18, 31, and 44 contain no equivalent term. See the references to *ligier* in Chaps. VI., p. 308; XIV., p. 157, note 1; and compare with note 5 above.

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 386, 428, 429; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 423, 425. The words in the preamble of Schaw Stat., No. 1 (1598), that they were "to be obseruit [*observed*] be all the maister maissounis [*Master Masons*] within this realm," were omitted in my summary of these regulations at Chapter VIII., *loc. cit.*

[8] *Cf. ante*, p. 311; and Chap. VIII., *passim*.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 390.

served in the nomenclature of their speculative successors, that of 'Cowan,' *which is a purely Scotch term*, has lost least of its original meaning."[1]

By Dr Jamieson, it is described as "a word of contempt; applied to one who does the work of a mason, but has not been regularly bred"—*i.e.*, brought up in the trade.[2]

But the term is best defined in the Kilwinning Records, viz., *a mason without the word*—or, to vary the expression—an irregular or uninitiated operative mason.[3]

That it was commonly used in this sense, in the early documents of the Scottish Craft, is placed beyond doubt.

We find it so employed in the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh—1599—of the Glasgow Incorporation of Masons—1600, 1623—of "Mother" Kilwinning—1645, 1647, 1705—and of the Lodge of Haddington—1697.[4]

Possibly, however, from the fact, that so simple and natural an explanation affords no scope for the exercise of learned credulity, there is hardly any other word, except, perhaps, "Essenes"[5] and "Mason,"[6] which has been traced to so many sources by our etymologists.

Thus, its origin has been found in the "chouans" of the French Revolution, "of which the *h* was omitted by the English, who failed to aspirate it conformably to cockney pronunciation."[7] Again, in Egypt, we are informed, *cohen* was the title of a priest or prince, and a term of honour. Bryant, speaking of the harpies, says, they were priests of the Sun, and as *cohen* was the name of a dog as well as a priest, they are termed by Apollonius, "the dogs of Jove."[8] "Now, St John cautions the Christian brethren that 'without are dogs' (κύνες), cowans or listeners (Rev. xxii. 15); and St Paul exhorts the Christians to 'beware of *dogs*, because they are evil workers' (Phil. iii. 2). Now, κύων, a dog, or evil worker, is the Masonic *Cowan*. The above priests or metaphorical dogs, were also called Cercyonians, or Cer-*cowans*, because they were lawless in their behaviour towards strangers."[9] So far Dr Oliver, whose remarks I quote, although his conclusions are diametrically opposed to my own, because they re-appear in the arguments of very learned men, by whom the derivation of *cowan* has been more recently considered.[10] Dr Carpenter, who examines and rejects the reasoning of Dr Oliver,

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 1808—25, *s.v.*

[3] Jan. 28, 1647.—"Quhilk day Robert Quhyt, massoune in Air [*Ayr*], vpoune oath declyned all working with the cowains at any tyme heirefter." Dec. 20, 1705.—"By consent of the meeting, it was agreed that no measson shall employ no cowan, *which is to say without the word*, to work" (Minutes, Lodge of Kilwinning—Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 412; and of "Mother" Kilwinning, part iii.—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 29, 1863).

[4] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, 411. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 390, 394.

[5] See Chap I., p. 31.

[6] Of this word, Heckethorne observes, "Though some etymologists pretend the name to be derived from *massa*, a club, with which the door keeper was armed to drive away uninitiated intruders, we can only grant this etymology on the principal enunciated by Voltaire, that in etymology vowels go for very little, and consonants for nothing at all!" (Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 251). See *ante*, Chap. I., p. 6; Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Mason; and for a curious reference to the word *Mase*, in connection with *Mason*, the *Grub Street Journal*, February 2, 1732; also the Rawlinson MS. (Bodleian Library), fol. 238.

[7] Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 142. Citing [Webb] Ritual of Freemasonry, 1835, p. 69.

[8] Oliver, *ut supra*, vol i., p. 349. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[10] See the observations of Dr W. Carpenter, Messrs E. J. Walford, W. de St Croix, and C. G. Forsyth, and Dr Viner Bedolfe, at pp. 43, 73, 121, and 441 respectively, of the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871.

thinks the meaning of the word may be found in the Anglo-Saxon *cowen*, which signifies a herd, as of kine, but which we use metaphorically, to denote a company of thoughtless people, or a rabble.[1]

By an earlier writer,[2] it has been traced to the Greek word ἀκούω, to hear, hearken, or listen to, of which the past participle ακουων, would—so thinks Dr Viner Bedolfe—signify a "listening person." In a good sense, a "disciple"—in a bad sense, an "eavesdropper." κύων, a dog, in the opinion of this writer, is also doubtless from the same root, in the sense of one who listens—as dogs do—and the two ideas combined, he believes, would probably give us the true meaning of the word.[3]

I have quoted from the three doctors at some length, and by way of justification, subjoin the following remarks, wherein, after the subject had been debated for nearly seven months in the columns of the Masonic press, Dr Carpenter[4] thus sums up the whole matter. "I think," he says, "we have got pretty well at the meaning of the word *cowan*, as it is used in the Craft. Bro. D. Murray Lyon will not take offence at my saying, that I much prefer Bro. Dr Bedolfe's conjecture to his, although the phrase 'cowans *and* eavesdroppers,' in the old Scottish ritual, shows that *cowan* was not synonymous with *listener* or *eavesdropper* there. *We* have cowans and intruders, however,—the intruder being a person who might attempt to gain admission without the 'word,' and the cowan something else. I got *listener* through the Anglo-Saxon; Bro. Dr Bedolfe, through the Greek; but we agree in the import of the word, and in its use amongst Masons."[5]

The preceding observations, in conjunction with others from the pen of the same writer, indicate, that without questioning the *use* of the word *cowan* by the Operative Fraternity in the sense of a clandestine or irregular mason, the doctor demurs to this having anything whatever to do with the *origin* and use of the word by the Speculative Society. "The *Operatives*," he says, "sometimes admitted a *Cowan*—the *Speculatives* never."[6]

In the original edition of Jamieson's Dictionary, *two* meanings only of the word are given. One I have cited on the last page, and the other is a *dry-diker*, or a person who builds dry walls. After these, and as a *third* meaning or acceptation, we find in the edition of 1879, "Cowan—one unacquainted with the secrets of Freemasonry."[7] Its derivation is thus given:—"Suio-Gothic[8]—*kujon, kughjon*, a silly fellow: hominem imbellem, et cujus capiti omnes tuto illudunt, *kujon*, appellare moris est.[9] French—*coion, coyon*, a coward, a base fellow;[10] qui fait profession de lacheté, *ignavus*,—Dict. Trev.[11] The editors of this dictionary deduce it from Latin *quietus*. But the term is evidently Gothic. It has been imported by the Franks; and is derived from *kufw-a*, supprimere, insultare." But the same etymology was given in the

[1] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[2] "R. L.," in the Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1835, p. 428.

[3] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[4] Author of "Freemasonry and Israelitism," of which twenty-six chapters or sections were published in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871; "The Israelites Found in the Anglo-Saxons," etc.

[5] Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 457. The italics are the doctor's. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[7] First given in the Supplement (1825) to the original edition. In this *cowaner* is also mentioned, a word which has been allowed to "drop out" by whoever is responsible for the reprint of 1879.

[8] Or ancient language of Sweden. [9] Ihre, Lexicon Lapponicum, Holmiæ, 1780.

[10] Cotgrave, French and English Dictionary, 1650.

[11] Trevoux, Dictionaire Universelle François et Latin, 1752.

first edition of the work,[1] and in connection with the two purely operative (and only) explanations of the word. For this reason my quotations from the original dictionary, and its modern representative have been separately presented, as it seems to me, that the etymological subtleties for which the term under examination has served as a target, may be appropriately brought to a close, by citing the new uses to which the old derivation has been applied.

It is true that *Cowans* were sometimes licensed to perform masons' work, but always under certain restrictions. Their employment by Master Masons, when no regular Craftsmen could be found within fifteen miles, was allowed by the Lodge of Kilwinning in the early part of the last century. It was also the custom of Scotch Incorporations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to license *cowans*—Masters and Journeymen[2]—who were at once thatchers, wrights, and masons. Liberty to execute *hewn work*, was, however, invariably withheld. Maister Cowands were, under restrictions, admitted to membership in some Masonic Incorporations, but their reception in Lodges was strictly prohibited.[3]

Among the regulations enjoined by the Warden General, there are some upon which I must briefly dilate. The customs to which these gave rise, or assisted in perpetuating, partly re-appear in the *Free*-masonry of the South. But inasmuch as there are no *English* minutes or lodge records of earlier date than the eighteenth century, the clue, if one there be, to usages which, with slight modifications, have lasted, in some instances, to our own times, must be looked for *ex necessitate rei* in the Statutes, promulgated by William Schaw, after—we may suppose, as in the somewhat parallel case of Etienne Boileau[4]—satisfying himself by the testimony of representative craftsmen, that they were usual and customary in the trade.

A general or head meeting day was named by the "Master of Work," upon which the election of Warden was to be conducted. This, in the case of Kilwinning, and its tributary lodges,[5] was to take place on December 20, but in all other instances on the day of St John the Evangelist. The latter fact, it is true, is not attested by the actual Statutes, but that both dates of election were fixed by William Schaw, may nevertheless be regarded as having been satisfactorily proved by evidence *aliunde*.

The order of the Warden General for the election of Lodge Wardens, or what at all events is believed by the highest authority[6] to be his—except within the bounds of Kilwinning, the Nether Ward of Clydesdale, Glasgow, Ayr, and Carrick—is as follows:—"xvij Novembris, 1599. *First*, it is ordanit that the haill Wardenis salbe chosen ilk yeir preciselie at Sanct Jhoneis day, to wit the xxvij day of december."

This minute, assumed to be a memorandum of an order emanating from the Warden General, is followed by another, which I shall also quote:—

"xviij Decembris, 1599. The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the ludge of Edr. [*Edinburgh*] electit & chesit Jhone Broun in thair Warden be monyest of thair voitis for ane zeir [*year*] to cum."[7]

[1] *I.e.*, the original text, *not* the Supplement.

[2] Some extracts from the minutes of the Ayr Squaremen Incorporation (1593, 1671, 1677, and 1688), referring to Fellow-Craft and Master Cowans, will be found in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871, p. 409.

[3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 24. *Cf. ante*, Chap. III., pp. 128, § LIV.; 141, § 81; and §§ G and H of the Strassburg Ordinances (*Ibid.*, p. 117, note 5). In parting with the term, I may remark that some interesting notes, entitled "The Meaning of Cowan," appeared in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. viii., 1880, pp. 113, 114.

[4] Chap. IV., p. 187. [5] Chap. VIII., p. 389. [6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

It may be observed, that elections frequently took place on the *twenty-eighth* instead of the *twenty-seventh* of December. The minutes of the Melrose (1674) and other early Scottish Lodges, afford examples of this apparent irregularity, though its explanation—if, indeed, not simply arising in each case from the festival of St John the Evangelist falling upon a Sunday[1]— may be found in an old guild-custom. Every guild had its appointed day or days of meeting. At these, called morn-speeches (in the various forms of the word), or "dayes of Spekyngges tokedere [*together*] for here [*their*] comune profyte," much business was done, such as the choice of officers, admittance of new brethren, making up accounts, reading over the ordinances, and the like. One day, where several were held in the year, being fixed as the "general day."[2]

The word "morning-speech" (*morgen-spæc*) is as old as Anglo-Saxon times. "Morgen" signified both "morning" and "morrow;" and the origin of the term would seem to be that the meeting was held either in the morning of the same day, or on the morning (the morrow) of the day *after* that on which the guild held its feast and accompanying ceremonies.[3]

However this may have been, the custom of meeting annually upon the day of St John the Evangelist, in conformity with the order of the Warden General, with the exception of Mother Kilwinning (December 20) appears to have been observed with commendable fidelity by such of the early lodges whose minutes have come down to us. It was the case at Edinburgh—1599; Aberdeen—1670; Melrose—1674; Dunblane—1696; and Atcheson Haven—1700. In each instance I quote the earliest reference to the practice, afforded by the documents of the lodge.[4] The usage continued, and survives at this day, but of the celebration of *St John the Baptist's* day—or St John's day "in Harvest,"[5] as distinguished from St John's day "in Christmas"—by any fraternity exclusively masonic, we have the earliest evidence in the York minute of June 24, 1713.[6] Both days, it is true, were observed by the Gateshead sodality of 1671;[7] but though the Freemasons were the leading craft of this somewhat mixed corporation, there is nothing to show, or from which we might infer, that the custom of meeting on Midsummer day, had its origin in a usage of the *lodge*, rather than in one of the *guild*. Indeed, the reverse of this supposition is the more credible of the two.

The objects of all guilds alike have been well defined by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims,

[1] January 29, 1675.—"We .·. consent .·. to meit yeirly on Saint John's Day, which is ye 27 of December (if it be not on ye Sabbath Day) *in yᵗ case we ar to keipe ye next day following* .·. and also yᵗ no prentises shal be entered recivit in but on ye forsd day" (Mutuall Agriement Betwixt the Maisones of the Lodge of Melros;—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 365). It is singular that both sets of the Schaw Statutes are dated December 28.

[2] Lucy Toulmin Smith, *ut supra*, Introduction to Smith, English Gilds, p. xxxiii. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] See, however, Fort, *op cit.*, pp. 113, 195; and compare with *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 449, 450.

[5] The following is from the regulations of the "fraternite of Taillors of *Seint John de baptist* in the Citee of Exceter:—"Also hyt ys ordened, that alle the ffeleshyppe of the Bachelerys schall hollen ther feste at *Synte John-ys day in harwaste*" (Smith, English Gilds, pp. 313, 325). The same expression will be found in the Ordinances of the Guild of St John Baptist, West Lynn (*post*, p. 324, note 5).

[6] *Ante*, p. 271. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 262, note 1, 264, 266. Although it is comparatively unimportant on what day the Swalwell brethren held their annual election, either in 1780, 1725, or, indeed, at any period *after* the publication of the Book of Constitutions—the fact that the General head-meeting day of the Alnwick "Company and Fellowship," from 1704 onwards, as we learn from the *earliest English Lodge Records* that have come down to us, was the festival of St John the *Evangelist*, is worthy of our attention.

[7] *Ante*, p. 151.

in one of his Capitularies.[1] He says, "in omni obsequio religionis conjungantur"—they shall unite in every exercise of religion. By this was meant, before all things, the associations for the veneration of certain religious mysteries, and in honour of saints. Such guilds were everywhere under the patronage of the Holy Trinity, or of certain saints, or of the Holy Cross, or of the Holy Sacrament, or of some other religious mystery. In honour of these patrons they placed candles on their altars, and before their images, whilst in some statutes this even appears as the only object of the guild.[2]

But the definition given above must not be restricted to the social or religious guilds. It applies equally well to the town-guilds or guilds-merchant, and the trade-guilds or guilds of crafts. None of the London trades appear to have formed fraternities without ranging themselves under the banner of some saint, and, if possible, they chose one who bore a fancied relation to their trade.[3] Thus the fishmongers adopted St Peter; the drapers chose the Virgin Mary, mother of the "Holy Lamb" or fleece, as the emblem of that trade. The goldsmiths' patron was St Dunstan, reputed to have been a brother artisan. The merchant tailors, another branch of the draping business, marked their connection with it by selecting *St John the Baptist*, who was the harbinger of the Holy Lamb so adopted by the drapers. In other cases, the companies denominated themselves fraternities of the particular saint in whose church or chapel they assembled, and had their altar.[4]

Eleven or more of the guilds, whose ordinances are given us by Mr Toulmin Smith, had John the Baptist as their patron saint, and several of these, whilst keeping June 24 as their head day, also assembled on December 27, the corresponding feast of the Evangelist.[5] Among the documents brought to light by this zealous antiquary, there are, unfortunately, none relating directly to the Masons,[6] though it is somewhat curious that he cites the records of a guild, which, it is possible, may have comprised members of that trade,[7] as affording almost a solitary instance of the absence of a patron saint. The guild referred to is that of the smiths (*ffabrorum*) of Chesterfield.[8]

An explanation of this apparent anomaly is furnished by Brentano;[9] but leaving the point

[1] *Cf.* Wilda, Das Gildewesen im Mittelalter, 1831, pp. 22, 35, 41.

[2] Brentano, *ut supra*, p. 19. *Cf.* Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40; and *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 193, *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Chap X., pp. 482, 483; and Fort, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 103, 176.

[4] Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., 1837, p. 67. *Cf. ante*, Chap. III., p. 170.

[5] "And yis gilde schal haue foure mornspeches be ye [year]. The first schal ben after ye drynkynge; the secunde schal ben vp-on ye seynt Jhon day in heruyst [*harvest*]; the thryde schal ben vp-on seynt Jon day in Cristemesse; the fourte schal ben vp-on seynt Jhon day in May" (Ordinances, Gild of St John Baptist, West Lynn—Smith, English Gilds, p. 100). *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 27, 58, 71, 119, 122, 146, 161, 258, 310; and *ante*, p. 323, note 5.

[6] According to Mr Coote—"At the beginning of the present century (perhaps at the end of the last), through extraneous influences, a hierarchical system was introduced into Freemasonry, and all the independent lodges (or guilds) submitted themselves to one lodge in London as their chief, at the same time surrendering to the latter their royal charters (or licences) and their ordinances. *These were probably all destroyed* by the central authority at the time of the surrender!" (Transactions, London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv., 1871, p. 2). The story of the manuscripts sacrificed by "scrupulous brethren" (1720) will here occur to the mind of the reflective reader. *Cf. ante*, p. 281.

[7] *Cf.* Chaps. I., pp. 38, 44; III., pp. 169, 170; XIV., p. 157.

[8] Mr Smith observes: "This gild seems to have had no patron saint. Among the records of at least six hundred early English gilds that have come under my careful review, I have very rarely found this absence, save in some of the Gilds-Merchant" (English Gilds, p. 168).

[9] On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 19. As the edition I quote from is the *reprint* of 1870, it will be

an open one, whether in the case before us Mr Smith or his commentator has the best title to our confidence, it may be remarked that the guild of the joiners and carpenters at Worcester also appears not to have been under any saintly patronage; yet, on the other hand, we find the carpenters' guild of Norwich dedicated to the Holy Trinity, whilst the "brotherhood" of barbers in the same town, and the "fraternity" of tailors at Exeter, were each under the patronage of St John the Baptist.[1]

The general head-meeting day of the Alnwick Lodge, in 1701, was the "Feast of St Michael," but this, however, we find shortly afterwards changed to that of St John the Evangelist.[2]

The records of Mary's Chapel and Kilwinning are sufficiently conclusive of the fact, that the holding of lodge assemblies on the day of St John the Baptist was never a custom of the Scottish fraternity until after the erection of their Grand Lodge. By the original regulations of this body, the election of a Grand Master was to take place on St Andrew's Day *for the first time*, and "ever thereafter" upon that of St John the Baptist. In accordance therewith, William St Clair of Roslin was elected the first Grand Master on November 30, 1736, which day, in preference to December 27, was fixed for the annual election of officers by resolution of the Grand Lodge, April 13, 1737, as being the birthday of St Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland.[3]

Of all the meetings of the Lodge of Edinburgh that were held between the years 1599 and 1756, only some half-a-dozen happened to fall on June 24; and the first mention of the lodge celebrating the festival of St John the Baptist, is in 1757.[4]

It will be quite unnecessary, in these days, to lay stress on the circumstance, that the connection of the Saints John with the Masonic Institution, is of a symbolic and not of an historical character.[5] The custom of assembling on the days of these saints is, apparently, a relic of sun-worship, combined with other features of the heathen Paganalia. The Pagan rites of the festival at the summer Solstice may be regarded as a counterpart of those used at the winter Solstice at Yule-tide. There is one thing which proves this beyond the possibility of a doubt. In the old Runic Fasti a wheel was used to denote the festival of Christmas. This wheel is common to both festivities.[6]

necessary to add lxiv. to this pagination to arrive at corresponding portions of the "essay" originally prefixed to Smith's "English Gilds." Thus xix. + lxiv. = lxxxiii., which is identical with p. 19 of the *reprint*.

[1] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40, 209, 310.

[2] *Ante*, p. 264.

[3] Lyon observes: "In the minute in which this is recorded, it is taken for granted that the 24th of June was originally fixed as the date of the grand Annual Communication and Election; 'because it had long been customary among the fraternity to hold their principal assemblies on St John the Baptist's Day,' and upon this assumption the fabulous story of the craft's ancient connection with St John the Baptist has ever since been perpetuated" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 170. See, however, pp. 235, 236).

[4] *Ibid.* See further, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 15; and *post*, p. 332, note 1.

[5] Dr Oliver, however, in what is one of the least valuable, though withal the most pretentious of his numerous works, after stating that these saints "were perfect parallels in Christianity as well as Masonry," observes: "We are challenged by our opponents to prove that St John [the Evangelist] was a Freemason. The thing is incapable of *direct* proof. Calmet positively asserts that he was an Essene, which was the secret society of the day, that conveyed moral truths under symbolical figures, *and may therefore be termed Freemasonry*, retaining the same form, *but practised under another name!*" (Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 167).

[6] Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, edit. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870, vol. i., p. 169.

In the words of a recent authority, "the great prehistoric midsummer festival to the sun-god has diverged into the two Church feasts, Eucharist and St John's Day;" whilst "the term *Yule* was the name given to the festival of the winter Solstice by our northern invaders, and means *the Festival of the Sun*."[1]

Sir Isaac Newton tells us, that the heathens were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those ceremonies; therefore Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs. Hence the keeping of Christmas with ivy, feasting, plays, and sports came in the room of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; the celebrating May Day with flowers, in the room of the Floralia; and the festivals to the Virgin Mary, *John the Baptist*, and divers of the Apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the Sun into the Signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian Calendar.[2]

In the same way, at the conversion of the Saxons by Austin the monk, the heathen Paganalia were continued among the converts, with some regulations, by an order of Gregory I. to Mellitus the Abbot, who accompanied Austin in his mission to this island. His words are to this effect: On the Day of Dedication, or the Birth Day of the Holy Martyrs, whose relics are there placed,[3] let the people make to themselves booths of the boughs of trees, round about those very churches which had been the temples of idols, and in a religious way to observe a feast. "Such," remarks Brand,[4] after quoting from Bede,[5] as above, "are the foundations of the Country Wake." But I cite his observations, not so much to record this curious circumstance, as to point out that the festival enjoined by the Pope may have become, for a time at least, associated with the memory of the Quatuor Coronati or Four Crowned Martyrs—the earliest legendary saints of the Masons.

This will depend upon the meaning which should be attached to the word "martyrium." Dr Giles, in his edition of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," gives us under the year 619—"The *Church* of the Four Crowned Martyrs (*martyrium* beatorum quatuor coronati) was in the place where the fire raged most."

The fire alluded to, laid waste a great part of the city of Canterbury, and was suddenly arrested on its reaching the "martyrium" of the Crowned Martyrs, owing, we are led to suppose, partly to the influence of their relics, and in a greater measure to the prayers of Bishop Mellitus. Now, Bede's account of the circumstance has been held by a learned writer to demonstrate one of two facts—either the "martyrium" contained the bodies of the saints, or the martyrdoms had taken place upon the spot where the church was afterwards built.[6] In a certain sense, the former of these suppositions will exactly meet the case. According to

[1] James Napier, Folk Lore; or, Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland within this Century, 1879, pp. 149, 175.

[2] Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John, 1733, pt. i., chap. xiv., pp. 204 205. *Cf.* Chap. XV., pp. 233, 236.

[3] Mrs Jamieson, describing "the passion for relics" which prevailed from the third to the fourteenth centuries, says: "The remains of those who had perished nobly for an oppressed faith were first buried with reverential tears, and then guarded with reverential care. Periodical feasts were celebrated on their tombs—the love-feasts (*agapæ*) of the ancient Christians: subsequently, their remains were transferred to places of worship, and deposited under the table or altar from which the sacrament was distributed. Such places of worship were supposed, of course, to derive an especial sanctity, and thence an especial celebrity, from the possession of the relics of martyrs highly and universally honoured" (Sacred and Legendary Art, 7th edit., 1874, vol. ii., p. 655).

[4] Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 2. [5] Ecclesiastical History, chap. xxx.

[6] H. C. Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 420. See *ante*, Chap. X., p. 484, note 2.

canon xiv. of the 19th Council of Carthage, no church could be built for martyrs except there were on the spot either the body *or some certain relics*,[1] or where the origin of some habitation or possession, or passion of the martyr had been transmitted from a most trustworthy source.[2]

Martyrium, which is derived from the Greek μαρτύριον, as used in the context, would seem to mean *a church where some martyr's relics are;* and if we adopt this signification, the instructions given by Pope Gregory I. to Mellitus, and the words in which the latter is associated by Bede, with the miraculous stoppage of the fire at Canterbury, A.D. 619, are more easily comprehended.

"The chief festivals of the Stone-masons," says Findel, "were on St John the Baptist's Day, and the one designated the Day of the Four Crowned Martyrs—the principal patron saints of the Stone-masons."[3] Yet although the "Quatuor Coronati" are specially invoked in the Strassburg[4] (1459) and Torgau (1462) Ordinances,[5] in neither of these, or in the later code—the Brother-Book of 1563[6]—do we meet with any reference to St John.

On the other hand, there existed in 1430, at Cologne, a guild of stonemasons *and carpenters*, called the Fraternity of St John the Baptist; but although the records from which this fact is gleaned, extend from 1396 to the seventeenth century, the Four Martyrs are not once named.[7]

The claims of John the Baptist to be considered the earliest patron saint of the German masons are minutely set forth by Krause in his "Kunsturkunden,"[8] to which learned work, I must refer such of my readers, as are desirous of pursuing the subject at greater length than the limit of these pages will allow.

Before, however, parting with the Saints John, there is one further aspect under which their assumed patronage of guilds and fraternities may be regarded. This we find in the heathen practice of "Minne-drinking," that is, of honouring an absent or deceased one, by making mention of him at the assembly or banquet, and draining a goblet to his memory. Among the names applied to the goblet was *minnisveig*—hence *swig* or *draught*. The usage survived the conversion—and is far from being extinct under Christianity—but instead of Thor, Odin, and the rest, the *minne* was drank of Christ, Mary, and the saints.[9] During the Middle Ages the two saints most often toasted were John the Evangelist and Gertrude. *Both* St Johns were, however, frequently complimented in this way. Luitprand, by the words "potas in amore beati *Johannis* præcursoris," evidently referring to the Baptist, whilst in

[1] According to Dr Dyer, "during the reign of Paul [I., 757-767], many cartloads of corpses were disinterred from the Catacombs, and escorted into the city by processions of monks, and amid the singing of hymns, in order to be again buried under the churches; while ambassadors were constantly arriving from the *Anglo-Saxons*, Franks, and Germans, to beg the gift of some of these highly-prized relics." The same author adds—"It seems to have been assumed, as a matter of course, that all the bones found in the Catacombs belonged not only to Christians, but to martyred Christians" (History of the City of Rome; Its Structures and Monuments, 1865, p. 365).

[2] Sir Isaac Newton, *op. cit.*, pt. i., p. 230; Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 419.

[3] History of Freemasonry, p. 63.

[4] Chap. III., p. 117, note 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135. It is noteworthy that by these regulations four special masses are to be said on certain saints' days, viz., on the days of St Peter, of the Holy Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Four Crowned Martyrs. The St Johns—Baptist and Evangelist—are not included in the list. See, however, p. 141, § 89.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 119. The laws known under the above title were enacted at two meetings held on St Bartholomew's and St Michael's days respectively.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170.

Cf. Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii.

[8] Die drei Aeltesten Kunsturkunden, pp. 295-305.

numerous other cases cited by Grimm—from whom I quote—the allusion is as distinctly to the Evangelist. "Minne-drinking," even as a religious rite, apparently exists at this day in some parts of Germany. At Otbergen, a village of Hildesheim, on December 27 every year, a chalice of wine is hallowed by the priest, and handed to the congregation in the church to drink as *Johannis segen* (blessing).[1]

Among the remaining customs, the observance of which was strictly enjoined by the Schaw Statutes, there are some that must not be passed over without further notice. These I shall proceed to examine, and for the same reason as in the parallel case of the celebration of *a* Saint John's day by the Scottish craft, it being evident, that usages which we first meet with in the Masonic system of one country, will be more satisfactorily considered in connection therewith, than by postponing their examination until they reappear in that of another country.

It is, indeed, in the highest degree probable, that most of the regulations ordained by the Warden General were based on English originals, though not exclusively of a Masonic character. Clauses 20 and 21 of the earlier code (1598) are clearly based on corresponding passages in the "Old Charges."[2] The examination of journeymen before their "admission" as masters, *may* have been suggested by a custom with which we are made familiar by the Cooke MS. (2);[3] and clause 10 of the same code is, strange to say, almost identical in phraseology with the *tenth* ordinance of the Guild of Joiners and Carpenters, Worcester, enacted in 1692, but doubtless a survival of a more ancient law. It imposes "a penalty of £5 for takeing an apprentice, to sell him again to ano^{r} of the same trade."[4]

But the task immediately before us is, not so much to speculate upon the supposed origin of customs, which we first meet with in Masonry in the sixteenth century, as to realise with sufficient distinctness the actual circumstances of the early Scottish craft, before proceeding with the comparison for which we have been preparing.

The Schaw Statutes mention two classes of office-bearers, which were wholly unknown, or at least are not mentioned, in any Masonic records of the South. These are quartermasters and intenders.[5] The latter were represented in the majority of Scottish lodges, but the former, though for a century holding a place among the Kilwinning fraternity, were never introduced into the Lodge of Edinburgh, nor have I any recollection of their being alluded to (at first-hand)[6] elsewhere than in the "Items" of the Warden General and the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning." Whether either or both were survivals of *English* terms, which lapsed into desuetude, I shall not attempt to decide, though it, at least, merits our passing attention, that "Attendant," "Attender," and "Intendant," though shown as *English* words by Dr Johnson,

[1] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, translated from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. i., 1880, pp. 59-62.

[2] *Cf.* The Buchanan MS. (15), §§ xiv., xvi. (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 96).

[3] Lines 711-719. "And .·. at such congregations, they that be made masters, should be *examined* of the articles after written, and be ransacked whether they be able and cunning to the profit of the lords, [having] them to serve, and to the honour of the aforesaid art" (Cooke, History and Articles of Masonry, pp. 103, 104). See *ante*, pp. 304, note 6; 305, note 2.

[4] An editorial note says: "Of course this does not mean, as its literal sense would imply, to sell the body of the apprentice, but to sell the master's interest in the Articles of Apprenticeship" (Smith, English Gilds, p. 209).

[5] Stats. II., § 8; I., § 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 304, 305, 313; and Chap. VIII., pp. 400, 420, 429.

[6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

do not occur in the etymological dictionary of the Scottish language by Dr Jamieson. *Intender* is not given by either of these lexicographers.[1] From the same source—the Schaw *codices*—we learn that oaths were administered; one, the "great oath,"[2] apparently at *entry*—and the other, the "oath of fidelity,"[3] at yearly intervals. The administration of an oath, the reception of fellows, the presentation of gloves, the custom of banqueting, and the election of *a* warden,[4] as features of the Scottish system, demand our attention, because, with the exception of the one referring to the choice of a warden—which officer, however, was present, *teste* Ashmole at the Warrington Lodge in 1646[5]—all of them reappear in the Masonic customs of the Staffordshire "moorelands," so graphically depicted by Dr Plot.[6]

The references in the Schaw Statutes to gloves, banquets, and the election of wardens, invite a few observations, with which I shall bring to a close my review of the early Masonry of Scotland.

A high authority has laid down that the use of the gloves in Masonry is a symbolical idea, borrowed from the ancient and universal language of symbolism, and was intended, like the apron, to denote the necessity of purity of life.[7]

"The builders," says Mackey, "who associated in companies, who traversed Europe, and were engaged in the construction of palaces and cathedrals,[8] have left to us, as their descendants, their name, their technical language, and the apron, that distinctive piece of clothing by which they protected their garments from the pollutions of their laborious employment." He adds, "did they also bequeath to us their gloves?"[9]

This is a question which the following extracts and references—culled from many sources—may enable us to solve. Gloves are spoken of by Homer as worn by Laertes, and from a remark in the "Cyropædia" of Xenophon, that on one occasion Cyrus went without them, there is reason to believe that they were used by the ancient Persians. According to Favyn, the custom of throwing down the glove or gauntlet was derived from the Oriental mode of sealing a contract or the like, by giving the purchaser a glove by way of delivery or investiture, and to this effect he quotes Ruth iv. 7, and Psalms cviii. 9—passages where the word commonly translated "shoe" is by some rendered "glove."[10] In the life of St Columbanus,

[1] *Cf.* The form of oath cited, *ante*, p. 317.

[2] Stat. No. I., § 21. "And wee command all our successores in this meason trade, be [*by*] the oath that the, make at ther *entrie*," etc. (8th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670—Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 426; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 430. See also Chap. II., p. 96, § xiv.).

[3] Stat. No. II., § 12.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 304, 305; Chap. VIII., pp. 385, 389—Schaw Stats. I., §§ 1, 13; II., §§ 1, 9, 10, 11.

[5] Chap. XIV., p. 140.

[6] Chap. XIV., p. 164.

[7] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* gloves.

[8] In one of the papers to which I have frequently referred (Chap. VI., p. 302, note), Mr Wyatt Papworth observes: "Probably some will have expected an account of those 'travelling bodies of Freemasons,' who are said to have erected all the great buildings of Europe; nothing more, however, is to be here noted than that *I believe they never existed!*"

Mr Street also remarks: "The common belief in a race of clerical architects and in ubiquitous bodies of Freemasons, seems to me to be altogether erroneous" (Gothic Architecture in Spain, 1865, p. 464). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. VI., p. 256, *et seq.*; VII., pp. 32, 34; but see Fort, A Critical Inquiry into the Condition of the Conventual Builders, 1884, *passim*.

[9] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[10] Le Théâtre d'honneur, Paris, 1628.

written in the seventh century,[1] gloves, as a protection during manual labour, are alluded to and A.D. 749 (*circa*), Felix, in his Anglo-Saxon "Life of St Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland" (chap. xi.), mentions their use as a covering for the hand.

According to Brand, the giving of gloves at marriages is a custom of remote antiquity; but it was not less common, so we are told by his latest editor, at funerals than at weddings.[2] A pair of gloves are mentioned in the will of Bishop Riculfus, who died A.D. 915; and Matthew Paris relates that Henry II. (1189) was buried with gloves on his hands.

A.D. 1302.—In the Year Book of Edward I. it is laid down, that in cases of acquittal of a charge of manslaughter, the prisoner was obliged to pay a fee to the justices' clerk in the form of *a pair of gloves*, besides the fee to the marshal.

1321.—The Bishop of Bath and Wells received from the dean and chapter a pair of gloves with a gold knot.[3]

In the Middle Ages, gloves of white linen—or of silk beautifully embroidered and jewelled—were worn by bishops or priests when in the performance of ecclesiastical functions.[4]

1557.—Tusser, in his "Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry," informs us, that it was customary to give the reapers gloves when the wheat was thistly,[5] and Hilman in his "Tusser Redevivus," 1710, observes, that the largess, which seems to have been usual in the old writer's time, was still a matter of course, of which the reapers did not require to be reminded.[6]

1598.—A passage in Hall's "Virgidemarium" seems to imply that a Hen was a usual present at Shrove-tide; also a *pair of Gloves* at Easter.[7]

According to Dr Pegge, the Monastery of Bury allowed its servants two pence a piece for *glove-silver* in Autumn, but though he duly quotes his authority, the date of its publication is not given.

The allusions, so far, bear but indirectly upon our immediate subject, but I shall now adduce some others of a purely Masonic character, which, for convenience sake, are grouped together in a chronological series of their own.

13th Century.—An engraving copied from the painted glass of a window in the Cathedral of Chartres, is given by M. Didron in his "Annales Archéologiques." It represents a number

[1] By the abbot of Bobbio. In this, gloves are described as "tegumenta manuum quæ Galli *wantos* vocant." One of the articles in Ducange is headed "Chirotheca seu *Wanti*." Another word—obviously of Teutonic derivation—used for a glove in mediæval Latin is *gantus*. It is remarkable that no gloves are visible in the Bayeux Tapestry. In the Liber Albus of the City of London (Rolls Series, pp. 600, 737), the trade of glover is thus referred to:—1338-53, "combustio falsarum ciroticarum," and "articuli ciroticariorum;" 1376-99, "ordinacio ciroticariorum."

[2] Vol. ii., p. 77. In Arnold's Chronicle (1502), among "the artycles vpon whiche is to inquyre in the visitacyons of ordynaryes of chyrches," we read: "Item, whether the curat refuse to do the solemnysacyon of lawfull matrymonye before he have gyfte of money, hoses, or *gloves*" (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

[3] H. E. Reynolds, Statutes of Wells Cathedral, p. 147.

[4] Planché, Cyclopædia of Costume, *s.v.*

[5] Reprinted in the British Bibliographer, 1810-14, vol. iii.

[6] Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 12.

[7] er gloves, or for a Shroft-tide Hen,
Which bought to give, he takes to sell again."
—*Book* iv., Sat. 5, p. 42.

Curalia Miscellanea, 1818, citing History of Hawsted, p. 190. For a quantity of curious information, relating to the use and presentation of gloves, the reader is referred to Dr Pegge's work, pp. 305-331; the "Venetian History," 1860, chap. xxv.; and Ducange, Glossarium, *s.v.* Chirotheca.

of operative masons at work. All of them wear gloves.[1] Further evidence of this custom will be found in the "Life of King Offa," written by Matthew Paris, where a similar scene is depicted.[2]

1355.—According to the records of York Cathedral, it was usual to find tunics [gowns], aprons, gloves, and clogs, and to give occasional potation and remuneration for extra work. Gloves were also given to the carpenters.[3] From the same source of information we learn that aprons and gloves were given to the masons in 1371; and the latter, in the same year, to the carpenters, and in 1403 to the setters. The last-named workmen received both aprons and gloves (*naprons et cirotecis*) in 1404. Further entries elucidatory of the same custom appear under the years 1421-22, 1432-33, and 1498-99,[4] ending with the following in 1507:—For approns and glovys for settyng to the masons, 16*d.*[5]

1372.—The Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral inform us that in this year six pairs of gloves were bought for the carpenters for raising the timber, 12*d.*[6]

1381.—The châtelain of Villaines en Duemois, bought a considerable quantity of gloves to be given to the workmen, in order, as it is said, "to shield their hands from the stone and lime."[7]

1383.—Three dozen pairs of gloves were bought and distributed to the masons when they commenced the buildings at the Chartreuse of Dijon.[8]

1432.—A lavatory was erected in the cloisters at Durham, and the accounts show that three pairs of gloves at 1½d. each, were given to the workmen.[9]

1486, 7.—Twenty-two pairs of gloves were given to the masons and stone-cutters who were engaged in work at the city of Amiens.[10]

The custom existed as late as 1629, under which year, we find in the accounts of Nicoll Udwart, the treasurer of Heriot's Hospital,—"Item, for sex pair of gloves to the Maissones at the founding of the Eist Quarter, xxs."[11]

Gloves are mentioned by William Schaw in 1599,[12] and here we enter upon a new phase of the inquiry. Hitherto, as will be seen above, they were given *to* and not *by* the masons, or any one or more of their number. The practice, of which we see the earliest account in the code of 1599, became—if it did not previously exist—a customary one in the old court of operative masonry, the proceedings of which, perhaps more than those of any other body of the same kind, the statutes in question were designed to regulate. Early in the seventeenth century it was a rule of the Lodge of Kilwinning that *intrants* should present so many pairs

[1] Journal, British Archæological Association, vol. i., 1845, p. 23.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. VI., p. 318, note 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 303.

[4] 1499.—"Pro ij *limatibus* et ij paribus cirothecarum pro cementariis pro les settyng." The *limas* was a kind of apron used by masons.

[5] The Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. xxxv.).

[6] G. Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral, 1861, p. 385.

[7] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.* [8] *Ibid.*

[9] J. Raine, A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, 1833, p. 91.

[10] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.*

[11] Transactions, Archæological Institute of Scotland, vol. ii., 1852, pp. 34-40.

[12] Statutes No. II., § 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 390.

of gloves on their admission, but as the *membership*[1] increased there was such an inconvenient accumulation of this article of dress that "glove-money" came to be accepted in its stead.[2]

Gloves were required from fellow-crafts at their passing, and from apprentices at their entry, in the Scoon and Perth (1658) and the Aberdeen (1670) Lodges respectively; but whether the custom extended to those who were *entered* in the former lodge or *passed* in the latter it is difficult to decide.[3] The largess expected was, however, more liberal in one case than in the other, for, according to the Aberdeen Statutes, intrants—except the eldest sons and those married to the eldest daughters of the fellow-crafts and masters by whom they were framed—were obliged to present not only a "pair of good gloves," but an apron also, to every member of the lodge.

A regulation not unlike the above was enacted by the Melrose fraternity in 1675, requiring a "prentice" at his "entrie," and also when "mad frie masson,"[4] to pay a certain number of "pund Scots & suficient gloves." In the former case, as we learn from a subsequent minute (1695), the gloves were valued at four shillings, and in the latter at five shillings a pair.[5] A similar usage prevailed in the Lodge of Kelso, as we learn by the minute for St John's Day,[6] 1701.

This codifies the existing laws, and we find that the brethren, who as entered apprentices were mulct in the sum of "eight pound Scots with their gloves," were further required, in the higher station of "master *and* fellow of the craft," to pay five shillings sterling to the company's stock, and "neu gloves to the members."[7]

The obligation imposed upon intrants of "clothing the lodge"—a phrase by which the custom of exacting from them gloves, and in some instances aprons, was commonly described, was not abolished in the Lodge of Kelso until about 1755. The material point, however, for our consideration is, that the practice, in Scottish lodges, overlapped that portion of English masonic history termed by me the "epoch of transition," since, from the point of view we are surveying these ancient customs, it matters very little how common they became *after* they were "digested" by Dr Anderson in his "Book of Constitutions." In this we find,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 303, *et seq.*—Probably the glove tax was imposed on the apprentices (or intrants) when the Lodge of Kilwinning departed from the strict letter of the Schaw Statutes and admitted them to full membership?

[2] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 47. The same inconvenience was experienced at Kelso in 1745, when the Lodge found that, owing to members who were deficient in their entry and passing money not being entitled to gloves, there was a great number left on hand. So it was resolved that "whoever next enters apprentice or passes Fellow, shall be obliged to take out those gloves at the Lodge's Price of Sevenpence per pair, and, till the gloves of the Lodge be disposed of, such Intrants or Passers shall not be allowed to buy elsewhere" (Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 31).

[3] "ffourthlie, That all ffelow crafts that are past in this Lodge pay to the Master Warden and ffelow crafts of the samene, the sowme of Sixteine Pund Scottis money, besyde the Gloves and dews therof .·. .·. And yt everie entered prenties shall pay twentie merkis money, with ffourtie shilling, at ther first incomeing to the Lodge, *besyde the dews thereof*" (Charter of Scoon and Perth Lodge, A.D.]1658—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1879-80, p. 134). *Cf.* the 5th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 425).

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 306; 317, note 6.

[5] W. F. Vernon, The Records of an Ancient Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, pp. 366, 367).

[6] Vernon remarks—"While the lodge was most particular about the observance of 'Holy Saint John's day' on the 27th of December, their 'Summer Saint John's' was held near, *but never upon*, the day dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. *At a later date*, however, this Saint's day was also held" (*Op. cit.*, p. 15). *Cf. ante*, pp. 323, 325.

[7] Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 16.

as No. VII. of the "General Regulations"—"Every *new* Brother at his making is decently to cloath the *Lodge*—that is, all the Brethren present," etc.[1]

Here, it would seem, as in so many other instances, the Doctor must have had in his mind the masonic usages of his native country, though we should not lose sight of the fact that the presentation of gloves by "candidates" to Freemasons and their wives was a custom which prevailed in the Staffordshire lodges in 1686.[2]

But whatever were the authorities upon which Anderson relied—and by the suggestion that the leading features of Scottish Masonry were not absent from his thoughts whilst fulfilling the mandate he received from the Grand Lodge of England, it is not meant to imply that he closed his eyes to evidence proceeding from any other quarter—it is certain that the old masonic custom, which in 1723 had become a law, came down from antiquity in two distinct channels. This it is necessary to bear in mind, because whilst in the one case (Scotland) we must admit that the speculative masons have received from their operative predecessors the gloves as well as the apron, in the other case (England) this by no means follows as a matter of course, since among the Freemasons of 1686 were "persons of the most eminent quality,"[3] from whose speculative—not operative—predecessors the custom which Plot attests may have been derived. Indeed, passing over the circumstance that until the sixteenth century—at least so far as there is evidence to guide us—gloves were presented *to* rather than *by* the operative masons, the stream of authority tends to prove that the usage itself was one of great antiquity, and there is absolutely nothing which should induce the conviction that its origin must be looked for in a custom of the building trades.

Indeed, the probability is rather the other way. The giving of gloves at weddings was common in early times, as we have already seen.[4] Lovers also presented them to their mistresses,[5] and the very common notion that if a woman surprises a man sleeping, and can steal a kiss without waking him, she has a right to demand a pair of gloves—has come down to us with a very respectable flavour of antiquity. Thus, Gay, in the sixth pastoral of his "Shepherd's Week," published in 1714, has:—

> "*Cic'ly* brisk Maid, steps forth before the Rout,
> And kiss'd with smacking Lip the snoring Lout:
> For Custom says, *who'er this venture proves,*
> *For such a kiss demands a pair of Gloves.*"

And it might be plausibly contended, that the origin of the practice thus mentioned by Gay in 1714, must be looked for at a period of time, at least equally remote, with that of the Masonic usage, on which Dr Anderson based the Seventh General Regulation of 1723.

Although "banquets" are not among the customs or regulations, ratified or ordained by the Warden General in 1598, they are mentioned in no less than three clauses of the Statutes of 1599.[6] This, of itself, would go far to prove, that the practice of closing the formal pro-

[1] The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 60.

[2] Chap. XIV., p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 163. [4] *Ante*, pp. 329, 330. *Cf.* Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 76.

[5] Shakespeare, Much Ado about Nothing, Act iii., sc. 4; J. O. Halliwell, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, 1849, p. 250.

[6] §§ 9, 10, 11.

ceedings of a meeting, with a feast or carousal, was then of old standing. But a minute of Mary's Chapel,[1] preceding by ten days the date of Schaw's second code,[2] shows, at all events, that the banquet was a well-established institution at the time when the latter was promulgated.

In the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670)[3] both initiation (or entry) and passing, were followed by feasting and revelry, at the expense of the apprentice and fellow respectively. Nor did the exemption with regard to gloves and aprons, which, as we have seen, prevailed in the case of sons and sons-in-law of the "Authoires" and "Subscryuers" of the "Book," hold good as to banquets. From each and all a "speacking pynt," a "dinner," and a "pynt of wyne," were rigorously exacted.

The festival of St John the Evangelist was especially set apart by the Aberdeen brethren, as a day of feasting and rejoicing. A similar usage prevailed at Melrose, from at least 1670, and in all probability from times still more remote. The records of the old lodge there, first allude to the "feast of the good Saint John," in 1685, when for "meat and drink, and making it ready," was expended £11, 0s. 10d. Entries of the same character appear under later years, of which the following will suffice: "1687—for Meat & Drink & tobacco, £7, 17s. 6*d.* 1698—for ale, white bread, two legs of mutton, a pound of tobacco and pipes, and a capful of salt, £11, 5*s.* 7*d.*"[4]

A dinner on St John's day, at the expense of the box, was indulged in by the brethren of Atcheson's Haven and Peebles, at the beginning of the last century, and a like custom obtained in the Lodge of Edinburgh down to 1734, in which year, though the members resolved to meet as usual on the festival of the Evangelist, they decided that in future, those attending should pay half-a-crown towards the cost of the entertainment.[5]

It has been observed with truth, that during a great part of the eighteenth century, hard drinking and other convivial excesses were carried among the upper classes in Scotland, to an extent considerably greater than in England, and not less than in Ireland.[6] Of this evil, the case of Dr Archibald Pitcairne,[7] affords a good illustration. He was a man of great and varied, but ill-directed ability. Burton styles him the type of a class, not numerous but influential from rank and education;[8] and we learn from Wodrow that "he got a vast income, but spent it upon drinking, *and was twice drunk every day.*"[9] Yet it is doubtful whether these habits had any real root among the poorer and middle classes. Indeed, it has been said that the general standard of external decorum was so far higher

[1] "xviij Decembris, 1599.—The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the brut. of Edr. .˙. .˙. ordanis the sd Jhone Watt to be enterit prenteiss, and to mak his bancat [*banquet*] wtin xviij dayis nexttocum" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 39).

[2] December 28, 1599. The proceedings, however, were *begun* on St John's day (Dec. 27). *Cf. ante*, p. 323; and Chap. VIII., p. 391.

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 422, *et seq.*

[4] Made up from the following items, viz., £6, 13s. 3d.; £2, 5s. 6d.; £2, 8s. 10d.; and 8s. respectively—Scottish money (Records of the Melrose Lodge—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., pp. 324, 325, 369).

[5] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[6] Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 89.

[7] An eminent physician, born at Edinburgh, December 25, 1652; died October 20, 1713. Author of "Disputationes Medicæ," "Elementa Medicinæ Physico-mathematica," and other works.

[8] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 559.

[9] Analecta, vol. ii., p. 255.

than in England, that a blind man travelling southwards would know when he passed the frontier by the increasing number of blasphemies he heard.[1]

Here I pass to the election of Wardens, for, though the subject of banqueting or feasting is far from being exhausted, the observations with which I shall take leave of this custom, will be more appropriately introduced in the next chapter. It forms, however, a leading feature of the early Masonry practised in North Britain, and as such has been briefly noticed in connection with other characteristics of the Scottish Craft, which reappear in the more elaborate system afterwards devised—or found to be in existence—in the South. The Schaw Statutes enjoin, as we have already seen, that a Warden—who was to be chosen annually—should "have the charge over every lodge."[2] This regulation was complied with by the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1598, but in the following year the Deacon sat as president, with the Warden as treasurer. This was in accordance with the ordinary usage which prevailed in the early Scottish lodges, that when there was a Deacon as well as a Warden, the latter acted as treasurer or box-master.[3] Frequently, however, both offices were held by the same person, who we find designated in the minutes of Mary's Chapel as "Deacon of the Masons and Warden of the Lodge."[4]

We meet with the same titles—Deacon and Warden—in the records of the Kilwinning (1643), the Atcheson Haven (1700), and the Peebles (1716) Lodges, though they are there used disjunctively and apart.[5] In each of these instances the Deacon was the chief official. Such was also the case in the Haddington Lodge in 1697, where, apparently, there was no Warden; whilst, on the other hand, the Lodge of Glasgow, in 1613, was ruled by a Warden, and there was no such officer as Deacon. The wording of the Schaw Statutes may have led to this diversity of usage, as the two codes are slightly at variance in the regulations they respectively contain with regard to the functions of Wardens and Deacons—the earlier set implying that the titles denoted separate offices,[6] while in the later one the same expressions may be understood in precisely an opposite sense.[7]

According to Herbert, the Alderman was the chief officer, whilst the trade fraternities of London were called guilds. Eschevins, Elders, and other names succeeded, and were in some instances contemporaneous. The merchant tailors were *unique* in styling their principal, "Pilgrim," on account of his travelling for them. Bailiffs, Masters, Wardens, Purveyors, and other names, became usual designations when they were chartered. From Richard II. to Henry VII. their chief officers are styled Wardens of the Craft, Wardens of the said Mystery,

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 89.

[2] Chap. VIII., pp. 386, 389; and see *ante*, pp. 322, 329.

[3] Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, p. 67. According to Lyon, the Warden of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, was custodier of the *lodge* funds and the dispenser of its charities—the corresponding duties in the incorporation being discharged by the box-master (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 41). In both the Aberdeen (1670) and Melrose (1675) Lodges, however, the three principal officers were the Master (or Master Mason), the Warden, *and* Box-master.

[4] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[5] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 8, 1863, p. 95; and History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 179, 418.

[6] Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), §§ 2, 4, 8, 9, 17, 22.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. II. (1599), §§ 2, 7, 8.

Masters or Wardens, of such guild as they presided over, Wardens and Purveyors, Guardians or Wardens,[1] Bailiffs, and Custodes or Keepers.[2]

In the Cooke MS. (2), we meet with the expression—Warden under a Master.[3] This takes us back to the early part of the fifteenth century,[4] and about the same date, at York, as we learn from the fabric rolls of that cathedral, viz., in 1422, John Long was Master Mason, and William Waddeswyk the guardian [Warden] or second Master Mason. The same records inform us that William Hyndeley, who became the Master Mason in 1472, had previously received, in the same year, the sum of £4 in wages, as Warden of the Lodge of Masons, for working in the office of the Master of the Masons, it being vacant by the death of Robert Spyllesby, for twenty-four weeks, at 3s. 4d. each week.[5] These examples might be multiplied, but one more will suffice, which I shall take from the oft-quoted essay of Mr Papworth. From this, we learn that whilst the great hall at Hampton Court was in course of erection, in 1531, for King Henry VIII., John Molton was Master Mason at 1s. per day; William Reynolds, Warden at 5s. per week; the setters at 3s. 6d. per week; and *lodgemen*[6]—a somewhat suggestive term—at 3s. 4d. per week.[7]

From the preceding references, it will be seen that the employment of a Warden under a Master (or Master Mason), was a common practice in the building trades of the South, at a period anterior to the promulgation by William Schaw of the Statutes which have been so frequently alluded to. This fact may be usefully noted, as I shall next attempt to show that to a similar usage in Scottish lodges, during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, we are indebted for the highest of the three operative titles used by Dr Anderson in his classification of the Symbolic or Speculative Society of 1723.[8] The Scoon and Perth (1658), the Aberdeen (1670), the Melrose (1675), and the Dunblane (1696) Lodges, were in each case ruled by *the* Master Mason, with the assistance of a Warden.[9] The latter officer appears, in every instance, to have ranked immediately after the former, and is frequently named in the records of lodges[10] as his deputy or substitute. It is singular, however, that in those of "Mother Kilwinning," where the practice was, in the absence of the Deacon or Master,

[1] In the Speech of the Junior Grand Warden (Drake) delivered at York on December 27, 1726, the following occurs: "I would not in this be thought to derogate from the Dignity of my Office, which, as the learned *Verstegan* observes, is a Title of Trust and Power, *Warden* and *Guardian* being synonymous terms."

[2] Companies of London, vol. i., p. 51. *Cf.* Smith, English Gilds, introduction, p. xxxiii.; and *ante*, Chap. II., p. 110, note 2.

[3] Points vi. and viii.; and see the Halliwell MS. (1)—*octavus punctus*. [4] *Ante*, p. 216.

[5] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60 (Wyatt Papworth); Browne, History of the Metropolitan Church of St Peter, York, p. 252; Raine, The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, 1858, pp. 46, 77 (Publications, Surtees Soc., vol. xxxv.).

[6] *Cf. ante*, p. 319. [7] Transactions, R. I. B. A., *loc. cit.*

[8] "*N.B.—In antient times no brother, however skilled in the craft, was called a master-mason until he had been elected into the chair of a lodge*" (Constitutions of the United Grand Lodge of England, 1884, Antient Charges, No. IV.). Although the above appears for the first time in the "Constitutions" of 1815, it is a fair deduction from the language of the "Book of Constitutions," 1723.

[9] Chap. VIII., pp. 411, 419, 428, 450, 451; Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1879-80, pp. 133, 134, 323, 366. The following are the terms used in the several records, and except where otherwise stated, under the above dates: *Scoon and Perth*—Mr Measone, Mr, Master; *Aberdeen*—Maister Measson, Master; *Melrose*—Master Mason, Mr Massone, Master (1679); *Dunblane*—Master Mason; and *Haughfoot*—Master Mason, 1702 (*ante*, p. 311).

[10] *E.g.*, those of Aberdeen and Dunblane.

to place in the chair, with full authority, some brother present—not in any one case, for more than a hundred years, do we find the Warden, by virtue of ranking next after the Master, to have presided over the lodge.[1]

The instances are rare, where a plurality of Wardens is found to have existed in the early Lodges of Scotland, anterior to the publication of Dr Anderson's "Book of Constitutions" (1723).[2] Subsequently to that date, indeed, the transition from one warden to two, was gradually but surely effected.

We find that copies of the *English* "Constitutions" referred to, were presented to the lodges of Dunblane in 1723, and of Peebles in 1725;[3] and doubtless, these were not solitary instances of the practice. That the permeation of southern ideas was very thorough in the northern capital, as early as 1727, we may infer from a minute for St John's Day (in Christmas) of that year. In this, the initiation of several "creditable citizens," whose recognition as members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, had been objected to by the champions of operative supremacy—is justified on the broad ground that, "their admissions were regularly done, conform to the knowen lawes of this *and all other weall Governed Lodges in Brittain.*"[4]

Ashmole's description of his initiation,[5] coupled with the indorsement on No. 25 of the Old Charges,[6] point to the existence of a Warden, in two *English* Lodges at least, during the seventeenth century, who was charged with very much the same functions as those devolving upon the corresponding official under the regulations of William Schaw. It is tolerably clear, that Mr Richard Penket in the one case (1646), and Mr Isaac Brent in the other (1693), were the virtual presidents of their respective lodges. But this is counterbalanced by other evidence, intermediate in point of time. Sloane MS. 3323 (14)—dating from 1659—forbids a lodge being called without "the consent of Master or Wardens;"[7] and the same officers are mentioned in two manuscripts of uncertain date—the Harleian 1942 (11), and the Sloane 3329, as well as in the earliest *printed* form of the Masons' Examination[8] which has come down to us. The Gateshead (1671) and Alnwick (1701) fraternities elected four and two Wardens each respectively; and in the latter there was also a Master.[9] The existence of a plurality of Wardens *under a Master*, in the Alnwick Lodge—if its records will bear this interpretation[10]—demands our careful attention, as it tends to rebut the presumption of a Scottish derivation, which arises from the propinquity of Alnwick to the border, and the practice of affixing marks to their signatures, a custom observed—at least, so far as I am aware—by the members of no other *English* lodge whose records pre-date the epoch of transition.

Although the length of this chapter may seem to illustrate the maxim that precisely in

[1] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning—Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 26, 1863, p. 237.

[2] The Lodge of Aberdeen elected *two* wardens in the last decade of the seventeenth century (Chap. VIII., p. 438). In the Lodges of Kilwinning and Edinburgh, however, a *second* warden was only introduced in 1735 and 1737 respectively (*Ibid.*, pp. 398, 406).

[3] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 416, 419.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[5] *Ante*, p. 140.

[6] Chap. II., p. 68.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[8] Published in the *Flying Post*, or *Post Master*, No. 4712, from Thursday, April 11, to Saturday, April 13, 1723; and first reprinted by me in the *Freemason*, October 2, 1880. This, together with other (so-called) "exposures," will be dealt with in Chapter XVII.

[9] *Ante*, pp. 151, 262-264. Compare the 12th Order of the Alnwick Lodge, with Rule 18 of MS. No. 14 (Chap. II., p. 101, note 2).

[10] *Cf. ante*, p. 264.

proportion as certainty vanishes, verbosity abounds, I must freely confess that of the two evils I should prefer to be styled unduly prolix, rather than unsatisfactorily concise. It demands both industry and patience to wade through the records of the craft, and though in such a task one's judgment is displayed, not so much by the information given, as by that which is withheld, nevertheless, in writing, or attempting to write, a popular history of Freemasonry, it is, before all things, essential to recollect that each subject will only be generally understood, to the extent that it is elucidated within the compass of reading afforded by the work itself.

I have brought up the history of English Freemasonry to the year 1723, and in the next chapter shall proceed with that of the Grand Lodge of England, basing my narrative of occurrences upon its actual minutes. The scanty evidence relating to the Masonry of the South during the pre-historic period has been given in full detail. To the possible objection that undue space has been accorded to this branch of our inquiry, I reply, the existence of a living Freemasonry in England before the time of Randle Holme (1688) rests on two sources of authority—the diary of Elias Ashmole, and the "Natural History" of Dr Plot. If the former of these antiquaries had not kept a journal—and which, unlike most journals, was printed—and if the latter had not undertaken the task of describing the phenomena of Staffordshire, we should have known absolutely nothing of the existence of Freemasons' lodges at Warrington in 1646, at London in 1682, or in the "moorelands" of Staffordshire, and, indeed, throughout England, in 1686. Now, judging by what light we have, is it credible for an instant that the attractions which drew Ashmole into the Society—and had not lost their hold upon his mind after a lapse of thirty-five years—comprised nothing more than the "benefit of the MASON WORD," which in Scotland alone distinguished the lodge-mason from the cowan? The same remark will hold good with regard to Sir William Wise and the others in 1682, as well as to the persons of distinction who, according to Plot, were members of the craft in 1686.

At the period referred to, English *Free*masonry must have been something different, if not distinct, from Scottish *Masonry*. Under the latter system, the brethren were masons, but not (in the English sense) *Free*masons. The latter title, to quote a few representative cases, was unknown—or, at least, not in use—in the lodges of Edinburgh, Kilwinning, and Kelso, until the years 1725, 1735, and 1741 respectively. It has therefore been essential to examine with minuteness, the scanty evidence that has been preserved of English Masonic customs during the seventeenth century, and although the darkness which overspreads this portion of our annals may not be wholly removed, I trust that some light at least has been shed upon it. Yet, as Dr Johnson has finely observed:—"One generation of ignorance effaces the whole series of unwritten history. Books are faithful repositories, which may be a while neglected or forgotten, but, when they are opened again, will again impart their instruction: memory, once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has passed away, is again bright in its proper station. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled."

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1723-60.

HAVING brought the history of English Freemasonry to a point from which our further progress will be greatly facilitated by the use of official documents, it is necessary, before commencing a summary of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England from June 24, 1723, to consider a little more closely a few important matters as yet only passed briefly in review.

The year 1723 was a memorable one in the annals of English Masonry, and it affords a convenient halting-place for the discussion of many points of interest which cannot be properly assigned either to an earlier or a later period. The great event of that year was the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." I shall print the "General Regulations" in the Appendix, but the entire work deserves perusal; and from this, together with a glance at the names of the members of Lodges in 1724 and 1725—also appended—may be gained a very good *outside view* of the Freemasonry existing at the termination of the epoch of transition. To see it from any other aspect, I must ask my readers to give me their attention, whilst I place before them, to some extent, a retrospect of our past inquiries, and at the same time do my best to read and understand the old evidence by the light of the new.

The narrative of events in the last chapter broke off at April 25, 1723. The story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England has been briefly told, but the history of that body would be incomplete without some further allusion to the "Four Old Lodges" by whose exertions it was called into existence. I number them in the order in which they are shown by Dr Anderson, to have assented—through their representatives—to the Constitutions of 1723.

ORIGINAL No. 1 met at the Goose and Gridiron, in St Paul's Churchyard, from 1717 until 1729, and removed in the latter year to the King's (or Queen's) Arms, in the same locality, where it remained for a long period. In 1760 it assumed the title of the "West India and American Lodge," which ten years later was altered to that of the "Lodge of Antiquity." In 1794 it absorbed the Harodim Lodge, No. 467,[1] a mushroom creation of the year 1790. At the

[1] Among the members were Thomas Harper, "silversmith, London," and William Preston. Harper—D.G.M. of the "*Atholl*" Grand Lodge at the time of the Union—was also a member of the Lodge of Antiquity from 1792, and served as Grand Steward in 1796. He was for some time Secretary to the "Chapter of Harodim." *Cf.* the memoir of Preston in Chap. XVIII.; Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 355; and Freemasons' Magazine, January to June, 1861, p. 449.

Union, in 1813, the first position in the new roll having devolved by lot upon No. 1 of the "Atholl" Lodges, it became, and has since remained, No. 2.

According to the Engraved List of 1729, this Lodge was originally constituted in 1691. Thomas Morris[1] and Josias Villeneau, both in their time Grand Wardens, were among the members—the former being the Master in 1723, and the latter in 1725. Benjamin Cole, the engraver, belonged to the Lodge in 1730; but with these three exceptions, the names, so far as they are given in the official records,[2] do not invite any remark until *after* Preston's election to the chair, when the members *suddenly* awoke to a sense of the dignity of the senior English Lodge, and became *gradually* impressed with the importance of its traditions.[3] The subsequent history of the Lodge has been incorporated with the memoir of William Preston, and will be found in the next chapter. But I may briefly mention that, from Preston's time down to our own, the Lodge of Antiquity has maintained a high degree of pre-eminence, as well for its seniority of constitution, as for the celebrity of the names which have graced its roll of members. The Duke of Sussex was its Master for many years; and the lamented Duke of Albany in more recent days filled the chair throughout several elections.

ORIGINAL No. 2 met at the Crown, Parker's Lane, in 1717, and was established at the Queen's Head, Turnstile, Holborn, in 1723 or earlier. Thence it moved in succession to the Green Lettice, Rose and Rummer, and Rose and Buffloe. In 1730 it met at the Bull and Gate, Holborn; and, appearing for the last time in the Engraved List for 1736, was struck off the roll at the renumbering in 1740. An application for its restoration was made in 1752, but, on the ground that none of the petitioners had ever been members of the Lodge, it was rejected.[4] According to the Engraved List for 1729, the Lodge was constituted in 1712.

ORIGINAL No. 3, which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in Charles Street, Covent Garden, in 1717, moved to the Queen's Head, Knave's Acre, in 1723 or earlier; and after several intermediate changes—including a stay of many years at the Fish and Bell, Charles Street, Soho Square—appears to have settled down, under the title of the Lodge of Fortitude, at the Roebuck, Oxford Street, from 1768 until 1793. In 1818 it amalgamated with the Old Cumberland Lodge—constituted 1753—and is now the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

Dr Anderson informs us that, after the removal of this Lodge to the Queen's Head, "upon some difference, the members that met there came under a New Constitution [in 1723] *tho' they wanted it not;*"[5] and accordingly, when the Lodges were arranged in order of seniority in 1729, Original No. 3, instead of being placed as one of the Four at the head of the roll, found itself relegated by the Committee of Precedence to the eleventh number on the list. This appears to have taken the members by surprise—as well it might, considering that the last time the Four were all represented at Grand Lodge—April 19, 1727—before the scale of precedence was adjusted in conformity with the New Regulation enacted for that purpose, their respective

[1] Received five guineas from the General Charity, December 15, 1730.

[2] I do not know, of course, what further light might be thrown upon the history of this Lodge, were the present members to lay bare its archives to public inspection. Why, indeed, there should be such a rooted objection to the publication of old Masonic documents, it is hard to conjecture, unless, as Johnson observes, "He that possesses a valuable manuscript, hopes to raise its esteem by concealment, and delights in the distinction which he imagines himself to obtain, by keeping the key of a treasure which he neither uses or imparts" (The Idler, No. 65, July 14, 1759).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XII., pp. 38, 46. [4] G. L. Minutes, March 16, 1752. [5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 185.

Masters and Wardens answered to their names in the same order of seniority as we find to have prevailed when the "Book of Constitutions" was approved by the representatives of Lodges in 1723.[1] But although the officers of No. 11 "represented that their Lodge was misplaced in the printed book, whereby they lost their Rank, and humbly prayed that the said *mistake* might be regulated,"—"the said complaint was dismiss'd."[2] It is probable that this petition would have experienced a very different fate had the three senior Lodges been represented on the Committee of Precedence.

As Original No. 2—also so numbered in 1729—"dropt out" about 1736, the Lodges immediately below it each went up a step in 1740; and Original No. 3 moved from the *eleventh* to the *tenth* place on the list. If the minutes of the Committee of Charity covering that period were extant, we should find, I think, a renewed protest by the subject of this sketch against its supercession, for one was certainly made at the next renumbering in 1756—and not altogether without success, as will be seen by the following extract from the minute book of one of the lodges above it on the list:

July 22, 1755.—"Letter being [read] from the Grand Sec^{y}: Citing us to appear att the Committee of Charity to answer the Fish and Bell Lodge [No. 10] to their demand of being plac'd prior to us, viz. in No. 3. Whereon our R^{t} Wors^{l} Mas^{r} attended & the Question being propos'd was answer'd against [it] by him with Spirit and Resolution well worthy the Charector he assum'd, and being put to Ballot was carr^{d} in favour of us. Report being made this night of the said proceedings thanks was Return'd him & his health drank with hearty Zeal by the Lodge present."[3]

But although defeated in this instance, the officers of No. 10 appear to have satisfied the committee that their Lodge was entitled to a higher number than would fall to it in the ordinary course, from two of its seniors having "dropt out" since the revision of 1740. Instead, therefore, of becoming No. 8, we find that it passed over the heads of the two Lodges immediately above it, and appeared in the *sixth* place on the list for 1756; whilst the Lodges thus superseded by the No. 10 of 1755, themselves changed their relative positions in the list for 1756, with the result that Nos. 8, 9, and 10 in the former list severally became 8,[4] 7,[5] and 6[6] in the latter—or, to express it in another way, Nos. 8 and 10 of 1755 change places in 1756.

Elsewhere I have observed: "The supercession of Original No. 3 by *eight* junior Lodges in 1729, together with its partial restoration of rank in 1756, has introduced so much confusion

[1] See *post* the proceedings of Grand Lodge under the year 1727.

[2] G. L. Minutes, July 11, 1729.

[3] Minutes of the George Lodge, No. 4—then meeting at the George and Dragon, Grafton Street, St Ann's. In 1767, when removed to the "Sun and Punch Bowl," its warrant was "sold, or otherwise illegally disposed of," to certain brethren, who christened it the "Friendship," which name it still retains (*now* No. 6). Among the offenders were the Duke of Beaufort and Thomas French, shortly afterwards Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively of the Grand Lodge of England.

[4] Constituted May 1722. In April 1823 yielded its warrant and position to the Alpha—a Lodge of Grand Officers—established shortly after the Union, which had assumed the rank of a dormant lodge, the No. 28 of 1792-1813. *Now* the Royal Alpha Lodge, No. 16.

[5] Constituted November 25, 1722; erased March 25, 1745, and January 28, 1764; restored March 7, 1747, and April 23, 1764, respectively. Absorbed the Lodge of St Mary-la-Bonne, No. 108, March 25, 1791. *Now* the Tuscan Lodge, No. 14.

[6] Original No. 3, *now* Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

into the history of this Lodge, that *for upwards of a century* its identity with the 'old Lodge,' which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in 1717, appears to have been wholly lost sight of." [1]

The age of this lodge cannot be even approximately determined. It occupied the *second* place in the Engraved Lists for 1723 and 1725, and probably continued to do so until 1728. The position of the lodge in 1729 must have been wholly determined by the date of its warrant, and therefore affords no clue to its actual seniority. It is quite impossible to say whether it was established earlier or later than original No. 2 (1712), nor *pace* Preston can we be altogether sure—if we assume the precedency in such matters to be regulated by dates of formation—that the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, would be justified in yielding the *pas*, even to the Lodge of Antiquity itself.

Alluding to the meeting at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house, on St John the Baptist's day, 1717, Findel observes, "This day is celebrated by all German Lodges as the day of the anniversary of the Society of Freemasons. It is the high-noon of the year, the day of light and roses, and it ought to be celebrated everywhere." [2]

It seems to me, however, that not only is this remarkable incident in the history of the Lodge of Antiquity worthy of annual commemoration, but that the services of the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, in connection with what may be termed *the most momentous event in the history of the Craft*, are at least entitled to a similar distinction. The first Grand Master, it is true, was elected and installed at the Goose and Gridiron, under the banner of the Old Lodge there, but the first Grand Lodge was formed and constituted at the Apple Tree, under similar auspices. Also, we must not forget, that the lodge at the latter tavern supplied the Grand Master—Sayer—who was elected and installed in the former.

ORIGINAL No. 4 met at the Rummer and Grapes Tavern, in Channel Row, Westminster, in 1717, and its representatives—George Payne, Master, Stephen Hall and Francis Sorell, Wardens—joined with those of nineteen other lodges, in subscribing the "Approbation" of the Constitutions in January 1723. The date of its removal to the tavern with which it became so long associated, and whose name it adopted, is uncertain. It is shown at the "Horn" in the earliest of the Engraved Lists, ostensibly of the year 1723, but there are grounds for believing that this appeared towards the close of the period embraced by the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Dalkeith, which would render it of later date than the following extract from a newspaper of the period:—

"There was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of the Free Masons held last week at the Horn Tavern, in Palace Yard: at which were present the Earl of Dalkeith, their Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, the Duke of Richmond, and several other persons of quality, at which time, the Lord Carmichael, Col. Carpenter, Sir Thomas Prendergast, Col. Paget, and Col. Saunderson, were accepted Free Masons, and went home in their Leather Aprons and Gloves." [3]

The names of these five initiates, two of whom were afterwards Grand Wardens, are shown in the earliest list of members furnished by the Lodge at the "Horn"—in conformity with the order of Grand Lodge.[4] From this we learn that in 1724 the Duke of Richmond was the

[1] The Four Old Lodges, p. 42.
[2] History of Freemasonry, p. 137.
[3] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, March 28, 1724.
[4] February 19, 1724.

Master, and George Payne the Deputy Master, whilst Alexander Hardine and Alexander Choke[1] were the Wardens. The character of the lodge has been already glanced at,[2] but the names of its members during the years 1724 and 1725, will be given in full in the Appendix, to which therefore it will be unnecessary to do more than refer. Among the private members were Desaguliers and Anderson, neither of whom in the years 1724-25 held office in the lodge. Unfortunately, the page allotted to Original No. 4—or No. 3 as it became from 1729—in the Grand Lodge Register for 1730, is a blank, and after that year there is no list to consult for nearly half a century, when we again meet with one in the official records, where the names of the then members are headed by that of Thomas Dunckerley "a member from 1768."

Alexander Hardine was the Master in 1725, the office becoming vacant by the Duke of Richmond's election as Grand Master. There is little doubt, however—to use the quaint language of "Old Regulation XVII."[3]—by virtue of which the Duke was debarred from continuing in the chair of the "Horn Lodge," whilst at the head of the Craft—that "as soon as he had honourably discharg'd his *Grand Office*, he returned to that Post or Station in his particular *Lodge*, from which he was call'd to officiate above." At all events he was back there in 1729, for on July 11 of that year, the Deputy Grand Master (Blackerly) informed Grand Lodge, by desire of the "Duke of Richmond, Master of the Horn Lodge," as an excuse for the members not having brought charity, like those of the other lodges, that they "were, for the most part, persons of Quality, and Members of Parliament," and therefore out of town at that season of the year. The Duke was very attentive to his duties in the lodge. He was in the chair at the initiation of the Earl of Sunderland, on January 2, 1730, on which occasion there were present the Grand Master, Lord Kingston, the Grand Master elect, the Duke of Norfolk, together with the Duke of Montagu, Lords Dalkeith, Delvin, Inchiquin, and other persons of distinction.[4]

Later in the same year, he presided over another important meeting, when many foreign noblemen, and also William Cowper (D.G.M., 1726), were admitted members, and was supported by the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), the Deputy (Blackerly), Lord Mordaunt, and the Marquesses of Beaumont and Du Quesne.[5] The Duke of Richmond resigned the Mastership in April 1738, and Nathaniel Blackerly was unanimously chosen to fill his place.[6] Original No. 4 was given the *third* place in the Engraved List for 1729, and in 1740 became No. 2—which number it retained till the Union.

On April 3, 1747, it was erased from the list, for non-attendance at the Quarterly Communications, but was restored to its place September 4, 1751. According to the official records —"Bro. Lediard informed the Brethren that the Right Worshipful Bro^r. Payne,[7] L.G.M., and several other members of the Lodge lately held at the Horn, Palace Yard, Westminster, had

[1] S.G.W., 1726; D.G.M., 1727.

[2] *Ante*, p. 46. For 1723, however, *read* 1724.

[3] As already stated, the "Old Regulations" will be found in the Appendix.

[4] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, January 3, 1730.

[5] Rawlinson MS., fol. 229 (Bodl. Lib., Oxford). See, however, *post*, p. 373.

[6] The London Daily Post, April 22, 1738. At this period, the new Master of the "Horn Lodge"—who had been S.G.W., 1727; and D.G.M., 1728-30—was a justice of the peace, and chairman of the sessions of the city and liberties of Westminster.

[7] Payne was present on the occasion

been very successful in their endeavors to serve the said Lodge, and that they were ready to pay 2 guineas to the use of the Grand Charity, and therefore moved that out of respect to Bro. Payne and the several other L.G.M. [*late Grand Masters*] who were members thereof, the Said Lodge might be restored and have its former rank and Place in the List of Lodges—which was ordered accordingly." Earl Ferrers was master of the "Horn Lodge" when elected Grand Master of the Society in 1762.

On February 16, 1766, at an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern, the Grand Master, Lord Blayney, presiding, His Royal Highness, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, "was made an entered apprentice, passed a fellow craft, and raised to the degree of a Master Mason."[1]

This Prince, and his two brothers, the Dukes of York[2] and Cumberland, eventually became members of the "New Lodge at the Horn," No. 313, the name of which, out of compliment to them, was changed to that of the "Royal Lodge." At the period, however, of the Duke of Gloucester's admission into the Society (1766), there were two lodges meeting at the Horn Tavern. The "Old" Lodge, the subject of the present sketch, and the "New" Lodge, No. 313,[3] constituted April 4, 1764. The Duke was initiated in neither, but in an "Occasional" Lodge, at which, for all we know to the contrary, members of *both* may have been present. But at whatever date the decadence of the "Old Horn Lodge" may be said to have first set in, whether directly after the formation of a new lodge at the same tavern, or later, it reached its culminating point about the time when the Duke of Cumberland, following the example of his two brothers, became an honorary member of No. 313. This occurred March 4, 1767, and on April 1 of the same year, the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland attended a meeting of the junior Lodge, and the latter was installed its W.M., an office he also held in later years.[4]

The Engraved List for 1767 shows the "Old Horn Lodge" to have removed from the tavern of that name, to the Fleece, Tothill Street, Westminster. Thence, in 1772, it migrated to the King's Arms, also in Westminster, and on January 10, 1774, "finding themselves in a declining state, the members agreed to incorporate with a new and flourishing lodge, entitled the Somerset House Lodge, which immediately assumed their rank."[5] So far Preston, in the editions of his famous "Illustrations," published *after* the schism was healed, of which the privileges of the Lodge of Antiquity had been the origin. But in those published whilst the schism lasted (1779-89), he tells us, that "the members of this Lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges, by openly avowing a declaration of their Master in Grand Lodge. They put themselves entirely under the authority of Grand Lodge; claimed no distinct privilege, by virtue of an Immemorial Constitution, but precedency

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes.

[2] Initiated abroad. He was present at the Duke of Gloucester's admission, and the two brothers were elected honorary members of No. 313, on March 5, 1766 (Minutes of the Royal Lodge, No. 210, published by C. Goodwyn, in the *Freemason*, April 8, 1871). It was numbered 210 at the Union, and died out before 1832.

[3] It became No. 251 at the change of numbers in 1770, and is thus described in the Engraved List for that year—"Royal Lodge, Thatched House, St James Street, late the New Lodge at the Horn."

[4] The Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master of the Society, 1783-90—received the three degrees of Masonry, February 9, 1767, in an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Thatched House Tavern (Grand Lodge Minutes). The minutes of the "Royal" Lodge call it a "Grand" Lodge, which is incorrect.

[5] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 255.

of rank,[1] and considered themselves subject to every law or regulation of the Grand Lodge, over whom they could admit of no control, and to whose determination they and every lodge were bound to submit."

The value, indeed, of this evidence, is much impaired—and must appear so, even to those by whom Preston's veracity is regarded as beyond suspicion—by the necessity of reconciling with it the remarks of the same writer *after* 1790, when he speaks of the *two* old lodges then extant, acting by immemorial constitution.[2]

But the *status* of the junior of these lodges stood in no need of restoration at the hands of Preston, or of any other person or body. In all the official lists, published after its amalgamation[3] with a lodge lower down on the roll, from 1775 to the present year, the words "Time Immemorial" in lieu of a date, are placed opposite its printed title. Nor is there any entry in the minutes of Grand Lodge, which will bear out the assertion that at the fusion of the two lodges, there was any sacrifice of independence on the part of the senior. The junior of the parties to this alliance—in 1774, the Somerset House Lodge, No. 219—was originally constituted May 22, 1762, and is described in the Engraved List for 1763 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Prince,' at Plymouth;"[4] in 1764-66 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Guadaloupe;'" and in 1667-73 as "the Sommerset House Lodge (No. 219 on the numeration of 1770-80) at ye King's Arms, New Bond Street."

Thomas Dunckerley (of whom more hereafter), a natural son of George II., was initiated into Masonry, January 10, 1754, whilst in the naval service, in which he attained the rank of gunner; and his duties afloat seem to have come to an end at about the same date on which the old "Sea Lodge" in the "Prince," and lastly in the "Guadaloupe," was removed to London and christened the "Somerset House," most probably by way of compliment to Dunckerley himself, being the name of the place of residence where quarters were first of all assigned to him on his coming to the Metropolis. In 1767 the king ordered him a pension of £100 a year, which was afterwards increased to £800, with a suite of apartments in Hampton Court Palace.

The official records merely inform us that Dunckerley was a member of the Somerset House Lodge after the fusion, and that he *had* been a member of one or both of them from 1768,[5] beyond which year the Grand Lodge Register does not extend, except *longo intervallo*, viz., at the returns for 1730, a gap already noticed, and which it is as impossible to bridge over from one end as the other.

After Dunckerley's, we meet with the names of Lord Gormanstone, Sir Joseph Bankes, Viscount Hampden, Rowland Berkeley, James Heseltine, and Rowland Holt, and later still of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Deputy Grand Master. In 1828 the Lodge again resorted to

[1] There is nothing to show—except Preston's word, which goes for very little—that the "Four Old Lodges" (until his own time) ever carried their claims any higher.

[2] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, and subsequent editions.

[3] Some observations on the amalgamation of Lodges will be found in my "Four Old Lodges," pp. 44, 45.

[4] The "Sea and Field Lodges," enumerated in "Multa Paucis" (1763-64), consist of two of the former, "on board" the "Vanguard" and "Prince" respectively—and one in "Captain Bell's Troop of Dragoons"—in Lord Ancrum's Regiment, *now* the 11th Hussars.

[5] The regulation made November 19, 1773, requiring Lodges to furnish lists of their members to the Grand Secretary, only applied to persons who were initiated *after* October 1768.

amalgamation, and absorbed the "Royal Inverness" Lodge, No. 648. The latter was virtually a military Lodge, having been formed by the officers of the Royal North British Volunteer Corps, of which the Duke of Sussex (Earl of Inverness) was the commander. Among the members of the "Royal Inverness" Lodge were Sir Augustus D'Este, son of the Duke of Sussex; Lord William Pitt Lennox; Charles Matthews the elder, "comedian;" Laurence Thompson, "painter," the noted preceptor: and in the Grand Lodge Register, under the date of May 5, 1825, is the following entry,—"Charles James Matthews, Architect, Ivy Cottage, aged 24."

The "old Lodge at the Horn," which we have traced through so many vicissitudes—for reasons already given in the sketch of the Lodge of Antiquity—dropped from the second to the fourth place on the roll at the Union; and in 1828 assumed the title of the "Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge," by which it is still described in the list. It is a subject for regret that no history of this renowned Lodge has been compiled. The early minutes, I am informed, are missing, but the materials for a descriptive account of a Lodge associated with such brilliant memories still exist, although there may be some slight trouble in searching for them. Among the Masonic jottings in the early newspapers, and the waifs and strays at Freemasons' Hall, will be found a great many allusions to this ancient Lodge. Of these, examples are afforded in the sketch now brought to a close, which is mainly based on those sources of information.

Of the three Grand Officers, whose names have alone come down to us in connection with the great event of 1717, there is very little said in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, over whose deliberations it was their lot to preside for the first year of its existence. Captain Elliot drops completely out of sight; and Jacob Lamball almost so, though he reappears on the scene in 1735, on March 31 of which year he sat as Grand Warden, in the place of Sir Edward Mansell; not having been present, so far as can be determined from the official records, at any earlier period over which they extend.[1] He subsequently attended very frequently, and in the absence of a Grand Warden, usually filled the vacant chair. Anderson includes his name among those of the "few brethren" by whom he was "kindly encouraged" whilst the Constitutions of 1738 were in the press; and if, as there seems ground for believing, the doctor was not himself present at the Grand Election of 1717, it is probable that he derived his account of it from the brother who was chosen Grand Senior Warden on that occasion. Lamball, it is sad to relate, in his latter years fell into decay and poverty, and at a Quarterly Communication, held April 8, 1756, was a petitioner for relief, when the sum of ten guineas was voted to him from the Fund of Charity, "with liberty to apply again." Even of Sayer himself there occurs but a passing mention, but from which we are justified in inferring that his influence and authority in the councils of the Craft did not long survive his term of office as Grand Master. It is probable that poverty and misfortunes so weighed him down as to forbid his associating on equal terms with the only two commoners—Payne and Desaguliers—who, besides himself, had filled the Masonic throne; but there is also evidence to show that he did not scruple to infringe the laws and regulations, which it became him, perhaps more than any other man, to set the fashion of diligently obeying. He was one of the Grand Wardens under

[1] *I.e.*, between June 24, 1723, and March 31, 1735.

Desaguliers in 1719, and a Warden of his private Lodge, Original No. 3, in January 1723, but held no office in the latter at the close of the same year or in 1725, though he continued a member until 1730, and possibly later;[1] but from the last-named date until some way into the second half of the eighteenth century, there is unfortunately no register of the members of Lodges. After 1730 Sayer virtually disappears from the scene. In that year we first meet with his name, as having walked last in a procession—arranged in order of juniority—of past Grand Masters, at the installation of the Duke of Norfolk. He next appears as a petitioner for relief, and finally in the character of an offender against the laws of the Society. Of these incidents in his career two are elsewhere recorded; but with regard to his pecuniary circumstances, the minutes of Grand Lodge show that he was a petitioner—presumably for charity—on November 21, 1724; but whether he was then relieved or not from the General Fund, the records do not disclose. A second application was attended with the following result:

April 21, 1730.—"Then the Petition of Brother Anthony Sayer, formerly Grand Master, was read, setting forth his misfortunes and great poverty, and praying Relief. The Grand Lodge took the same into their consideration, and it was proposed that he should have £20 out of the money received on acc^{t} of the general charity; others proposed £10, and others £15.

The Question being put, it was agreed that he should have £15, on acc^{t} of his having been Grand Master."[2]

He appears to have received a further sum of two guineas from the same source on April 17, 1741, after which date I can find no allusion in the records, or elsewhere, to the first "Grand Master of Masons."

George Payne is generally described as a "learned antiquarian," though I imagine on no other foundation of authority than the paragraph[3] into which Dr Anderson has compressed the leading events of his Grand Mastership. It is possible that the archæological tastes of a namesake who died in 1739[4] have been ascribed to him; but however this may be, his name is not to be found among those of the fellows or members of the Society of Antiquaries, an association established, or, to speak more correctly, *revived*, at about the same date as the Grand Lodge of England.[5] Some years ago I met with a newspaper entry of 1731, to the effect that Mr Payne, the apothecary, had presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury two Greek MSS of great antiquity and curiosity.[6] This seemed to promise well, so I wrote to the Society of Apothecaries, but was informed that its records contained no mention of a *George* Payne during the whole of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is very little to be gleaned concerning Payne's private life. His will is dated December 8, 1755, and was proved March 9, 1757, by his wife,

[1] Thomas Morris and James Paggett, both members of the Mason's Company, belonged, the former to Original No. 1, and the latter to Original No. 3, in 1723 and also in 1725. From this we may infer, that such *Masons* as became *Freemasons* had no predilection for any particular Lodge.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes. On the same evening, Joshua Timson was voted £14 "on account of his having served as a Grand Warden."

[3] *Ante*, p. 281.

[4] "Deaths—Sept. At Ghent, George Payne, of Northumberland, Esq., F.R.S., Member of the Royal Academy at Berlin, of the Noble Institute of Bologna," etc. (Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 423).

[5] *Cf.* Archæologia, vol. i., Introduction, p. xxxiii.; Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 3, *et seq.*

[6] Read's Journal, May 29, 1731.

the sole executrix, the testator having died on January 23 in the same year. He is described as of the parish of St Margaret, Westminster, and appears to have been a man of good worldly substance. Among the various bequests are legacies of £200 each to his nieces, Frances, Countess of Northampton, and Catherine, Lady Francis Seymour. Payne died at his house in New Palace Yard, Westminster, being at the time Secretary to the Tax Office.[1] How long he had resided there it is now impossible to say; but it is curious, to say the least, that when we first hear of the Lodge to which both Payne and Desaguliers belonged, it met at Channel Row, where the latter lived; also that it was afterwards removed to New Palace Yard, where the former died.

Payne, I apprehend, was the earlier member of the two, and the date of his joining the Lodge may, in my judgment, be set down at some period *after* St John the Baptist's Day, 1717, and *before* the corresponding festival of 1718. He was greatly respected both by the brethren of the "old Lodge at the Horn," and the craft at large, and the esteem in which he was held by the latter, stood the former in good stead in 1751, when at his intercession the lodge in question, which had been erased from the list in 1747, was restored to its former rank and place.

During his second term of office as Grand Master, Payne compiled the General Regulations, which were afterwards finally arranged and published by Dr Anderson in 1723. He continued an active member of Grand Lodge until 1754, on April 27 of which year he was appointed a member of the committee to revise the "Constitutions" (afterwards brought out by Entick in 1756). According to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, he was present there for the last time in the following November.

John Theophilus Desaguliers, the son of a French Protestant clergyman, born at Rochelle, March 12, 1683, was brought to England by his father when about two years of age, owing to the persecution which was engendered by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A., and entered into deacon's orders in 1710. The same year he succeeded Dr Keill as lecturer on Experimental Philosophy at Hart Hall. In 1712 he married Joanna, daughter of Mr William Pudsey, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. The following year he removed to the metropolis and settled in Channel Row, Westminster, where he continued his lectures. On July 29, 1714, he was elected F.R.S., but was excused from paying the subscription, on account of the number of experiments which he showed at the meetings. Subsequently he was elected to the office of curator, and communicated a vast number of curious and valuable papers between the years 1714 and 1743, which are printed in the *Transactions*. He also published several works of his own, particularly his large "Course of Experimental Philosophy," being the substance of his public lectures, and abounding with descriptions of the most useful machines and philosophical instruments. He acted as curator to within a year of his decease, and appears to have received no fixed salary, being remunerated according to the number of experiments and communications which he made to the Society, sometimes receiving a donation of £10, and occasionally £30, £40, or £50.

His lectures were delivered before George I. at Hampton Court in 1717, and also before George II., and other members of the Royal Family, at a later period.

[1] *Ante*, p. 279, note 3; Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 93.

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MOUNT EDGCUMBE

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF CORNWALL

Thomas G. Lock, London & Edinburgh.

There is some confusion with regard to the church preferment which fell in the doctor's way. According to Lysons, he was appointed by the Duke of Chandos to the benefice of Whitchurch—otherwise termed Stanmore Parva—in 1714,[1] but Nichols says he was presented by the same patron, in the same year, to the living of Edgeware.[2]

It is not easy to reconcile the discrepancy, and the description of a lodge—warranted April 25, 1722—in the Engraved Lists for 1723, 1725, and 1729, viz., The Duke of Chandos's Arms, at Edge*worth*, tends to increase rather than diminish the difficulty of the task.

In 1718 he accumulated the degrees of bachelor and doctor of Laws, and about the same period was presented—through the influence of the Earl of Sunderland—to a small living in Norfolk, the revenue of which, however, only amounted to £70 per annum. This benefice he afterwards exchanged for a crown living in Essex, to which he was nominated by George II. He was likewise appointed chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, an office which he had already held in the household of the Duke of Chandos, and was destined to fill still later (1738) in Bowles (now the 12th) Regiment of Dragoons.

When Channel Row, where he had lived for some years,[3] was taken down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster, Dr Desaguliers removed to lodgings over the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, where he carried on his lectures till his death, which took place on February 29, 1744.[4] He was buried March 6 in the Chapel Royal of the Savoy. In personal attractions the doctor was singularly deficient, being short and thick-set, his figure ill-shaped, his features irregular, and extremely near-sighted. In the early part of his life he lived very abstemiously, but in his later years was censured for an indulgence in eating to excess, both in the quantity and quality of his diet. The following anecdote is recorded of his respect for the clerical character.

Being invited to an illustrious company, one of whom, an officer, addicted to swearing in his discourse, at the period of every oath asked Dr Desaguliers' pardon; the doctor bore this levity for some time with great patience, but at length silenced the swearer with the following rebuke: "Sir, you have taken some pains to render me ridiculous, if possible, by your pointed apologies; now, sir, I am to tell you, that if God Almighty does not hear you, I assure you I will never tell him."[5]

He left three sons—Alexander, the eldest, who was bred to the Church and had a living in Norfolk, where he died in 1751; John Theophilus, to whom the doctor bequeathed all that he died possessed of; and Thomas, also named in the testator's will as "being sufficiently provided for"—for a time equerry to George III.—who attained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and died March 1, 1780, aged seventy-seven.

Lieutenant-General Desaguliers served in the Royal Artillery—in which regiment his memory is still fondly cherished as that of one of its brightest ornaments—for a period of

[1] The Environs of London, 1800-11, vol. iii., p. 674. [2] Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81.

[3] It is given as his address in a scarce pamphlet cited by Mr Weld in his "History of the Royal Society," 1848 (vol. i., p. 424), entitled, "A List of the Royal Society of London, with the places of Abode of most of its Members, etc., London, 1718." *Cf. ante*, p. 279, note 3.

[4] "London, March 1.—Yesterday died at his lodgings in the Bedford Coffee House in Covent Garden, Dr Desaguliers, a gentleman universally known and esteem'd" (General Evening Post, No. 1630, from Tuesday, February 28, to Thursday, March 1, 1744).

[5] Literary Anecdotes, *loc. cit.*

fifty-seven years, during which he was employed on many active and arduous services, including the battle of Fontenoy and the sieges of Louisbourg and Belleisle.[1] The last named is the only one of Desaguliers' sons whom we know to have been a Freemason. He was probably a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," and as we learn from the "Constitutions" of 1738, was —like Jacob Lamball—among the "few brethren" by whom the author of that work "was kindly encouraged while the Book was in the Press."[2]

In the pamphlet from which I have already quoted,[3] Dr Desaguliers is mentioned as being (in 1718) specially learned in natural philosophy, mathematics, geometry, and optics, but the bent of his genius must have been subsequently applied to the science of gunnery, for in the same work which is so eulogistic of the son, we find the father thus referred to, in connection with a visit paid to Woolwich by George III. and his consort during the peace of 1763-71. "It was on this occasion that their Majesties saw many curious firings; among the rest a large iron cannon, fired by a lock like a common gun; a heavy 12-pounder fired twenty-three times a minute, and spunged every time by a new and wonderful contrivance, said to be the invention of Dr Desaguliers, with other astonishing improvements of the like kind."[4] It is possible that the extraordinary prevalence of Masonic lodges in the Royal Artillery, during the last half of the eighteenth century, may have been due, in some degree, to the influence and example of the younger Desaguliers, but considerations of this nature lie beyond the scope of our immediate subject, which is restricted to a brief memoir of his father.

The latter days of Dr Desaguliers are said to have been clouded with sorrow and poverty. De Feller, in the "Biographie Universelle," says that he attired himself sometimes as a harlequin, and sometimes as a clown, and that in one of these fits of insanity he died—whilst Cawthorne, in a poem entitled "The Vanity of Human Enjoyments," laments his fate in these lines:—

> "—— permit the weeping muse to tell
> How poor neglected DESAGULIERS fell!
> How he who taught two gracious kings to view
> All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,
> Died in a cell, without a friend to save,
> Without a guinea, and without a grave."

But as Mackey justly observes,[5] the accounts of the French biographer and the English poet are most probably both apocryphal, or, at least, much exaggerated. Desaguliers was present in Grand Lodge on February 8, 1742, and his will—apparently dictated by himself—is dated November 29, 1743.[6] He certainly did not die "in a cell," but in the Bedford Coffee House.

[1] At the former he had the honour of supporting the gallant General Wolfe, and of the latter Captain Duncan observes: "It was suitable that the man who commanded the siege-train on this occasion, should be one eminent afterwards in the scientific as well as the military world: a Fellow of the Royal Society, as well as a practical soldier: a fit predecessor to the many who have since distinguished the Regiment by their learning—Brigadier Desaguliers" (History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, vol. i., 1872, p. 228).

[2] P. 229. [3] *Ante*, p. 349, note 3. [4] Duncan, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 244.

[5] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 216. Mackey, however, who relies on Nichols (Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81), is inaccurate in his statement that the latter was personally acquainted with Desaguliers, Nichols having been born in 1745, whereas Desaguliers died in 1744.

[6] Proved March 1, 1744, by his son John Theophilus, the sole executor.

His interment in the Savoy also negatives the supposition that he was "without a grave," whilst the terms of his will, which express a desire to "settle what it has pleased God to bless him with, before he departs," are altogether inconsistent with the idea of his having been reduced to such a state of abject penury, as Cawthorne's poem would lead us to believe. Moreover, passing over John Theophilus, of whose circumstances we know nothing, is it conceivable that either Alexander, the eldest son, then a beneficed clergyman, or Thomas, then a captain in the artillery, would have left their father to starve in his lodgings, and have even grudged the expense of laying him in the grave?

These inaccuracies, however, are of slight consequence, as compared with those in which the historians of the Craft have freely indulged. Mackey styles Desaguliers "the Father of Modern Speculative Masonry," and expresses a belief "that to him, perhaps, more than to any other man, are we indebted for the present existence of Freemasonry as a living institution." It was Desaguliers, he considers, "who, by his energy and enthusiasm, infused a spirit of zeal into his contemporaries, which culminated in the Revival of the year 1717." Findel and others express themselves in very similar terms, and to the origin of this hallucination of our *literati*, which has been already noticed, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer.[1]

The more the testimonies are multiplied, the stronger is always the conviction, though it frequently happens that the original evidence is of a very slender character, and that writers have only copied one from another, or, what is worse, have added to the original without any new authority. Thus, Dr Oliver, in his "Revelations of a Square," which in one part of his Encyclopædia[2] Mackey describes as "a sort of Masonic romance, detailing in a fictitious form many of the usages of the last centuries, with anecdotes of the principal Masons of that period"—in another, he diligently transcribes from, as affording a description of Desaguliers' Masonic and personal character, derived from "tradition."[3]

If time brings new materials to light, if facts and dates confute the historians of the Craft, we may, indeed, lose our history; but it is impossible to adhere to our historians—that is, unless we believe that antiquity consecrates darkness, and that a lie becomes venerable from its age.

There is no evidence to justify a belief that Desaguliers took any active part in, or was even initiated into Freemasonry, prior to the year 1719, when, as the narrative of Dr Anderson informs us, he was elected Grand Master, with Anthony Sayer as his Senior Grand Warden.

In 1723, or possibly 1722—for the events which occurred about this period are very unsatisfactorily attested—he was appointed Deputy Grand Master by the Duke of Wharton, and reappointed to the same office six months later by the Earl of Dalkeith; also again by Lord Paisley in 1725.

According to the Register of Grand Lodge, Desaguliers was a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," Westminster (Original No. 4), in 1725; but his name is not shown as a *member* of any Lodge in 1723. Still, there can hardly be a doubt that he hailed from the Lodge in question in both of these years. The earliest minute book of the Grand Lodge of England

[1] *Ante*, p. 287. [2] P. 546. [3] P. 216.

commences: "This Manuscript was begun the 25th November 1723. The R^t^ Hon^ble^ Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, Grand Ma^t^; B^r^ John Theophilus Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Ma^t^.

Francis Sorell, Esq^r^., } Grand Wardens."
M^r^ John Senex, }

Next follows "A List of the Regular Constituted Lodges, together with the names of the Masters, Wardens, and Members of each Lodge."

Now, in January 1723, the "New Constitutions" were ratified by the Masters and Wardens of twenty Lodges. Among the subscribers were the Earl of Dalkeith, Master, No. XI.; Francis Sorell, Warden, No. IV.; and John Senex, Warden, No. XV. In the list of Lodges given in the minute book of Grand Lodge, these *numbers*, XI., IV., and XV., are represented by the Lodges meeting at the Rummer, Charing Cross, the Horn, Westminster; and the Greyhound, Fleet Street, respectively. But though the names of the members appear in all three cases, Lord Dalkeith no longer appears on the roll of No. XI. (Rummer); and the same remark holds good with regard to the connection between Sorell and Senex with Nos. IV. (Horn) and XV. (Greyhound) respectively. Sorell's name, it may be added, as well as that of Desaguliers, appears in the Grand Lodge Register, under the year 1725, as a member of the Horn.

It would seem, therefore, that in 1723 the names of the four Grand Officers were entered in a separate list of their own, at the head of the roll. "Past rank," or membership of and precedence in Grand Lodge, by virtue of having held office therein, it must be recollected, was yet unknown, which will account for the names of Payne and Sayer—former Grand Masters—appearing in the ordinary lists.

Desaguliers, it is certain, must have belonged to some Lodge or other in 1723; and there seems no room for doubt that the entry of 1725, which shows him to have then been a member of Original No. 4, merely *replaced* his name on the roll, from which it was temporarily omitted during his tenure of office as Deputy. Happily the lists of 1725 were enrolled in the Register of Grand Lodge, from returns furnished at a Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725; otherwise the omission might have been repeated,—as Desaguliers, who vacated the Deputy's chair on St John's Day (in harvest) 1724, resumed it by appointment of Lord Paisley on St John's Day (in Christmas) 1725. Subsequently he became a member of other Lodges, whose places of meeting were at Solomon's Temple, Hemming's Row (1725-30),—James Anderson being also a member; The Bear and Harrow, in the Butcher's Row (No. 63, 1732),—the Earl of Strathmore being the Master, whilst the Grand Master (Lord Montague), the Deputy, and the Grand Wardens of the year were among the members; and of the University Lodge, No. 74 (1730-32).[1]

The following summary completes the Masonic record of the learned natural philosopher, which I am enabled to place before my readers.

In 1719, whilst Grand Master, he "reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons*." In 1721, at the annual feast, he "made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry*;" and in the same year visited the Lodge of Edinburgh. The preface to the Constitutions of 1723 was from his pen. On November 26, 1728, he "proposed that, in order to have the [Great Feast] conducted in the best manner, a certain number of Stewards should

[1] *Cf.* Gould, Four Old Lodges, 1879, pp. 49, 50.

be chosen, who should have the intire care and direction of the said ffeast, together with the Grand Wardens," which was agreed to. Twelve brethren at once signed their names as consenting to act as Stewards in the following December;[1] and the same number, with occasional intermissions, were nominated on later occasions until the Union, when it was increased to eighteen. On the same evening, the "twelve" "propos'd Dr Desaguliers' Health for reviving the office of Stewards (which appeared to be agreeable to the Lodge in general); and the same was drank accordingly."[2] In 1731, at the Hague, he acted as Master of the Lodge in which Francis, Duke of Lorraine—afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany[3]—was "made an *Enter'd Prentice* and *Fellow Craft*."[4] In 1735 he was present with the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Waldegrave (British Ambassador), President Montesquieu, Lord Dursley, and a numerous company, at the opening of a Lodge in the Hotel Bussy, Rue de Bussy, Paris, where the Duke of Kingston, Lord Chewton, the Count de St Florentin (Secretary of State), and others, were admitted into the Society.[5] Two years later—namely, on November 5, 1737—he again sat as Master at the initiation of a royal personage; on which occasion, Frederick, Prince of Wales,[6] received the first two degrees, which, however, were shortly afterwards followed by that of Master Mason, conferred at another "Occasional" Lodge, composed of the same members as the previous one.[7] In the same year—also in 1738, and later—he was a frequent visitor at the Lodge then held at the Bear Inn, Bath—now the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41—from the minutes of which we learn that he frequently sat as Master, and discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office.[8] The Constitutions of 1738 were submitted in manuscript to the perusal of Desaguliers and Payne;[9] and the last entry in my notes with regard to his active participation in the duties of Masonry, records his farewell visit to the Grand Lodge, which took place, as already stated, on February 8, 1742.

It is highly probable that Desaguliers became a member of the Lodge at the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row, Westminster*, because its meetings were held in the vicinity of his dwelling. We first meet with his name, in the records of Masonry, in 1719, and there is nothing which should lead us to infer that he had then been for any long period a member of

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes. It is somewhat curious that only one of the twelve—"Thomas Alford, of the Rose and Rummer, in Holbourn," or Original No. 2—was a member of either of the Four Old Lodges.

[2] *Ibid.* The only one of the twelve who did not act was Mr Cæsar Collys, of the "Rose, Mary Le Bone" (No. 43 in 1729), his place being taken by Mr Edwin Ward.

[3] He married the famous Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., at the death of whose immediate successor—Charles VII.—he himself ascended the Imperial throne, September 1745.

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129.

[5] Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford; St James' Evening Post, September 20, 1735 (the latter cited by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, February 1877).

[6] Frederick died in 1751. Three of his sons became members of the Craft. The Dukes of York and Gloucester were initiated in 1766—the former abroad, and the latter at the Horn Tavern. The Duke of Cumberland joined the Society in the following year. *Cf.* the sketch of Original No. 4, *ante*; and G. W. Speth, "Royal Freemasons," where the initiation of every *brother* of royal blood is carefully recorded, so far at least as it has been found possible to do so, by one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic students.

[7] Constitutions, 1738, p. 37. *Cf. ante*, p. 288, note 1.

[8] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 26. I here avail myself of the opportunity of thanking Dr H. Hopkins for a series of extracts from the minutes of No. 41, which not only bear out the statement in the text, but have been of very great assistance to me in other ways.

[9] Constitutions, 1738, p. 199.

the Society. On the contrary, the evidence points in quite the opposite direction. Two meetings only of the Grand Lodge (after its "*pro tempore*" constitution in 1716) appear to have been held before the "Assembly," on St John the Baptist's Day, 1719, at which Desaguliers was elected Grand Master, viz.: those in 1717 and 1718, whereat Anthony Sayer and George Payne were severally chosen to fill the same high office. It seems to me very unlikely that either Payne or Desaguliers were present at the "Assembly" of 1717. Had such been the case, Anderson would hardly have failed to record the circumstance; nor can I bring my mind round to the belief that, if the name of one or the other had been included in the "List of proper Candidates" for the Masonic throne, proposed by the "oldest Master Mason" on the occasion in question—as must have happened, had either of them been present—the choice of the Lodges and brethren would have fallen on Sayer.

If, again, Desaguliers was a Freemason in 1718, I think he would have been elected a Grand Warden, or at least that his name would have been mentioned by Anderson in connection with the "Assembly" of that year. Payne's election as Grand Master scarcely bears upon the point at issue, it not being unreasonable to conclude that he possessed a greater hold over the electorate than Desaguliers, otherwise the latter would have been continued as Grand Master in 1720, instead of having to give place to his predecessor of 1718.

The precise date when the lodge, Original No. 4, was removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row*, to the HORN—also in Westminster—cannot be determined. Its meetings were held at the former of these taverns in 1717, and at the latter in 1723. Beyond this the existing records are silent. Desaguliers, it may be supposed, was induced to become a Freemason, owing to the propinquity of a lodge, and his love of good fellowship. In all probability he joined the "Club of Masons" at the RUMMER and GRAPES, just as he might have joined any other club, meeting at the tavern where, following the custom of those days, he may have spent his evenings. If we compare, then, his Masonic record with those of Payne or Anderson, it will be seen that whilst the former of the two worthies with whose memories his own has been so closely linked, compiled the "General Regulations," afterwards "compar'd" and "digested" together with the "Gothic Constitutions" by the latter—the fame of Desaguliers as a member of our Society rests in the main upon his having introduced two customs, which bid fair to retain their popularity, though, to some minds, their observance is only calculated to detract from the utility of Masonic labour, and to mar the enjoyment of the period devoted to refreshment.[1] These are Masonic orations and after-dinner speeches.

A short biography of Anderson has been already given,[2] to which the following information derived as this volume is passing through the press, must be regarded as supplementary.

The lists of "Artium Magistri" at Kings College, Aberdeen, exist for the years 1675-84,

[1] With regard to the oration delivered by Dr Desaguliers in 1721, I may be permitted to quote from an article written by me four years ago. "Findel says: 'It is greatly to be regretted that this important lecture is unknown;' I am unable to agree with him. It is, of course, quite possible that Masonic orations may please some *hearers*, but I am aware of none that are calculated to afford either pleasure or instruction to *readers*. Unless the 'oration' of 1721 was very far superior to the preface or dedication which Desaguliers wrote for the Constitutions of 1723, the recovery of the missing 'discourse' would neither add to our knowledge, or justify our including its author within the category of *learned* Freemasons" (Freemason, February 26, 1881).

[2] *Ante*, p. 291.

1686-88, 1693-95, 1697, 1700-01, 1706, 1710-23, and it appears that a "Jacobus Anderson" graduated there:—

1°. June 21, 1694, ...	*promotore*	Gul. Black.
2°. May 2, 1711, ...	„	Gul. Black.
3°. 1717, ...	„	Richd. Gordon.

The entry under the year 1711 probably refers to James Anderson the Freemason, though, as the records from which the above extracts are taken are merely copies, there are unfortunately no actual signatures that might assist in the identification.[1]

Anderson took no part in the deliberations of Grand Lodge, nor was he present at any of its meetings between St John's day (in harvest), 1724, and the recurrence of that festival in 1731. On the last-named date his attendance is recorded in the minutes, and the words appended to his name—"Author of the Book of Constitutions"—show that his arduous labours in previous years had by no means faded from recollection. In 1734, as will be more fully noticed hereafter, he was ordered to prepare a second edition of the "Constitutions," and was present in Grand Lodge—supported by his old friends Payne, Desaguliers, and Lamball—on January 25, 1738, when its publication was "approved of." At the succeeding Quarterly Communication (April 6), he attended for the last time, and sat in his old place as Junior Grand Warden. Before, however, the veteran passed away to his rest, one pleasing event occurred, which has been hitherto passed over by his biographers. Four months before his death[2] he was introduced, by the Marquess of Carnarvon, Grand Master, at a private audience, to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and "in the name of the whole Fraternity, humbly presented the New Book of Constitutions, dedicated to his Royal Highness, by whom it was graciously received."[3]

Professor Robison speaks of Anderson and Desaguliers—the one, it should be remembered, a doctor of Divinity, and the other a doctor of laws and a Fellow of the Royal Society—as "two persons of little education and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting."[4]

Here we have the old story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, being due to the combined efforts of these two men, but the imputation which is cast upon their learning is not a little remarkable, as showing the manner in which one eminent natural philosopher permits himself to speak of another.[5] Good wine needs no bush, and the attainments of Desaguliers require no eulogy at the hands of his biographers. Upon those of Anderson it is difficult to pass judgment, but perhaps we shall be safe in concluding, that without possessing

[1] The records of both Marischal and Kings College have been diligently searched by Mr Robert Walker, to whom I express my grateful acknowledgments, also to Dr Beveridge, Prov. G. M. of Aberdeen City, who kindly set on foot the inquiry for me.

[2] Anderson died May 28, 1739, and there is no copy of his will at Somerset House, up to the year 1744 inclusive; of course it may have been proved later, or out of London, but further investigation has been beyond my power, nor, indeed, do I believe that his will, if discovered, would add materially to our stock of knowledge respecting the man.

[3] Read's Weekly Journal, January 20, 1739.

[4] Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, etc., 3d edit. 1798, p. 71.

[5] Dr Robison was elected to the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh in 1773.

the stock of learning so loosely ascribed to him by Masonic writers, he was equally far removed from the state of crass ignorance to which the verdict of Dr Robison would reduce him. If, indeed, he actually wrote the "Defence of Masonry," already referred to,[1]—and upon which I conceive the belief in his extensive reading and great literary ability mainly rests—then I readily admit that the view expressed by me of his talent and acquirements cannot stand. The authorship of the pamphlet alluded to is one of those subsidiary puzzles so constantly met with in Masonic investigation, and is worthy of more minute examination by the "curious reader"—if such there be—but the critical inquiry it invites would far transcend the limits of the present work.[2]

It is certain that upon Anderson, rather than either Payne and Desaguliers, devolved the leading *rôle* in the consolidation of the Grand Lodge of England. His "Book of Constitutions" has been often referred to, but I have not yet called attention to the circumstance that the General Regulations of 1723 were only designed "for the use of Lodges in and about London and Westminster."[3] The Grand Lodge, however, both in authority and reputation, soon outgrew the modest expectations of its founders. Here, I am tempted to digress, but a full consideration of the many points of interest, which crowd upon the mind, in connection with the dawn of accredited Masonic history, would require not one—but a series of dissertations. I must, therefore, hasten on with my task, which is to lay before my readers a history of Freemasonry in England, derived from official records. To summarise these, however briefly, more space will be required than was originally estimated, but as the value of an historical work generally bears some sort of proportion to that of the sources of authority upon which it is based—I shall venture to hope—subject to my own shortcomings as an annalist—that a narrative of events, beginning in 1723, and brought down to the present time, founded on accredited documents, many of which have not been perused by any other living person, will be more instructive than any number of digressions or disquisitions.

A pause, however, has to be made, before the minute book of the Grand Lodge of England is placed under requisition. The history of that body was brought down to the beginning of 1723, in the last chapter, and it becomes essential to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the character of the Freemasonry existing in England at the date of publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." In the same year there appeared the earliest copy, now extant, of the "Mason's Examination" or "Catechism."[4] This—together with (if possible) Sloane MS.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 234, 237.

[2] I may be permitted to refer to letters in the *Keystone* (Philadelphia), published in that journal on July 19, September 6 and 13, 1884, in which I contend—1. That neither Anderson nor Desaguliers wrote the pamphlet in question. 2. That its real title was "A Defence of Masonry, occasioned by a Pamphlet called Masonry Dissected, *Published A.D. 1730*"—the words in italics referring to the latter and *not* to the former. And 3. That there is ground for supposing the "Defence" to have been the composition of Bishop Warburton, who was chaplain to the Prince of Wales at the time the Constitutions of 1738 were dedicated to His Royal Highness.

[3] Constitutions, 1723, p. 58. The work was approved by Grand Lodge, "with the Consent of the Brethren and Fellows in and about the Cities of London and Westminster" (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

[4] From the Flying Post or Post Master, No. 4712—from April 11 to April 13, 1723. A similar "Examination" must have been published about the same time in the *Post Boy*, and the two are plainly referred to in the Swordbearer's song, given by Anderson in the Constitutions, 1738, p. 212.

"The *mighty* SECRET's gain'd, they boast,
From *Post-Boy* and from *Flying-Boy*" [*Post* !].

3329,[1] "The Grand Mystery of Freemasons Discovered,"[2] and "A Mason's Confession,"[3]—I shall print in the Appendix, where the leading references to all the so-called "Exposures" of a similar kind will be found collected. The Constitutions of 1723, the Catechisms last referred to, the Briscoe MS.,[4] and Additional MS. 23,202,[5] constitute the stock of evidence, upon which alone we can formulate our conclusions. The first and last of these authorities are all that I can attempt to examine with any minuteness in this chapter, but the remainder can be studied at leisure by those of my readers who are interested in this branch of research. They will experience, however, two great difficulties, one to reconcile their discrepancies, the other, to approximate at all closely the period at which they were compiled. Without, therefore, concerning myself any further than may be absolutely necessary with the evidence of manuscripts of uncertain date, I shall endeavour to show what may be positively determined from those sources of authority upon which we may confidently rely. The Constitutions of 1723 inform us that the brethren of that period were divided into three classes—Apprentices, Fellow Crafts, and Masters.

The intrant, at his admission, became an apprentice[6] and brother, "then a fellow craft in due time," and if properly qualified, might "arrive to the honour of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge."[7] "The third degree," says Lyon, "could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated[8] that the 'Key of a Fellow Craft,' is that by which the secrets communicated in the Ancient Lodges could be unravelled."[9]

[1] *Ante*, pp. 279, 317. In the opinion of Mr E. A. Bond, this MS. dates from the *beginning* of the eighteenth century; but according to Woodford, "though the character of the handwriting is probably not earlier than 1710, the matter is of a much earlier date," which he fixes—on the authority of the late Mr Wallbran—at not later than 1640. On the other hand commentators are not wanting, who dispute the correctness of any estimate which places the age of the MS. *before* 1717, and consider that as Sir Hans Sloane only died in 1753, folio 142 of the volume numbered 3329 in the collection bearing his name, might very possibly have been written upon, after 1717. The *coryphæus* of this school, Mr W. P. Buchan, attacked the *alleged* antiquity of the manuscript, in a series of articles, which will repay perusal (*Cf.* Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 600; and Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. ii., 1875, p. 132). My own opinion, in a question of handwriting, I should express with diffidence, were it not confirmed by that of an expert in manuscript literature—Mr W. H. Rylands—in whose company I examined the document. The conclusion to which I am led is, that the manuscript was written not earlier than 1707, or later than 1720.

[2] "London: Printed for T. Payne, near Stationers'-Hall, 1724 (Price Six Pence)." A second edition, which I have not seen, containing an account of the Gormogons, was published October 28, 1724 (Daily Journal, No. 1177).

[3] Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, pp. 133-137. Of this Catechism—to which the date of 1727 has been *assigned*—Mr Yarker, who apparently possesses a MS. copy, observes, "a comparison with the Rev. Bro. Woodford's Sloane MS. 3329, is most interesting, as they confirm each other" (*Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. i., 1875, pp. 359, 374). The resemblance is certainly great. To give one example, "Danty tassley," of which the use, as a jewel of the Lodge, is incomprehensible in the Sloane MS., reads "Dinted Ashlar" in the printed Catechism.

[4] Chap. II., pp. 75, 76.

[5] See *post*, narrative of the Proceedings of Grand Lodge—under the year 1725.

[6] The term "Enter'd Prentice" (or *Apprentice*) only occurs twice in the first "Book of Constitutions" (*ante*, pp. 268, 293, note 4).

[7] The Charges of a Freemason, No. IV. (Constitutions, 1723). The same charge (IV.) in the Constitutions of 1738, reads, that a "perfect youth . . . may become an Enter'd Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due Improvements a Fellow-Craft and a Master-Mason." No such words appear in the Charges as printed in 1723, and if at that time the distinction of the three degrees had been as well defined as in 1738, it is only reasonable to suppose that Anderson would have used the same language in the first edition of his work.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[9] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211.

We are also told that "the most expert of the Fellow Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed *the Master*, or Overseer of the Lord's Work, who is to be called Master by those that work under him."[1]

The references to the *status* of a Fellow Craft are equally unambiguous in the General Regulations,[2] one of which directs that when *private* wardens—*i.e.*, wardens of private Lodges—are required to act as the Grand Wardens, their places "*are to* [not *may*] be supply'd by two Fellow-Craft of the same Lodge" (XV.). Another (XXXVII.), that "the Grand Master shall allow *any Brother*, Fellow Craft, or Apprentice, to Speak."

Also, in "the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge," the expression occurs—"The Candidates, or the new Master and Wardens, *being yet among the Fellow Craft;*[3] and a little lower down we read, "the Candidate," having signified his submission to the charges of a Master, "the Grand Master shall, by certain significant Ceremonies and ancient Usages, install him." It is in the highest degree improbable—not to say impossible—that any *secrets* were communicated on such an occasion.[4]

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, and indeed considerably later,[5] it was a common practice in lodges to elect their officers quarterly; and, apart from the fact that the minutes of such lodges are silent on this point, it is hardly conceivable that a three months' tenure of office was preceded by a secret reception. But there is stronger evidence still to negative any such conclusion, for it was not until 1811[6] that the Masters, even of London lodges—under the Grand Lodge, whose procedure we are considering—were installed as "Rulers of the Craft" in the manner with which many readers of these pages will be familiar.

We find, therefore, that the Freemasons of England, at the period under examination, were classified by the Constitutions of the Society under *three* titles, though apparently not more than *two* degrees[7] were then *recognised* by the governing body. On this point, however, the language of the General Regulations, *in one place*,[8] is not free from obscurity. Apprentices were only to be made "*Masters* and *Fellow-Craft*" *in* Grand Lodge, and the expression may be construed in no less than three different ways. It has usually been held to point to what is now the third degree in Masonry, which I deem to be incorrect, not that I am arguing against the existence in 1723 of a "Master's Part," though, I believe, *unrecognised* at that time as a degree—for were I to do so I should presently be confuted out of my own mouth—but because it would be repugnant to common sense, to believe in an interpretation of *one* out of *thirty-nine* Regulations, which would be wholly at variance with the context of the remainder.[9]

[1] The Charges of a Freemason, No. V. (Constitutions, 1723).

[2] XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[3] Constitutions, 1723, postscript.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 239, 242.

[5] June 25, 1741 [the previous election having taken place on March 26].—"This being election Night, brother Barnshaw, the Senior Warden, was declared Master. Br. Ray was declared Sen. Warden, and Br. Andrews was ballotted for Jun. Warden" (Minutes of No. 163, 1729-39, now extinct). "December 15, 1757 .·.—Being Election Night, Brᵒ. Glazier Recᵈ. the honours of the Chair as Masʳ. for the Ensuing Quarᵗ." (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* Friendship, No. 6). Quarterly elections took place in the Imperial George Lodge, *now* No. 78, so late as 1761.

[6] Minutes, Lodge of Promulgation, February 4, 1811.

[7] A degree or grade is, as the word implies, a single step; but I shall distinguish the former from the latter by using *degree* in its present Masonic sense, as representing a rank secretly conferred.

[8] "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here [*i.e.*, in the Grand Lodge] unless by a Dispensation" (Constitutions, 1723, Reg. XIII. *Cf. ante*, p. 282, note 6; and *post*, p. 382).

[9] *E.g.*, that of Regulation XXXVII., directing that the Grand Master "shall allow any *Brother*, Fellow Craft, *or*

Lastly, how can we reconcile Dr Anderson's allusion to "the key of a Fellow Craft" with the possibility of there then being a higher or superior degree? There remain, then, two solutions of the difficulty. The "Masters" mentioned in Clause XIII. may have been Masters of Lodges, or the term may have crept in through the carelessness of Dr Anderson. It must be recollected that the General Regulations are of very uncertain date.[1] The proviso in question *may* have appeared in the code originally drawn up by George Payne in 1720, or, on the other hand, it may have formed one of the additions made by Anderson between September 29, 1721, and March 25, 1722.[2] If the earlier date be accepted, by "Masters" we may—with less improbability—understand "Masters of Lodges," and the clause or article (XIII.) would then be in agreement with its fellows.

But let us examine the language of the Regulation a little more closely. "Apprentices," it says, "must be *admitted* Masters and Fellow Craft"—not Fellow Craft and Masters—"only here." Now, in the first place, apprentices were not eligible for the chair; and in every other instance where their preferment is mentioned, they are taken from step to step by regular gradations.[3] But if we get over this objection, another presents itself. Neither an apprentice or a Fellow Craft would be *admitted*, but would be *installed*, a Master of a Lodge. Next, let us scan the wording of the resolution which repealed the Regulation in question. The officers of Lodges are empowered to "make Masters at their discretion." That this licence enabled them to confer the rank of Master of a Lodge *ad libitum* is a downright impossibility.

As regards the alternative solution, I have expressed my belief that Anderson only joined the *English* craft in 1721;[4] but whatever the period may have been, his opportunities of grafting the nomenclature of one Masonic system upon that of another only commenced in the latter part of that year, and lasted for barely six months, as his manuscript Constitutions were ordered to be printed March 25, 1722. He was therefore debarred from borrowing as largely as he must have wished—judging from his fuller work of 1738—from the operative phraseology of the Northern Kingdom; and it is quite possible that, subject to some trifling alterations, the first edition of the Constitutions was compiled between September 29 and December 27, 1721, as his "manuscript" was ready for examination on the latter of these dates.[5] If, then, any further explanation is sought of the two titles which appear, so to speak, in juxtaposition in Regulation XIII., it would seem most reasonable to look for it in the Masonic records of that country, to which—so placed—they were indigenous. At Aberdeen, in 1670, Fellow Craft and Master Mason were used as convertible terms,[6] and the same may be said of other Scottish towns in which there were "Mason lodges."[7] Anderson appears to have been a native of Aberdeen,[8] but whether or not this was actually the case, he was certainly a Scotsman, and the inference is irresistible that to him was due the introduction of so many Scottish words into the Masonic vocabulary of the South.[9]

Apprentice to speak." This clearly means, that within the scope of the Regulation, *all* brethren were permitted to express their views in the Grand Lodge—a privilege which the Masters and Wardens of Lodges would therefore derive, not alone from the *offices* they held, but also from the *degree* of Fellow Craft to which they had been admitted.

[1] *Ante*, p. 282, note 6.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 283, 288.

[3] See The Charges of a Free-Mason, No. IV., "of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices" (Constitutions, 1723); and compare with the resolution passed November 27, 1725 (*post*, p. 382).

[4] *Ante*, p. 284, note 1.

[5] *Ante*, p. 283.

[6] Chap. VIII., p. 435.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 408.

[8] *Ante*, pp. 293, 355.

[9] *Ante*, pp. 317, 333.

It may be taken, I think, that a third degree was not *recognised* as a part of the Masonic system up to the date of publication of the "Book of Constitutions" in January 1723. Mackey says: "The division of the Masonic system into three degrees must have grown up between 1717 and 1730, but in so gradual and imperceptible a manner, that we are unable to fix the precise date of the introduction of each degree."[1] In this view I concur, with the reservation that there is no evidence from which we can arrive at any certainty with regard to the *exact* dates, either of the commencement or the close of the epoch of transition;[2] and I also agree with the same writer, that the second and third degrees were not perfected for many years. As a matter of fact, we are only made acquainted with the circumstance that there were degrees in Masonry, by a publication of 1723,[3] from which, together with the scanty evidence yet brought to light of slightly later date, we can alone determine with precision that a system of two degrees was well established in 1723, and that a *third* ceremony, which eventually developed into a degree,[4] had come into use in 1724. Modifications continued to be made however, for some time—at least such is my reading of the evidence,[5]—and there is no absolute proof that these evolutionary changes were not in operation until about 1728-29.

That a third, or additional, ceremony was worked in 1724, there is evidence to show, for three persons were "Regularly pass'd Masters" in a London Lodge, *before* February 18, 1725, and it is unreasonable to suppose that this was the first example of the kind.[6] Here we meet with the word *pass*, and it is curious to learn from the same source of authority, that before the Society was founded (February 18, 1725), the minutes of which it records, "a Lodge was held, consisting of *Masters* sufficient for that purpose, In order to *pass* Charles Cotton, Esq., Mr Papitton Ball, and Mr Thomas Marshall, Fellow Crafts."[7] It might be argued from these expressions, that Master, even then, was merely another name for Fellow Craft, or why should a lodge be formed, consisting of brethren of the higher title, to pass a candidate for the lower? But some entries in the same records, of a few months' later date, draw a clearer distinction between the two degrees. These, indeed, are not quite free from ambiguity, if taken alone, but all doubt as to their meaning is dispelled, by collating them with an earlier portion of the same manuscript.

The minutes of May 12, 1725, inform us, that two persons were "regularly passed Masters,"—one "passed Fellow Craft and Master," and another "passed Fellow Craft" only. Happily the names are given, and as Charles Cotton and Papitton Ball were the two who were "passed Masters," it is evident that, in the "Master's Part," something further must have been communicated to them than had been already imparted. It is doubtful if the "Part" in question had at that time assumed the form and dimensions of a degree. In all probability this happened later, and indeed the way may only have been paved for it at the close of the same year, by the removal of the restriction, which, as we have seen, did not

[1] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Degrees.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 258, 259.

[3] The Book of Constitutions.

[4] By this I mean that the exact period of its recognition by the Grand Lodge as a part of its Masonic system, which could alone bring it within the category of degrees, cannot be positively settled.

[5] It is impossible to discuss the ἀκόρρητα of Freemasonry with the same freedom as one would the technicalities of a right of way in a law court. Any one doing so would appear in the eyes of his brother Masons like a man walking into the Mosque of Omar *with his shoes on*.

[6] Addl. MS., 23,202.

[7] *Ibid.*

altogether prevent private Lodges, from infringing upon what ought at least to have been considered the especial province of the Grand Lodge.

It is barely possible that the "Master's Part" was incorporated with those of the Apprentice and Fellow Craft,[1] and became, in the parlance of Grand Lodge, *a degree* on November 27, 1725. By a new Regulation of that date—which is given in full under its proper year [2]—the members of private lodges were empowered to "make Masters at discretion." This, Dr Anderson expands into "Masters *and Fellows*," [3] the terms being apparently regarded by him as possessing the same meaning. But it seems to me that there is too much ambiguity in the order of Grand Lodge, to warrant our founding upon it any definite conclusion. The Constitutions of 1738 help us very little. Still we must do our best to understand what Anderson means in one book, by comparing the passages we fail to comprehend, with his utterances on the same points in a later publication.

In general terms, it may be said that "Master-Mason" is for the most part substituted for "Fellow Craft" in the second edition of the Constitutions.[4] There is, however, one notable exception. In "The Manner of Constituting a Lodge," as printed in 1738, the "New Master and Wardens" are taken, as before, from the Fellow Crafts, but the Master, "in chusing his Wardens," was to call "forth two Fellow-Crafts (Master-Masons)." With this should be contrasted an explanation by Anderson in the body of his work, that the old term "Master Mason" represented in 1738 the Master of a Lodge.[5]

It is probable that Regulation XIII., of the code of 1723, was a survival or an imitation of the old operative custom, under which the apprentice, at a certain period, was declared free of the craft, and "admitted or accepted into the fellowship," [6] at a general meeting.

On taking up his freedom, the English apprentice became a "fellow" and master in his trade. This usage must have prevailed from very ancient times. Gibbon observes: "The use of academical degrees, as old as the thirteenth century, is visibly borrowed from the mechanic corporations; in which an apprentice, after serving his time, obtains a testimonial of his skill, and a licence to practise his trade and mystery." [7]

So long as the governing body refrained from warranting lodges in the country, there could have been no particular hardship in requiring newly-made brethren to be passed or admitted "Fellows" in Grand Lodge. In 1724, however, no less than nine provincial lodges were constituted, and it must have become necessary, if for no other reason, to modify in part a series of regulations, drafted, in the first instance, to meet the wants of the Masons of the metropolis.

It is unlikely that the number of "Fellow Crafts"—as we must call them from 1723—was

[1] The three chapters into which "Masonry Dissected" (1730) is divided, are headed "Enter'd Prentice's, Fellow Craft's," and "the Master's" Degrees respectively; whilst, after each of the three catechisms, we find in the same way, "The End of the Enter'd Prentice's," "of the Fellow Craft's," and "of the Master's Parts." This mode of describing the three degrees continued in vogue for many years. *Cf. post*, p. 368, note 3.

[2] *Post*, p. 382, *q.v.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Old* and *New* Regulations, Nos. XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[5] *Ante*, p. 280; Constitutions, 1738, p. 109. [6] *Ante*, p. 263, note 2.

[7] Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, edit. by Lord Sheffield, vol. i., p. 49. *Cf. ante*, p. 328, note 3. The German Guilds succeeded in getting a decree in 1821, that no one could be a Master in the building trades except he passed an examination. This seems to have been repealed at some time, for in 1882 the Union of Master Builders—numbering 4200 members—petitioned the German Government for a re-introduction of the test-examination for Masters (*Globe*, Sept. 13, 1882).

very large, that is to say, in November 1725, the date when the law relating to the advancement of apprentices was repealed. Out of twenty-seven lodges in the London district, which are shown by the Engraved List of 1729 to have been constituted up to the end of 1724, only eleven were in existence in 1723, when the restriction was imposed.[1] Sixteen lodges, therefore —and doubtless many others, if we could trace them—besides the nine country ones, must have been comparatively unfamiliar with the ceremonial of the second degree; and it becomes, indeed, rather a matter of surprise how in each case the Master and Wardens could have qualified as Fellow Crafts.

Some confusion must, I think, have been engendered at this time by the promiscuous use of the term "Master," which was alike employed to describe a Fellow Craft and a Master of a Lodge, and also gave its name—"Master's Part"—to a ceremony then growing very fashionable. It is probable that about this period the existing degrees were remodelled, and the titles of Fellow Craft and Master disjoined—the latter becoming the degree of Master Mason, and the former virtually denoting a new *degree*, though its essentials were merely composed of a severed portion of the ceremonial hitherto observed at the entry of an apprentice.

These alterations—if I am right in my supposition—were not effected in a day. Indeed, it is possible that a taste for "meddling with the ritual," having been acquired, lasted longer than has been commonly supposed; and the "variations made in the established forms,"[2] which was one of the articles in the heavy indictment drawn up by the Seceding against the Regular Masons, may have been but a further manifestation of the passion for innovation which was evinced by the Grand Lodge of England during the first decade of its existence.

The *Flying Post* from April 11 to April 13, 1723,[3] introduces us to a picture of the Freemasonry at that period, which, corroborated from similar sources, as well as by the "Book of Constitutions," amply warrant the belief that at that date, and for some time preceding it, Apprentice, Fellow, and Master were well established titles—though whether the two latter were distinct or convertible terms, may afford matter for argument[4]—that there was a "Master's Part,"[5] also that there were signs and tokens, and points of fellowship. I cite the printed catechism of 1723, because its date is assured, and the question we have next to consider is, how far can the reading it presents be carried back? Here the method of textual criticism, of which an outline has been given in an earlier chapter, might yield good results; but I must leave this point, like, alas, so many others, to the determination

[1] Dates of Constitution are not given in the earlier lists of 1723 and 1725.

[2] See *post*, p. 398; and the Memoir of William Preston in Chap. XVIII.

[3] *Ante*, p. 356. Isaac Taylor observes: "Facts remote from our personal observation may be as certainly proved by evidence that is fallible *in its kind*, as by that which is not open to the possibility of error;" and he goes on to explain (the italics throughout being his) that "by *certain* proof is here meant, not merely such as may be presented to the senses, or such as cannot be rendered obscure even for a moment by a perverse disputant;—but such as, when once understood, *leaves no room for doubt in a sound mind*" (History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 179).

[4] An expression in Sloane MS. 3329—"the mast[re]. *or* fellow's grip," would suggest that they were synonymous. This view is borne out by the other catechisms, but compare *ante*, Chap. II., p. 99, lines 5, 6.

[5] "A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
And know the Astler, Diamond, and Square:
I know the *Master's Part* full well,
As honest Maughbin will you tell" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

of that class of readers, fitted by nature and inclination to follow up all such promising lines of inquiry.

It will suffice for my purpose to assume, that the catechism of 1723 contains a reading which is several years older than the printed copy; or, in other words, that the customs it attests must have reached back to a more remote date. What that date was, I shall not pretend to decide, but we must carefully bear in mind that its whole tenor betrays an *operative*[1] origin, and therefore, if composed or manufactured between 1717 and 1723, its fabricators must not be sought for among the *speculatives* of that period; but, on the contrary, it will become essential to believe that this obsolete catechism—including the metrical dialogue, which, of itself, is suggestive of antiquity—was compiled a few years at most, before its publication in the *Flying Post*, by one or more operative Masons!

The circumstances of the case—at least in my judgment—will not admit of such a modern date being assigned to the text of this catechism. I am of opinion that, conjointly with the other evidence—and the undoubted fact of the "examination" in question having been actually printed in 1723, invests Sloane MS. 3329 with a reflected authority that dissipates many difficulties arising out of the comparative uncertainty of its date—the extract from the *Flying Post* settles many important points with regard to which much difference of opinion has hitherto existed. First of all, it lends colour to the statement in the "Praise of Drunkenness,"[2] that Masonic catechisms, available to all readers, had already made their appearance in 1721 or 1722.[3] Next it establishes that there were then two degrees[4]—those of Apprentice and Fellow or Master, the latter being only honorary distinctions proper to one and the same degree. It also suggests that in England, under the purely operative *regime*, the apprentice was not a member of the lodge, and that he only became so, and also a *Freemason*,[5] on his admission—after a prescribed period of servitude—to the degree of Fellow or Master.

It is impossible to define the period of time during which these characteristics of a Masonic system endured. Two obligations, and not one only, as in the Sloane MS. and the Old Charges, are plainly to be inferred;[6] and as the latter are undoubtedly the most ancient records we possess, to the extent that the "Mason's Examination" is at variance with these documents, it must be pronounced the evolutionary product of an "epoch of transition," beginning at some unknown date, and drawing to a close about 1724. Upon the whole, if we

[1] According to Seward, "John Evelyn, at the time of his death, had made collections for a very great and a very useful work, which was intended to be called 'A General History of all Trades'" (Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, 4th edit., vol. iii., p. 219). It is probable that this would have told us more about the working Masons than we are now ever likely to know.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. XIII., p. 128. [3] See the letter written to the *Flying Post*, enclosing the "Examination."

[4] According to Stock, the Smiths had two separate degrees for the journeymen—first, *junger*, then *gesell*. The latter they could only obtain after their travels (Grundzüge der Verfassung, p. 29). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. III., p. 152; and XIV., p. 201.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 151, 263, 304, 306. The parallel drawn at p. 213 (*ibid.*) between the readings of MSS. Nos. 3 and 23, may induce some readers to examine the subject more minutely. The "Trew Mason" in the older document gives place, as I have shown, to that of "Freemason" in the later one. See, however, *ibid.*, p. 159.

[6] According to the "Mason's Confession," to which the year 1727 has been very arbitrarily assigned, though only written in 1751, and not printed until 1755, the apprentice took an oath at entry, and a year afterwards, "when admitted a degree higher," swore the oath again, or declared his approval of it (Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, p. 138). *Cf. ante*, pp. 6, 165, 183, 240, 271, 317; and Chap. II., p. 100.

pass over the circumstance that there were two forms of reception in vogue about 1723, and for a period of time before that year, which can only be the subject of conjecture, as there are no solid proofs to rest on, the evidence just passed in review is strikingly in accord with the inferences deducible from Steele's essay in the *Tatler*, from the wording of Harleian MS. 2054, from Dr Plot's account of the Society, and from the diary of John Aubrey.

In the first of these references, we are told of "Signs and Tokens like Freemasons;"[1] in the second, of the "Seu'rall Words & Signes of a Freemason;"[2] in the third, of "Secret Signes;"[3] and in the last, of "Signes and Watch-words," also that "the manner of Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy."[4]

There is therefore nothing to induce the supposition, that the secrets of Freemasonry, as disclosed to Elias Ashmole in 1646—in aught but the manner of imparting them—differed materially, if at all, from those which passed into the guardianship of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717.[5] In all cases, I think, up to about the year 1724, and possibly later, there was a marked simplicity of ceremonial, as contrasted with the procedure of a subsequent date. Ashmole and Randle Holme, like the brethren of York, were in all probability "sworn and admitted,"[6] whilst the "manner of Adoption"—to quote the words of John Aubrey—was doubtless "very formall" in all three cases, and quite as elaborate as any ceremony known in Masonry, before the introduction of a *third* degree.

To those, indeed, who are apt to fancy that a chain is broken, because they cannot see every one of its links, it may be replied,—that facts remote from our personal knowledge are not necessarily more or less certain, in proportion to the length of time that has elapsed since they took place. Also, that the strength of evidence is not proportioned to its simplicity or perspicuity, or to the ease with which it may be apprehended by all persons.[7] The strength of our convictions, in matters of fact remote in time or place, must bear proportion to the extent and exactness of our knowledge, and to the consequent fulness and vividness of our ideas of that class of objects to which the question relates.[8]

By a clear perception of our literate, symbolical, and oral traditions,[9] and by an extensive acquaintance with the printed and manuscript literature of the Craft, the imagination of the student bears him back to distant times, with a reasonable consciousness of the reality of what is unfolded to his view.

Comparatively few persons, however, possess either the time, the opportunities, or the inclination, which are requisite for the prosecution of this study, and therefore the conclusions of Masonic "experts," so far as they harmonise with one another, must be taken in most cases—as in so many other departments of knowledge—by the generality of readers, on faith.[10] How far my own will stand this ordeal the future must decide, but I can at least assure all those under whose eyes these pages may chance to pass, that no portion of my task has

[1] *Ante*, p. 276. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 183. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[5] It will be seen as we proceed, that the existence of *regular* Masons in 1691, *i.e.*, of brethren initiated according to the practice of Grand Lodge, was admitted by that body in 1732.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 271-274. See also the later entries from the York records, in Chapter XVIII., particularly the Laws of the Grand Lodge there, in 1725, and the Minutes of 1729. *Degrees* appear to have made their way very slowly into the York Masonic system.

[7] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 193.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 195. [9] *Cf. ante*, p. 232. [10] *Cf. ante*, Chap. I., p. 2, note 1.

imposed a heavier labour upon me, than those in which I have attempted a comparison between Scottish and English Masonry, and have sought to remove the veil from the obscure question of degrees.

There is no *proof* that more than a single degree, by which I mean a secret form of reception, was known to the Freemasons of the seventeenth century. Ashmole was "made a Freemason," according to his diary, in 1646,[1] and he speaks of six gentlemen having been "admitted into the *Fellowship* of Free Masons" in 1682, also of being on that occasion "the Senior *Fellow* among them," it having been "35 years since he was *admitted*."[2] Randle Holme's statement is less precise,[3] but from the entry in Harleian MS. 2054, relating to William Wade,[4] it is unlikely that the Chester ceremonial differed from that of Warrington.

It may well have been, however, that the practice in lodges, consisting exclusively of Operative Masons, was dissimilar, but as the solution of this problem cannot be effected by inference and conjecture, I shall content myself, having spread out the evidence before my readers, with leaving them to draw their own conclusions with regard to a point which there is at present no possibility of determining.

I am inclined to believe, that when the *second* degree became the *third*, the ceremonial was re-arranged, and the traditionary history enlarged. This view will be borne out by a collation of Dr Anderson's two editions of the Constitutions. In both, the splendour of the Temple of Solomon is much extolled, but a number of details with regard to the manner of its erection are given in 1738, which we do not meet with in the work of 1723. Thus we learn that after "the *Cape-stone* was celebrated by the *Fraternity* .˙. their joy was soon interrupted by the sudden Death of their dear Master, HIRAM ABBIFF, whom they decently interr'd in the *Lodge* near the *Temple*, according to antient Usage."[5]

When the legend of Hiram's death was first incorporated with our older traditions, it is not easy to decide, but in my judgment it must have taken place between 1723 and 1729, and I should be inclined to name 1725 as the most likely year for its introduction to have taken place.

For reasons already expressed,[6] I conceive the prominence of Hiram in our traditionary history or legends, in 1723, or earlier, to be wholly inconsistent with the silence of the Old Charges, the various catechisms, and the first "Book of Constitutions," on a point of so much importance.[7] In some of these he is, indeed, mentioned, but always as a subordinate figure,

[1] Chap. XIV., p. 140. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 143. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 181. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 14. The italics and capitals are Dr Anderson's. As Hiram was certainly alive at the completion of the Temple (2 Chron. iv. 11) it has been contended, that the above allusion in the Constitutions is not to him, but to Adoniram (or Adoram), a tax receiver under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who was stoned to death by the people (1 Kings xii. 18). According to J. L. Laurens, the death of *Hiram* is mentioned in the Talmud (Essais sur la Franche Maçonnerie, 2d edit., 1806, p. 102); whilst for an account of the murder of *Adonhiram*, C. C. F. W. von Nettlebladt refers us to what is probably the same source of authority, viz., the "Gemara of the Jews, a commentary on the Mischna or Talmud" (Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, 1879—written *circa* 1826—p. 746). Both statements can hardly be true, but in default of information which I hoped to have received, I can throw light on neither. *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Hiram and Adonhiram.

[6] *Ante*, p. 243.

[7] It is also impossible to reconcile it with the traditionary belief that the Society had its origin in the time of Henry III. (*ante*, pp. 6, 17, 219).

and I am aware of no evidence to justify a belief, that the circumstances of his decease, as narrated by Anderson, were in any shape or form, a tradition of the Craft, before the year 1723. Had they been, we should not, I think, have had occasion to complain that what I may almost venture to term, though not in strict propriety, the apotheosis of Hiram, has not been advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents. The legendary characters who live in our written, and speak through our oral, traditions, are in a certain sense our companions. We take more kindly to them, if, occasionally looking behind, we are prepared for their approach, or looking onwards espy them on the road before us. As a learned writer has observed, "it is not well for the personages of the historical drama to rise on the stage through the trap-doors. They should first appear entering in between the side scenes. Their play will be better understood then. We are puzzled when a king, or count, suddenly lands upon our historical ground, like a collier winched up through a shaft."[1]

We are told by Fort, that "the traditions of the Northern Deity, Baldur, seemingly furnished the substantial foundation for the introduction of the legend of Hiram."[2]

Baldur, who is the lord of light, is slain by the wintry sun, and the incidents of the myth show that it cannot have been developed in the countries of northern Europe. "It may be rash," says Sir George Cox, "to assign them dogmatically to central Asia, but indubitably they sprung up in a country where the winter is of very short duration."[3]

Other conceptions of the myth show that in the earliest times, the year had fallen into *halves*. Summer and Winter were at war with one another, exactly like Day and Night. Day and Summer gladden, as Night and Winter vex the world. Valiant Summer is found, fetched, and wakened from his sleep. Vanquished Winter is rolled in the dust, thrown into chains, beaten with staves, blinded, and banished. In some parts Death has stept into Winter's place; we might say, because in winter nature slumbers and seems dead.[4]

Usually a *puppet*, a figure of *straw* or *wood*, was carried about, and thrown into *water*, into a *bog*, or else *burnt*. If the figure was female, it was carried by a boy; if male, by a girl.[5]

Much more remarkable is the Italian and Spanish custom of tying together at Mid Lent, on the Dominica Lætare, a puppet to represent the *oldest woman* in the village, which is carried out by the people, especially children, and *sawn through the middle*. This is called *Segare la Vecchia*.[6]

The same custom is found among the South Slavs. In Lent time the Croats tell their children, that at the hour of noon *an old woman* is *sawn in pieces*, outside the gates. In Carniola it is at Mid Lent again, that the old wife is led out of the village and sawn through

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and of England, vol. i., p. 351.

[2] Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 407.

[3] The Mythology of the Aryan Nations, 1882, p. 336. Bunsen observes, "the tragedy of the Solar Year, of the murdered and risen God, is familiar to us from the days of ancient Egypt; must it not be of equally primeval origin here?" (*i.e.*, in Teutonic tradition—Baron Bunsen, God in History, 1868-70, vol. ii., p. 458).

[4] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, pp. 762, 766, 767. *Cf.* Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, 1870, vol. i., pp. 120, 143; and *ante*, p. 224, *et seq.*

[5] "The Indian Kálí, on the 7th day after the March new-moon, was solemnly carried about, and then thrown into the Ganges. On May 13, the Roman Vestals bore *puppets, plaited of rushes*, to the Pons Sublicius, and then dropt them in the Tiber" (Grimm, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 773; Ov. Fast., v. 620).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 781. The day for carrying Death out was the quarta dominica quadragesimæ, *i.e.*, Lætare Sunday or Mid Lent.

the middle.[1] Now, the sawing and burning of the old wife—as of the devil[2]—seems identical with the carrying out and drowning of Death (or Winter). The Scottish Highlanders throw the "Auld Wife" into the fire at Christmas.[3]

Of the Hiramic legend—which is purely allegorical—it has been said, that it will bear a two-fold interpretation, cosmological and astronomical. Into this I shall not enter, but for the sake of those who wish to canvass the subject, I indicate below[4] some leading references that will facilitate their inquiry.

For many reasons, I am disposed to link the introduction of the legend in question, with the creation of a third degree. At the time this occurred—assuming I am right in my supposition that a degree was so added—the number of fellow-crafts could not have been very large, and consequently there must have been fewer prejudices to conciliate,[5] than would have been the case at a later date. Indeed, it is quite probable, that very much in the same manner as the Royal Arch made its way into favour, under the title of a *fourth* degree, when taken up by the officers of Grand Lodge,[6] so the amplified ceremonial of 1725, under the name of a *third* degree, was readily accepted—or perhaps it will be safer to say, was not demurred to—by brethren of that era, under similar auspices.

The progress of the degree is to a great extent veiled in obscurity, and the by-laws of a *London* Lodge of about 1730-31,[7] can be read, either as indicating that the system of two degrees had not gone out of date, or that the Apprentice was "entered" in the *old way*, which made him a fellow craft under the *new* practice, and therefore eligible for the "Superiour" or third degree. But some entries in the minutes of a *Country* Lodge, on the occasion of its being constituted as a *regular* Lodge—May 18, 1733—are even more difficult to interpret, though the particulars they afford, are as diffuse as those in the previous instance are the contrary. The presence is recorded, besides that of the Master and Wardens, of three fellow

[1] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, p. 782.

[2] "In Appenzell the country children still have a game of *rubbing* a rope against a stick *till it catches fire*. This they call 'de tüfel häle,' unmanning the devil, despoiling him of his strength" (*Ibid.*, p. 600).

[3] Stewart, Popular Superstitions, p. 236.

[4] Lyon observes, "the fact that this step abounds with archaisms, is also pointed to as a proof of its antiquity. But it is no breach of charity to suppose that its fabricators knew their mission too well to frame the ritual in language that would point to its modern origin; hence the antique garb in which it is marked" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211); and see further, Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, vol. ii., p. 151; Masonic Treasury, lectures xlv., xlvi.; W. Sandys, A Short View of the History of Freemasonry, 1829, pp. 14, 15; Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxv.; Constitutions, 1738, p. 216, *et seq.*; and Gustave Schlegel, Thian ti hwui; The Hung League, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India, Batavia, 1866, p. xxxii.

[5] See, however, the account of the Gormogons, *post*, p. 377. The Operative Masons at about this date, showed themselves to be extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs under the Speculative *regime*. It is possible that the objections to "alterations in the established forms," had their origin in 1724-25, and subsequently lapsed into a tradition?

[6] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established in 1717.

[7] 3d By-Law of Lodge No. 71, held at the Bricklayers' Arms, in the Barbican.—"That no Person shall be Initiated as a Mason in this Lodge, without the Unanimous consent of all then present, & for the better Regulation of this, 'tis Order'd that all Persons proposed be Ballotted for, & if one Negative appear, then the said Person to be Refused, but if all Affirmatives the Person to pay two Pounds seven Shillings at his Making, & receive Double Cloathing, Also when this Lodge shall think Convenient, to confer the Superiour Degree, of masonry upon him, he shall pay five Shillings more; & 'tis further Order'd that if any Regular & worthy Brother, desires to be a Member of this Lodge, the same Order shall be observed as to the Ballot, & he shall pay half a Guinea at his Entrance & receive single Cloathing" (Rawlinson MSS., C. 126, p. 205).

crafts, six Masters, and four "Pass'd Masters."[1] The distinction here drawn between the two sets of Masters, it is by no means easy to explain, but it appears to point to an epoch of confusion, when the old names had not yet been succeeded by the new, at least in the country Lodges. The first meeting of this Lodge, of which a record is preserved, took place, December 28, 1732. Present, the Master and Wardens, and seven "members." No other titles are used. Among the "members" were George Rainsford and Johnson Robinson, the former of whom is described as "Master," and the latter as "Pass'd Master," in the minutes of May 18, 1733. It is possible, to put it no higher, that these distinctive terms were employed because some of the members had graduated under the Grand Lodge system, whilst others had been "admitted" or "passed" to their degrees, according to the more homely usage which preceded it.[2] The degree seems, however, to have become fairly well established by 1738, as the Constitutions of that year inform us that there were then eleven Masters' Lodges in the metropolis.[3] These seem to have been at that time, in London—although it may have been different in the country—part and parcel of the Lodges, to which the way they are ordinarily described, would have us to believe that they were merely attached. The use of the term *raise* in lieu of *pass*, had also then crept into use, as may be seen in the note below, though the latter was not entirely superseded by the former, until much later.[4]

The possible influence of the Companionage upon English Freemasonry must be dismissed in a few words, though I shall return to the subject if the dimensions of the Appendix are adequate to the strain which will be put upon it.

It must be freely conceded that our old manuscript Constitutions show evident traces of a Gallic influence, and also that some indications are afforded in the work of a French historian —whose writings command general respect—of a ceremony performed at the reception of a French stoneworker, strongly pointing to a ritual not unlike our own.[5] But the difficulty I experience in recognising in the legend of Hiram the builder, a common feature of the Companionage and the Freemasonry of more early times, is two-fold.

In the case of the former, we may go the length of admitting that there is a strong presumption in favour of the legend having existed in 1717, but, unfortunately, the most material evidence to be adduced in its support—that of Perdiguier, showing that there was a Solomonic or Hiramic legend at all[6]—is more than a century later than the date of the event[7] to

[1] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 22.

[2] *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 25; and *ante*, pp. 261, 263 (note 5). According to Woodford, the "Penal" and other "Orders" of the Swalwell Lodge, were written about the year 1725 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, p. 82). But from whatever date it speaks, 1725, 1730, or later, the 8th Penal Order (*Ibid.*, p. 84; *ante*, p. 263, note 5) shows, *that when it was enacted*, either *three* degrees, or the *two* previously known, were worked in an Operative Lodge.

[3] One of these is described by Anderson as, "Black—Posts in Maiden Lane, where there is also a Masters Lodge." This was No. 163 on the General List, constituted Sept. 21, 1737. Its minutes, which commence Feb. 9, 1737, and therefore show the Lodge to have worked by inherent right before accepting a charter, contain the following entries:—Dec. 17, 1738.—"'Twas agreed thatt all Debates and Business shall be between the E.A. and F.C.s Part." Feb. 5, 1740.—The Petition of a brother was rejected, "but unanimously agreed to Raise him a Master gratis." Sept. 2, 1742.—"If a Brother entring is a fellow craft, he shall be oblidge to be raised master in 3 Months, or be fin'd 5s."

[4] A great deal of information respecting "Master Lodges," and the Third Degree generally, will be found collected in Hughan's "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; Chap. II., *q.v.*

[5] Monteil, Histoire des Français des Divers États, 1853, vol. i., p. 294; *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 191.

[6] Chap. V., pp. 216-219. See, however, p. 240.

[7] *I.e.*, that a similar legend existed in 1717.

which it has been held to refer. In cases of this kind, to adopt the words of Voltaire, the existence of a festival, or of a monument, proves indeed the belief which men entertain, but by no means proves the reality of the occurrence concerning which the belief is held.[1]

Here, indeed, there is not quite so much to rely on, for Perdiguier expressly disclaims his belief in the antiquity of the legend he recounts;[2] but passing this over, and assuming that in 1841 the Companions, as a body, devoutly cherished it as an article of faith, this will by no means justify *us* in regarding it as a matter of conviction.

As to the Freemasons, the legend—according to my view of the evidence—made its appearance too late to be at all traceable to the influence of the Companionage, though with regard to the tradition which renders Charles Martel a patron of our Society, it may be otherwise. Charles Martel is said, by many writers, to have sent Stonemasons to England at the request of certain Anglo-Saxon kings. This he may possibly have done, especially as he lived at a time when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were in a most flourishing condition.[3] But he certainly was not a great church builder, inasmuch as he secularised a large portion of the Church's property to provide for the sustenance of those troops, whom he was forced to raise to defend the Frankish monarchy against the Saracens and others. For this he was severely punished in the next world, or at least it was so proclaimed at a national council held at Kiersi in 858, where a vision of St Eucharius, Bishop of Orleans, was related, in which he saw Charles Martel in the deepest abyss of hell.[4] Though, indeed, if we concede the possibility of a person being seen in hell, it has been suggested "that Charles Martel would have had a better chance of beholding the holy bishop in that place, since his reverence died three years before him"[5]—but I shall leave the story as an interesting problem for modern psychologists.

Mr Ellis follows Leyden, an author, he says, "of much research and information," in adopting the view of the Abbé Velley, that Charles Martel was an Armorican Chieftain, whose "four sons performed various exploits in the forest of Ardennes against the four sons of *Aymon*."[6] Here we seem to meet with an old acquaintance,[7] and it is unfortunate, to say the least, that the critical Panizzi, whilst styling the three writers "very good authorities," yet goes on to say, "we cannot implicitly rely on the judgment of these gentlemen."[8]

But at whatever period the name of Charles Martel found its way into the Legend of the Craft, there can be no doubt that it reaches back many centuries, and probably to the era of the Plantagenets[9]—1154-1399—when the greater part of France was subject to our sway, including the south, which appears to have been the cradle of the Companionage.

[1] Essai sur les Mœurs, Œuvres, tome xv., p. 109.

[2] Chap. V., p. 241, *et seq.* With this should be read the allusions to Hiram and Adonhiram at p. 217.

[3] With regard to the habit of generalising names, see Panizzi, *op. cit.*, p. 113; and Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., p. 297. One single Charles may have been made of *Charles* Martel, *Charles* the Great, *Charles* the Bald, *Charles* the Fat, and *Charles* the Simple, especially as their surnames were conferred (I believe) in each instance after death.

[4] *Cf.* Chap. II., p. 80.

[5] Antonio Panizzi, Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians, 1830, p. 90.

[6] G. Ellis, Specimens of Early English Romances (Bohn, 1848), p. 344.

[7] Chaps. II., p. 96, § xix.; XV., p. 243.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[9] The first member of this dynasty, Henry II., possessed, either by marriage or inheritance, besides England, at least one-third of modern France. The name of another member—Henry III.—was given by Dugdale to Aubrey, as

A friendly critic complains of my having "taken no notice of the astonishing irruption of Dutch and German artists,—painters, architects, masons,—also of Italians, from Geneva, Florence, and other cities, not only in the time of Edward III. (1327-1377), but especially from the reign of Henry VI. (1422-1461) and later Henries, which may have greatly influenced the working of the British Masons in practice and theory and tradition."[1] It is also true that great numbers of foreign workmen settled in this country before and during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, bringing with them the trade traditions and usages of the German, Flemish, and Dutch provinces;[2] and Mr Papworth, in the masterly essay to which I have so frequently referred, suggests that these workmen, joining some of the friendly societies they found existing, may have formed the foundations for the lodge-meetings recorded by Ashmole and Plot, or for those of the Four Old Lodges before 1717.[3]

With the exception of France, however, there appears to me no continental source from which it is at all probable that the English Masons borrowed either their customs or their traditions. Had they done so from Germany, our Masonic vocabulary would bear traces of it, and we must not forget how easily German words become incorporated with our language. But it is impossible to find in our ritual, or in the names of the emblems of our art, the slightest symptom of Teutonic influence.[4]

By the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the savage persecution which immediately preceded and followed it, France probably lost upwards of a quarter of a million of her most industrious citizens.[5] In consequence, at the early part of the eighteenth century, every considerable town in England, Holland, and Protestant Germany, contained a colony of Frenchmen who had been thus driven from their homes.[6] Now, if at the time of this phenomenal incursion of Frenchmen, the English Masonic customs received a Gallic tinge, is it not reasonable to suppose that the same process would have been at work in other Protestant countries, to say nothing of Ireland, where the influx of these refugees was so great that there were no less than three French congregations established in Dublin?[7]

On the whole, therefore, it seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that if the English borrowed from the French Masons in any other respect than claiming Charles Martel as their patron, the debt was contracted about the same time that the name of the "Hammer-bearer" first figured in our oral or written traditions.[8]

One of the legendary characters who figures in Masonic history, and may be said to be the most remarkable of them all—Naymus Grecus[9]—deserves a few parting words. The longevity of this worthy mason is tame and insignificant when compared with what is preserved in the literature of India. The most remarkable case is that of a personage who was the first king,

that of the monarch in whose reign a Papal Bull was granted to the wandering Italians, from whom were derived the Freemasons (*ante*, pp. 6, 19, 219).

[1] Mr Wyatt Papworth in the *Builder*, March 3, 1883. [2] *Cf.* Chap. VII., p. 272.

[3] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, *loc. cit.*

[4] If it were otherwise, *Hütte* would certainly fill the place now occupied by *Lodge*, and we might also expect to meet with *parlirer* (or *pallirer*) if Fallou and Winzer were the witnesses of truth.

[5] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i., p. 188. The estimates vary. Voltaire put the number as high as 600,000.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 269. [7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 344. [8] *Cf.* Chap. IV., pp. 200, 201.

[9] Chap. VI., p. 301, note 1. See further, Chaps. II., p. 97; and V., p. 248.

first anchoret, and first saint. This eminent man lived in a pure and virtuous age, and his days were indeed long in the land; since, when he was made king, he was two million years old. He then reigned 6,300,000 years, having done which, he resigned his empire, and lingered on for 100,000 years more![1]

I shall pass over, without further notice, many ancient usages, including the habit of feasting or banqueting at a common table, but there is one upon which a few words must be said. Among the Teutonic nations we find a great variety of oaths, devised for the purpose of impressing the conscience of the party, accompanied by strange and singular ceremonies, whose forms indicate the highest antiquity. In the "Lodthings" of Holstein, as among the ancient Bavarians, the soldier swore on the edge or blade of the sword. The Alemannic widow appealed to her bosom or her hair. The pagan Danes swore by the holy bracelet.[2] In the earliest times the necessity was felt of making as conspicuous as possible, in the most varied but always telling ways, the penalties which would be incurred by a breach of oath or promise.[3] The Christian practice in the matter of oaths was founded in great measure on the Jewish. Thus the oath on the Gospels was an imitation of the Jewish practice of placing the hands on the book of the Law.[4] To raise the right hand, as though in a challenge to heaven, was so universal a custom among the Semitic nations, that in some of their languages "the right hand" is used as an equivalent to oath;[5] in others, a verb "to swear" is derived from it;[6] whilst in Hebrew "to raise one's hand" was quite a common phrase for "to swear."[7] The same practice prevailed among the Greeks and the Romans,[8] and in the customs of both these nations many of the modes of adjuration and punishment reappear, with which the pages of the Old Testament have familiarised us.

The Rev. W. Clarke, commenting on Warburton's "Divine Legation," observes: "The little prejudice of raising the Egyptian Antiquities above the Jewish has been the foible of many great men; nor is that any excuse for idle prepossession. Moses stands upon a level, at least, with any antient writer; is as good an authority for antient customs; and may justly claim a precedence when the dispute lies between him and authors many centuries after him."[9]

In forming a covenant various rites were used, and the contracting parties professed to subject themselves to such a death as that of the victim sacrificed, in case of violating their engagements.[10] It was a customary thing to take a heifer and cut it in two, and then the contracting parties passed between the pieces.[11] This is particularly referred to in the Book of Jeremiah (xxxiv. 18-20), where it is said of those who broke a covenant so made, that "their dead bodies should be for meat unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the earth."[12]

A similar punishment was decreed for theft, in England, by a law of King Edgar. "After

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix., p. 305; Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., p. 136.

[2] Palgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, 1832, vol. ii., p. cxv.

[3] Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 18.

[4] Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, *s.v.* [5] In Arabic. [6] In Syriac, and see Genesis xiv. 22.

[7] Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Kitto, Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, 3d edit., *s.v.* Oath.

[8] Dr Potter, Archæologia Græca, edit. 1832, vol. i., p. 295; Homer, Il., viii. 412; Virgil, Æn., xii. 196. *Cf.* Gen. xiv. 22; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 423.

[9] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 452.

[10] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Matt. xxvi. 28). [11] *Ibid.* (Gen. xv. 10).

[12] To be deprived of burial was in general accounted by the Israelites a dire addition to other calamities (Scott, Commentary on the Bible, Deut. xxviii. 26).

experiencing the most frightful mutilations, the half-living carcase of the malefactor was cast to the beasts of prey and the fowls of heaven."[1] In Germany, the "flesh and body" of a murderer were condemned "to the beasts in the forest, the birds in the air, and the fishes in the sea."[2]

The barbarity of the mediæval penalties is very marked, and though Grimm observes that there is no historical record of their actual infliction, their retention, nevertheless, in so many local codes throughout the empire, bears witness to their high antiquity. For an infraction of the forest laws, in one district the offender was to have his stomach cut open at the navel;[3] whilst he who removed a boundary-stone was to be buried in the earth up to his belt, and a plough driven through his heart, or, according to other codes, "through his middle or his neck."[4] But perhaps the most inhuman mutilation of the kind was practised in Mexico, where the victim was cast on his back upon a pointed stone, "and the high priest"—in the quaint words of my authority—"opened his stomacke with the knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenes, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which he shewed smoaking vnto the Sunne."[5]

Almost all nations, in forming leagues and alliances, made their covenants or contracts in the same way. A sacrifice was provided, its throat was cut, and the carcase divided longitudinally in the most careful manner so as to make exactly two equal parts. These were placed opposite to each other, and the contracting parties passed between them, or, entering at opposite ends, met in the centre, and there took the covenant oath.[6]

When the oath was employed in making contracts or alliances, each of the two contracting parties made the other utter aloud the words of the contract which concerned him,[7] and a common meal off the sacred instruments of the treaty was regarded as indispensable.[8]

St Cyril, in his tenth book against Julian, shows that passing between the divided parts of a victim was used also among the Chaldeans and other ancient peoples. A variation of the custom, in the form of a covenant with death,[9] is supposed to be the origin of a superstition to which the Algerine corsairs were addicted. It is related by Pitts, that when in great peril, and after vainly supplicating the intercession of some dead marabout (or saint), they were in the habit of killing a sheep, by cutting off its head, which, with the entrails, they threw overboard. Next, with all speed, they cut the body into two parts, and threw one part over the right side of the vessel, and the other over the left, into the sea as a kind of propitiation.[10]

It would be easy to show that a marked resemblance exists between many of the ceremonial observances *now* peculiar to Freemasonry, and those which we know formed a part of the judicial procedure common to our Saxon ancestors. Hence it has been contended that

[1] Palgrave, *loc. cit.*

[2] Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 547.

[5] The Natvrall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, written in Spanish by Ioseph Acosta, and translated into English by E. G., 1604, p. 385.

[6] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Gen. vi. 18, and xv. 10; Jer. xxxiv. 18); Godwyn, Moses and Aaron, 1671, p. 257.

[7] Deut. xxvi. 17-19; Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 21.

[8] Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 68. "Festivities always accompanied the ceremonies attending oaths" (Burder, Oriental Customs, vol. i., 1802, § 294, citing Gen. xxvi. 30, and xxxi. 54).

[9] Isaiah xxviii. 15.

[10] J. Pitts, The Religion and Manners of Mahometans, 1704, p. 18.

the former are equally indigenous and ancient, but the burden of proof rests upon those who maintain the affirmative of this proposition. The subject has been treated with some fulness by an abler hand,[1] and the points left untouched by Fort will, I hope, be summed up by Mr Speth, in a disquisition he is preparing, with all the lucidity and force which characterise the emanations from his pen.

Returning to the history of the Grand Lodge of England, the following is an exact transcript of the earliest proceedings which are recorded in its minutes:

"AT THE GRAND LODGE HELD AT MERCHANT TAYLOR'S HALL, MONDAY, 24TH JUNE 1723.

PRESENT—

His Grace the Duke of Wharton, G. Master.
The Reverend J. T. Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., D.G.M.
Joshua Timson,
The Reverend Mr. James Anderson, } G. Wardens.

ORDERED

That William Cowper, Esqr., a Brother of the Horn Lodge at Westminster—be Secretary to the Grand Lodge.[2]

The order of the 17th Jan: 172⅞, printed at the end of the Constitutions, page 91, for the publishing the said Constitutions was read, purporting, That they had been before Approved in Manuscript by the Grand Lodge, and were then (vizt), 17th January aforesaid, produced in Print and approved by the Society.

THEN

The Question was moved, That the said General Regulations be confirmed, so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY.

The previous Question was moved and put, Whether the words [3][so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY] be part of the Question.

RESOLVED in the affirmative.

But the main question was not put.

And the Question was moved,

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.[4]

[1] Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxix. See also *ante*, Chaps. XV., pp. 229-241; and XVI., p. 275.

[2] "On June 24, 1723, the G. Lodge chose William Cowper, Esq., to be their Secretary. But ever since then, the New D. G. M. upon his commencement appoints the Secretary, or continues him by returning him the Books" (Constitutions, 1738, p. 161).

[3] Square brackets in original.

[4] In the Constitutions of 1738, Dr Anderson cites this—under the title of New Regulation XXXIX.—and incorporates with it the first of a series of "Questions" affirmatively decided in Grand Lodge on Nov. 25, 1723, and which are given *post*, p. 375.

And the Question being put accordingly,
Resolved in the Affirmative.

The two Grand Wardens were sent out into the Hall to give Notice, That, if any Brother had any Appeal, or any matter to offer, for the good of the Society, he might Come in and offer the same, in this Grand Lodge, and two other Brethren were appointed by the Grand Master, to take the Grand Wardens places in the mean while.

The Grand Wardens being returned, reported they had given Notice accordingly.

Then the Grand Master being desired to name his Successor, and declining so to do, but referring the Nomination to the Lodge,

The Right Hon^ble^. The Earl of Dalkeith was proposed to be put in Nomination as GRAND MASTER for the ensuing year.

The Lodge was also acquainted *That* in case of his Election, he had nominated Dr Desaguliers for his Deputy.

And the 35th General Regulation, purporting that the Grand Master being Installed, shall next nominate and appoint his Deputy Grand Master, &c., was read.

Then

The Question was proposed and put by the Grand Master,
That the Deputy nominated by the Earl of Dalkeith be approved.
There was a Division of the Lodge, and two Brethren appointed Tellers.

Ayes, ...	43
Noes, ...	42

As the tellers reported the Numbers.

Then

The Grand Master, in the Name of the new Grand Master, proposed Brother Francis Sorrel and Brother John Senex for Grand Wardens the ensuing year.

Agreed, That they should be Balloted for after Dinner.

ADJOURN'D TO DINNER.

After Dinner, and some of the regular Healths Drank, the Earl of Dalkeith was declared GRAND-MASTER according to the above mentioned Resolution of the Grand Lodge.

The late Grand Master, declaring he had some doubt upon the above mentioned Division in the Grand Lodge before Dinner, whether the Majority was for approving Dr Desaguliers, or whether the Tellers had truly reported the Numbers; proposed the said Question to be now put again in the General Lodge.

And accordingly insisting on the said Question being now put, and putting the same, his Worship and several Brethren withdrew out of the Hall as dividing against approving Dr Desaguliers.

And being so withdrawn,

Brother Robinson, producing a written Authority from the Earl of Dalkeith for that purpose, did declare in his Name, That his Worship had, agreeably to the Regulation in that

behalf, Appointed, and did Appoint Dr Desaguliers his Deputy, and Brothers Sorrel and Senex Grand Wardens. And also Brother Robinson did, in his said Worship's Name and behalf of the whole Fraternity, protest against the above proceedings of the late Grand Master in first putting the Question of Approbation, and what followed thereon, as unprecedented, unwarrantable, and Irregular, and tending to introduce into the Society a Breach of Harmony, with the utmost disorder and Confusion.

Then the said late Grand Master and those who withdrew with him being returned into the Hall, and acquainted with the foresaid Declaration of Brother Robinson,

The late Grand Master went away from the Hall without Ceremony.

After other regular Healths Drank,
The Lodge adjourned."

The minutes of this meeting are signed by "JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, Deputy Grand Master."

The Earl of Dalkeith presided at the next Quarterly Communication, held November 25, and the proceedings are thus recorded:

"The following Questions were put:

1. Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at the Quarterly Meetings, one of which must be on St John Baptist's Day?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

2. Whether the Grand Master has not power to appoint his Deputy?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

Agreed, That Dr Desaguliers be Deputy Grand Master from the last Annual meeting.

Ordered; That Brother Huddleston of the King's Head in Ivy Lane be expelled the Lodge for laying several Aspersions against the Deputy Grand Master, which he could not make good, and the Grand Master appointed M^r^ Davis, Sen^r^. Warden, to be Master of the said Lodge in Ivy Lane.

Agreed, That no new Lodge, *in or near London*, without it be Regularly Constituted, be countenanced by the Grand Lodge, nor the Master or Wardens be admitted at the Grand Lodge.

3. Whether the two Grand Wardens, Brother Sorrell and Brother Senex, are confirmed in their offices?

Agreed, *nem. con.*"

The above is a literal extract from the actual minutes of Grand Lodge; but among the "alterations, improvements, and explications" of the "Old Regulations" of the Society, or, in other words, the "New Regulations" enacted between the dates of publication of the first and second editions of the "Book of Constitutions," Anderson gives us the following as having been agreed to on November 25, 1723:

"That in the Master's absence, the Senior Warden of a lodge shall fill the chair, even tho' a former Master be present.[1]

No new Lodge to be owned unless it be regularly Constituted *and registered.*[2]

That no Petitions and Appeals shall be heard on the Feast Day or Annual Grand Lodge.[3]

That any G. Lodge duly met has a Power to amend or explain any of the printed Regulations in the Book of Constitutions, while they break not in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity. But that no Alteration shall be made in this printed Book of Constitutions without Leave of the G. Lodge."[4]

Of the foregoing resolutions, the first and third—so Anderson informs us—were not recorded in the Grand Lodge Book. But with the exception of the latter, which must have been necessitated at an early date, in order to preserve the requisite harmony on the Assembly or Head-meeting Day, all of them seem to be merely amplifications of what really was enacted by the Grand Lodge. Anderson, moreover, it should be recollected, was not present (or at least his attendance is not recorded) at the Communication in question.

"Grand Lodge met in ample form on February 19, 1724, when the following Questions were put and agreed to:—

1. That no Brother belong to more than one Lodge at one time, within the Bills of Mortality.[5]

2. That no Brother belonging to any Lodge within the Bills of Mortality be admitted to any Lodge as a visitor, unless personally known to some Brother of that Lodge where he visits, and that no Strange Brother, however skilled in Masonry, be admitted without taking the obligacon over again, unless he be introduced or vouched for by some Brother known to, and approved by, the Majority of the Lodge. And whereas some Masons have mett and formed a Lodge without the Grand M . Leave.

AGREED; That no such persons be admitted into Regular Lodges."

At this meeting, every Master or Warden was enjoined to bring with him a list of the members belonging to his Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication.

Two further "Questions" were submitted to the Grand Lodge on April 28, and in each case it was resolved by a unanimous vote,—*firstly*, that the Grand Master had the power of appointing the two Grand Wardens, and in the *second* place, that Charles, Duke of Richmond, should "be declared Grand Master at the next Annual meeting."

According to Anderson,[6] the Duke was duly "install'd in Solomon's Chair," on June 24, and appointed Martin Folkes his Deputy, who was "invested and install'd by the last Deputy

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N.R. (*New Regulation*) II.

[2] *Ibid.*, N.R. XII. The words in italics do not appear in the minutes of Grand Lodge, and Anderson omits the expression "*in or near London*," which occurs in the original.

[3] *Ibid.*, N.R. XIII., § 3. [4] *Ibid.*, N.R. XXXIX.

[5] By a resolution of March 17, 1725, the brethren of the French Lodge at the Solomon's Temple—of which both Desaguliers and Anderson were members—were "to have the liberty to belong to any other Lodge within the Bills of Mortality." But the restriction to a single Lodge, we are told in 1738, "is neglected for several reasons, and now obsolete" (Constitutions, p. 154). It was reimposed, however, in 1742 (*post*, p. 394).

[6] Constitutions, 1738, p. 118.

in the Chair of Hiram Abbif." No such phrases occur in the official records, and the only circumstance of a noteworthy character, associated with the Assembly of 1724, is, that the Stewards were ordered "to prepare a list for the Grand Master's perusal of twelve fit persons to serve as stewards at the next Grand Feast."[1]

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Richmond, the Committee of Charity—at the present day termed the Board of Benevolence—was instituted. The scheme of raising a fund of General Charity for Distressed Masons, was proposed, November 21, by the Earl of Dalkeith, and under the same date there is a significant entry in the Grand Lodge minutes—"Brother Anthony Sayer's petition was read and recommended by the Grand Master." It does not appear, however, that the premier Grand Master received any pecuniary assistance on the occasion of his first application for relief, though sums of money were voted to him in 1730 and 1741 respectively as we have already seen.

Lord Dalkeith's proposal met with general support, and among those whose names are honourably associated with the movement in its earlier stages, may be mentioned Dr Desaguliers, George Payne, and Martin Folkes.

At the same meeting it was resolved, that all Past Grand Masters should have the right of attending and voting in Grand Lodge, and it was "AGREED, *nem. con.*—That if any brethren shall meet Irregularly and make Masons at any place *within ten miles of London*,[2] the persons present at the making (the New Brethren Excepted) shall not be admitted, even as visitors, into any Regular Lodge whatsoever, unless they come and make such submission to the Grand Mas[t]. and Grand Lodge as they shall think fit to impose upon them."

A few words must now be devoted to the proceedings of the Gormogons, an Order which first came under public notice in this year, though its origin is said to have been of earlier date. The following notification appeared in the *Daily Post* of September 3, 1724:—

"Whereas the truly ANTIENT NOBLE ORDER of the Gormogons, instituted by Chin-Quaw Ky-Po, the first Emperor of China (according to their account), many thousand years before Adam, and of which the great philosopher Confucius was Œcumenical Volgee, has lately been brought into England by a Mandarin, and he having admitted several Gentlemen of Honour into the Mystery of that most illustrious order, they have determined to hold a Chapter at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, at the particular Request of several persons of Quality. This is to inform the public, that there will be no drawn Sword at the Door, nor Ladder in a dark Room, nor will any Mason be receiv'd as a Member till he has renounced his Novel Order and been properly degraded. N.B.—The Grand Mogul, the Czar of Muscovy, and Prince Tochmas are enter'd into this Hon. Society; but it has been refused to the Rebel Meriweys, to his great Mortification. The Mandarin will shortly set out for Rome, having a particular Commission to make a Present of this Antient Order to his Holiness, and it is believ'd the whole Sacred College of Cardinals will commence Gormogons. Notice will be given in the Gazette the Day the Chapter will be held."

[1] The minutes of this meeting are signed by the Earl of Dalkeith, Dr Desaguliers, and Grand Wardens Sorrel and Senex. This is a little confusing, because the G. M., his Deputy—Folkes, and Wardens—Payne and Sorrel—were all present at the next Quarterly Communication (Nov. 21). It may be conveniently mentioned, that the minutes are only occasionally signed by the Grand Officers.

[2] The words in italics are omitted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738, where he gives the enactment as an item of New Regulation VIII.

If we may believe the *Weekly Journal* or *Saturday Post*, of the 17th of October following, "many eminent Freemasons" had by that time "degraded themselves" and gone over to the Gormogons, whilst several others were rejected "for want of qualification." But the fullest account of the Order, is given in the second edition of the "Grand Mystery of the Freemasons Discovered," published October 28, 1724. This has been closely dissected by Kloss, who advances three distinct theories with regard to the appearance of the Gormogons:—I. That the Œcumenical Volgi was no less than the Chevalier Ramsay, then at Rome in attendance upon the Young Pretender; II. That the movement was a deeply laid scheme on the part of the Jesuits to attain certain ends, by masquerading after the fashion of the Freemasons; and III. That in the Gormogons we meet with the precursors of the Schismatic Masons, or "Ancients." The first and last of these suppositions may be passed over, but the second is more plausible, especially if we widen its application, and for "Jesuits" read "Roman Catholics," since, curiously enough, the Order is said to have become extinct in 1738, the year in which Clement XII. published his Bull against the Freemasons.

The *Plain Dealer* of September 14, 1724, contains a letter from a Mandarin at Rome to another in London. The former congratulates the latter on the speedy progress he has made "from the Court of the *Young* SOPHY," and adds, "Your Presence is earnestly expected at ROME. The Father of High Priests is fond of our *Order*, and the CARDINALS have an Emulation to be distinguish'd. Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON, *Mandarin*, CHAN FUE, is well, and salutes you." There are also several allusions to the Freemasons, which point to the prevalence of irregularities, such as we are already justified in believing must have existed at the time.[1]

The following notice appeared in the *Daily Journal* of October 26, 1730:

"By command of the VOL-GI.

A General Chapter of the most August and Ancient order GOR-MO-GON, will be held at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, on Saturday the 31st Inst., to commence at 12 o'clock; of which the several Graduates and Licentiates are to take Notice, and give their Attendance.

P. W. T."

An identical summons, signed "F. N. T.," will be found in the same journal for October 28, 1731, but that earlier chapters were held at the same place may be inferred from a paragraph in the *British Journal* of December 12, 1724, which reads: "We hear that a Peer of the first Rank, a noted Member of the Society of *Free-Masons*, hath suffered himself to be degraded as a member of that Society, and his Leather Apron and Gloves to be burnt, and thereupon enter'd himself as a Member of the Society of Gormogons, at the *Castle*-Tavern in *Fleet Street*."

This can only refer to the Duke of Wharton, whose well-known eccentricity of character, combined with the rebuff he experienced when last present in Grand Lodge, may have led him to take this step. It is true, that in 1728 he constituted a lodge at Madrid, but this would be in complete harmony with the disposition of a man who, in politics and everything else, was always turning moral somersaults; and the subsequent application of the lodge to be "constituted *properly*,"[2] tends to show that, however defective his own memory may have been, his apostasy was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Craft.

[1] See Appendix.

[2] *Post*, p. 384.

The number of renegade Gormogons must, I think, have been very large, but the only secession from the "Order" that I have met with occurs in the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer* of April 18, 1730, which has—"On Saturday last, at the Prince William Tavern, at Charing ✠, Mr Dennis,[1] the famous poet and critick, was admitted a Free and Accepted Mason, at a lodge then held there, *having renounced the Society of the Gormogons*, of which he had been a member for many years."

Impressions of the Medal of the Order—obverse and reverse—are annexed. The inscriptions which encircle them are sufficiently explanatory in themselves, and it has been suggested that the words AN. REG. and AN. INST., on the lower projections respectively, may possibly refer to the foundation of the Order in the reign of Queen Anne.[2]

Here I bring to a close this "short study" on a subject of much interest, which, I trust, nevertheless, other students will pursue. In this hope, I ask our antiquaries not to lose sight of the fact, that the Gormogons were the only formidable rivals of the Freemasons, and to bear in mind also, that several of the regulations[3] passed by the latter before 1725 are deemed by some good authorities to have been levelled against the former.

The Grand Lodge on May 20, 1725, ordered that the minutes of the last meeting should be read—a formality noticed for the first time; it was also "ordered, that his Grace the Duke of Richmond be continued Grand Mas^{t}. for the next half year ending at Christmas," and there

[1] John Dennis, a poet, political writer, and critic, was born in 1657, and died on January 6, 1734. He was therefore in his seventy-third year when initiated into Freemasonry.

[2] Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. iv., p. 441. The illustrations of the jewel are from photographs of one in the possession of Mr W. H. Rylands, and therefore exactly represent the appearance and size of the original, which is of silver. The owner points out to me that Anno Regni 39 of George III. would be 1798-99, which may be compared with the "An. Inst., 8799" of the medal. A.D. 1699 would be the 11th and 12th of William (and Mary), the only other reign of that period having 39 regnal years.

[3] *E.g.*, those of February 19 and November 24, 1724.

occurs a singular entry, with regard to which we should remain entirely in the dark, were it not for the discovery of a manuscript in the library of the British Museum, by the late Matthew Cooke,[1] that clears up the whole matter. The minute runs—"Ordered, that there be a letter wrote to the following brethren, to desire them to attend the Grand Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication (viz^{t}.) William Gulston, Coort Knevitt, William Jones, Charles Cotton, Thomas ffisher, Thomas Harbin, and ffrancis Xavier Geminiani."[2]

The manuscript referred to, informs us, that these persons were members—and, with three exceptions, founders—of an association, entitled the "Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas, Apolloni," established February 18, 1725, by seven brethren from the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Holles Street, and one other.

The minutes of the Society extend to 296 pages, and the last entry is dated March 23, 1727. Rule xviii. ordains—"that no Person be admitted as a Visitor, unless he be a Free Mason," and the ranks of the Society were recruited solely from the Craft. But if the applicant for membership was not a mason, the Society proceeded to make him one, and sometimes went further, for we find that on May 12, 1725, two brothers "were regularly passed Masters," one "was regularly passed fellow Craft & Master," and another "was regularly passed Fellow Craft"[3]—the ordinance (XIII.) of Grand Lodge enjoining that such ceremonies should only be performed in the presence of that body, being in full force at the time.

The ordinary practice in cases where the candidates were devoid of the Masonic qualification, was to make them Masons in the first instance,[4] after which they were ordered to attend "to be admitted and properly inducted members." This, however, they frequently failed to do, and on March 17, 1726, two persons were ignominiously expelled for not taking up their membership—for which they had been duly qualified—though thrice summoned to do so.

"Geo: Payne J: G: Warden," was present as a visitor on September 2, 1725, and the following entry occurs in the minutes under December 16 of the same year:

"A letter Dat. the 8th Instant from Brother Geo. Payne, Jun^{r} Grand Warden, directed in form to this Society, inclosing a Letter from the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master, dat. likewise the 8 Instant, directed to the Presid^{t}. and the rest of the Brethren at the Apollo,[5] in which he Erroneously insists on and Assumes to himself a Pretended Authority to call Our

[1] Addl. MS. 23,202. Numerous extracts from it were given in the *Freemasons' Magazine* (July to December 1861, pp. 67, 85, 132, 304, 326, 387) by Mr Cooke, who, in announcing his discovery (p. 67), says: "I think I am entitled to claim for the MS. before me, the distinguished position of the oldest *lodge* minute-book in existence." As will be seen, however, the minutes are not those of a *lodge*, but of a Society, which admitted none but Freemasons as members or visitors. I am glad to state that the MS.—which throws a great deal of light upon some hitherto obscure points in Masonic history—will shortly be published by Mr W. H. Rylands—as the *first*, it may be hoped, of a long series of "manuscripts of the Craft," a sphere of labour for which he is eminently fitted, both by taste and qualifications, though I almost fear, that to carry out *all* the literary projects which are floating in his brain, he would require the hands of Briareus and the life of the Wandering Jew.

[2] All these brethren, except ffisher and Harbin, were "made Masons" in the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, and three of them—Knevitt, Jones, and Cotton—by the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master. Harbin was a member of the same Lodge in 1725. Thomas ffisher was junior warden of the Lodge at Ben's Coffee House, New Bond Street, in 1723. *Cf. ante*, p. 360.

[3] *Ante*, p. 360.

[4] Jan. 13, 1726—"Resolved that Voisin Humphrys and James Bayne be made Masons, thereby to qualifye them to be admitted Members of this R. Wörpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society" (Minutes, p. 159).

[5] The sign of the house where the Society met had been changed.

R^t. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society to an account *for making Masons irregularly* for which reasons, as well as for want of a Due Regard, Just Esteem, and Omitting to Address himself in proper form to the Rt. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteemed Society,

Ordered—

That the Said Letters do lye on the Table."

The subject is not again referred to in the minutes of the Society, or in those of Grand Lodge, but we learn from the former that a week later—December 23, 1725—three members of "the Lodge at the Horn" were present as visitors, including Alexander Hardine, the Master, and Francis Sorrell, Senior Grand Warden.

The preceding extracts throw a fuller light, than has hitherto been shed, upon a very dark portion of Masonic history. It is highly probable that Payne's visit to the Musical Society took place at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, by whom, as we have seen, three of the members were "made Masons."[1] But the attendance of Sorrell and Hardine *after* the Grand Master's letter had been so contemptuously disregarded, is not a little remarkable. Still more curious is the circumstance, that at the very time their visit occurred, Coort Knevitt was also a member of the "Lodge at the Horn." It may be taken, therefore, that the denunciations of the Grand Master were a mere *brutum fulmen*, and led to no practical result. The Musical Society died out in the early part of 1727, but the minutes show that the members persisted in making Masons until June 23, 1726, and possibly would have continued the practice much later had the supply of candidates lasted longer than it apparently did.

William Gulston, the *præses*, or president, of the Society during the greater part of its existence, whose name, we may suppose, would have been particularly obnoxious to the rulers of the Craft, was a member of Lodge No. 40, at the St Paul's Head, in 1730, and his name appears first on the list. There were 107 members in all, and among them were Dr Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward 1734; John Jesse, Grand Treasurer 1738-52; and Fotherley Baker, Dep. G. M. 1747-51. These were not the kind of men to join in fellowship with any person whose Masonic record would not bear investigation. It is reasonably clear that, down at least to 1725, and perhaps later, the bonds of discipline so recently forged were unequal to the strain which was imposed upon them. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and even were evidence wanting, to confirm the belief, that the "beneficent despotism" which arose out of the unconditional surrender of their inherent privileges by *four* private lodges, was not submitted to without resistance by the Craft at large—from the nature of things, no other conclusion could be adopted.

We may therefore suppose that Gulston and the others gradually ceased to commit the irregularities for which they were censured, and that they did so before the time had arrived when the Grand Lodge felt itself established on a sufficiently firm basis to be able to maintain in their integrity the General Regulations agreed to by the Masons of London and Westminster in 1723.[2]

The remaining characteristic of Additional MS. 23,202 has been referred to on a previous page,[3] and the evidence it affords of the Fellow Craft's and Master's "parts" having been

[1] *Ante*, p. 380, note 2.

[2] See the "Approbation" appended to the first "Book of Constitutions," 1723.

[3] *Ante*, p. 360.

actually wrought other than in Grand Lodge, *before* February 18, 1725, is of great value, both as marking the earliest date at which such ceremonies are *known* to have been worked, and from the inference we are justified in drawing, that at the period in question there was nothing unusual in the action of the brethren concerned in these proceedings.

The Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725, was attended by the officers of forty-nine lodges, a number vastly in excess of any previous record of a similar character, and which does not again reach the same figures until the November meeting of 1732. Two reasons may be assigned for so full an attendance—one, the general interest experienced by the fraternity at large in the success of the Committee of Charity, the report of which body, drawn up by William Cowper, the chairman, was to be presented to Grand Lodge; the other, that an extension of the authority of private lodges was to be considered, and, as the following extract shows, conceded: "A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the Gen^{ll}. Regulations relating to the making of Ma^{sts} only at a Quarterly Court may be repealed, and that the Mast. of Each Lodge, with the consent of his Wardens and the Majority of the Brethren, being Ma^{sts}., may make Ma^{sts} at their discretion. Agreed, *Nem. Con.*"[1]

It is singular, that whilst *forty-nine*[2] lodges are stated to have been represented in Grand Lodge on this occasion, the Engraved List of 1729 has only fifty-four lodges in all, forty-four of which, and no more, were constituted up to, and inclusive of the year 1725. This is at first sight somewhat confusing, but the Engraved List of 1725 shows that sixty-four lodges existed in that year, and as we shall presently see, there were many influences at work between the years 1725 and 1729, tending to keep down and still further reduce the number of lodges.

The Duke of Richmond was succeeded by Lord Paisley, afterwards Earl of Abercorn, who appointed Dr Desaguliers his Deputy, and during this Grand Mastership the only event worth recording, is the resolution passed February 28, 1726, giving past rank to Deputy Grand Masters, a privilege, it may be observed, also extended to Grand Wardens on May 10, 1727.

The next to ascend the Masonic throne was the Earl of Inchiquin, during whose term of office, Provincial Grand Masters were first appointed, and on June 24, 1727, the Masters and Wardens of Private Lodges were ordered to wear at all Masonic meetings, "the Jewells of Masonry hanging to a White Ribbon (vizt.) That the Mast. wear the Square, the Sen^{r}. Warden the Levell, and the Jun^{r}. Warden the Plumb Rule."[3]

About this period the question of Masonic precedency began to agitate the lodges, and the

[1] Anderson renders this—"The *Master* of a Lodge, with his *Wardens* and a competent *Number* of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make *Masters* and *Fellows* at Discretion" (New Regulation XIII., § 2). The italics are the doctor's. It will be seen that the actual minutes of Grand Lodge are silent with regard to the admission of "Fellows." *Cf. ante*, pp. 358, 359.

[2] Although this statement rests upon Anderson's assertion in the Constitutions of 1738, I am disposed to believe it, because firstly, it seems inherently probable, and in the second place, Anderson apparently derived his *figures* from some thing in the nature of an attendance book, now missing. I may also add, that the number of lodges he alleges to have been present at any particular meeting of Grand Lodge, has always been correct, whenever I have been able to test its accuracy.

[3] "25 June 1728—Masters and Wardens of Lodges shall never attend the G. Lodge without their Jewels and Clothing" (Constitutions, 1738, N.R. XII.). Here Anderson is plainly incorrect, as the regulation to which he alludes, was enacted—according to the actual minutes of Grand Lodge—in the previous year.

following extract from the minutes of Grand Lodge will afford the best picture I am able to present, of the manner in which their relative positions at the Quarterly Communications were determined, before any strict rule on the subject was laid down.

"December 19, 1727.—The Masters and Wardens of the Several Lodges following, attended and answered to their Names, vizt:—

1. Goose and Gridiron, St Pauls.
2. Rose and Rummer, Castle Yard.
3. Queen's Head, Knave's Acre.
4. Horn, Westr.
5. Green Dragon, Newgate St.
6. St Paul's Head, Ludgate St.
7. Three Tuns, Swithin's Alley.
8. Queen's Head, Great Queen St.
9. Ship, Fish St. Hill.
10. Globe, Strand.
11. Tom's Coffee House, Clare Market.
12. Crown and Scepter, St Martin's.
13. Swan, Greenwich.
14. Cross Keys, Henrieta St., Co: Garden.
15. Swan, Tottenham High Cross.
16. Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane.
17. Mag: Pye, against Bishopsgate Church.
18. Mount Coffee House, Grosvenor St."

Here we find the "Four Old Lodges" at the head of the roll, and arranged, moreover, in due order of seniority, reckoned from their age, or respective dates of establishment or constitution. This position they doubtless owed to the sense entertained of their services as founders of the Grand Lodge. But the places of the remaining lodges appear to have been regulated by no principle whatever. No. 5 above, becomes No. 19 on the first list (1729), in which the positions of lodges were determined by the dates of their warrants of constitution. Similarly, No. 6 drops down to the number 18, 7 to 12, 8 to 14, 9 to 22, 13 to 25, whilst the No. 11 of 1727 goes up to the sixth place on the Engraved List of 1729.

In the same year, at the ASSEMBLY on St John's Day (in Christmas), the following resolution was adopted, "That it shall be referred to the succeeding Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, to enquire into the Precedency of the Several Lodges, and to make report thereof at the next Quarterly Communication, in order that the same may be finally settled and entre'd accordingly."

In conformity with this regulation, "most of the Lodges present delivered the dates of their being Constituted into Lodges, in order to have precedency in the Printed Book;" others did so on June 25, 1728; and at the ensuing Grand Lodge held in November, the Master and Wardens of the several lodges were for the first time "called according to their seniority."

The grand officers, under whose superintendence the Engraved List[1] of 1729 was brought out—Lord Colerane, Grand Master; Alexander Choke, the Deputy; Nathaniel Blakerby and Joseph Highmore, Grand Wardens—were invested with their badges of office on the aforesaid St John's Day, 1727, at which ASSEMBLY, an application by the members of the Lodge at the King's Head in Salford, that their names might be entered in the Grand Lodge Books, and themselves taken under the care and patronage of the Grand Lodge—which was acceded to—deserves to be recorded, both as showing the existence at that time of lodges other than those forming part of the *regular* establishment, as well as the tendency of all such bodies to

[1] It is headed "A List of REGULAR LODGES *according to Seniority & Constitution.*" The words in italics appear in no previous lists.

gradually become absorbed within the central organisation. These accessions strengthened the authority of Grand Lodge, whose officers wisely forebore from interposing any obstacles that might hinder or retard a surrender of their independence by those lodges which had not yet given in their adhesion to the new *régime*. Thus on November 26, 1728, a petition was presented from the "Master and Wardens of a Lodge *held for some time past* at Bishopsgate Coffee House, declaring their intention and earnest desire to be Constituted as soon as it will suit the conveniency of the Deputy Grand Master to confer the honour upon them, and humbly praying to be admitted among the regular Lodges at this Quarterly Communication."

The Deputy Grand Master—Alexander Choke—we are informed, "did dispense with their being at present irregular, and admitted them into the Grand Lodge." At the same meeting, which was the last under the administration of Lord Colerane, it was settled, on the motion of Dr Desaguliers, that there should be twelve stewards for the future, who should have the entire care and direction of the Annual Feast. Also, it was ordered, that in the absence of any officer of a lodge—Master or Warden—one of the members, "but not a mere *Enter'd Prentice*," might attend the Grand Lodge, "to supply his Room and support the Honour of his Lodge."[1]

Viscount Kingston—who was afterwards at the head of the Craft in Ireland—was the next Grand Master, and the proceedings of Grand Lodge were agreeably diversified on the occasion of his installation—December 27, 1728—by a petition being presented from several Masons residing at Fort William in Bengal, wherein they acknowledged the authority of the Grand Master in England, and humbly prayed to be constituted into "a *Regular*[2] Lodge." The prayer was acceded to, and the duty entrusted to Mr George Pomfret, brother to one of the petitioners, then on the eve of proceeding to the East Indies, and to whom was granted a deputation for the purpose. Similar deputations were granted to some brethren at Gibraltar[3] and to Mr Charles Labelle (or *Labelye*), Master of the Lodge at Madrid—originally "constituted" by the Duke of Wharton in 1728[4]—but which the members subsequently prayed might be "constituted properly" under the direct sanction of Grand Lodge.[5]

The deputation to the Gibraltar Masons was granted to them "for and on behalf of several other Brethren, commissioned and non-commissioned officers and others, to be constituted a regular Lodge in due form," and the body thus legitimated, in a subsequent letter wherein they style themselves "The Lodge of St John of Jerusulem[6] lately constituted at Gibraltar," express their thanks to Grand Lodge for empowering them to hold a Lodge in as due and ample manner as hath been hitherto practised by our Brethren."[7]

Lord Kingston made very handsome presents to the Grand Lodge, and so great was his

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N. R. XII.

[2] The most casual reader can hardly fail to notice, how universally the epithets of *regular*, and *irregular*, are used in the official records, to distinguish the tributary and the independent lodges respectively.

[3] Copies of the Fort William and Gibraltar Deputations, dated February 6 and March 9 respectively, are given in vol. i. of the Grand Lodge Minutes.

[4] Grand Lodge Minutes, April 17, 1728.

[5] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1729.

[6] In the words of the Deputation sent to Gibraltar, using the expression "a Lodge of St John," I find the earliest use of the phrase, a "St John's Lodge" or "man," employed with so much frequency later, to denote the "unattached" lodge or brother.

[7] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

sense of the responsibilities of his office, that on a message reaching him in Ireland from the Deputy Grand Master, stating his presence was desirable at the Quarterly Communication of November 25, 1729, he forthwith embarked for England, and "rode Post from Holyhead in two days and a half," in order to preside over the meeting,—at the proceedings of which harmony appears to have prevailed, and certainly did towards the end, for the records inform us, "that the Deputy Grand Master, having gone through all business, clos'd the Lodge with the Mason's Song."

During the term of office of this nobleman, the Grand Lodge "ordain'd" that every new lodge that should be constituted by the Grand Master, or by his authority, should pay the sum of two guineas towards the General Charity.[1] We also first hear of these grave irregularities, which, under the title of "making masons for small and unworthy considerations,"[2] are afterwards so frequently alluded to in the official records. According to the minutes of March 27, 1729, "Complaint being made that at the Lodge at the One Tun in Noble Street, a person who was not a Mason was present at a Making, and that they made Masons upon a trifling expense only for the sake of a small reckoning, and that one Huddlestone of that Lodge brought one Templeman of the South Sea House with him, who was not a Mason, and the obligation was not required."

The Master and Wardens of the Lodge were ordered to attend at the next Quarterly Communication, "and in the mean time" to "endeavour to make the said Templeman a regular Mason." At the ensuing meeting the Master attended, and his explanation was deemed satisfactory; but whether, with the assistance of his Wardens, he ultimately succeeded in bringing Templeman within the fold, the records leave undecided.

The Duke of Norfolk, who succeeded Lord Kingston, was invested and installed at an ASSEMBLY and Feast held at Merchant-taylor's Hall, on January 29, 1730, in the presence of a brilliant company. No less than nine former Grand Masters attended on the occasion, and walked in the procession in order of juniority—viz., Lords Colerane, Inchiquin, and Paisley, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Dalkeith, the Duke of Montagu, Dr Desaguliers, George Payne, and Anthony Sayer.

Although this was the only time the Duke of Norfolk was present at Grand Lodge during his tenure of office, as he shortly afterwards went to Italy, his interest in the prosperity of the Institution is evinced both by his having personally constituted several lodges prior to his departure,[3] and having sent home many valuable presents from abroad, consisting of (1.)

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

[2] Other infractions of the General Regulations of a kindred, though not of an identical character, became indeed the subject of Masonic legislation at a much earlier period, *e.g.*—"25 April 1723.—Every Brother concerned in making Masons clandestinely, shall not be allowed to visit any Lodge till he has made due Submission, even tho' the Brothers so made may be allowed" (New Regulation VIII., item i.—Constitutions, 1738, p. 156).

[3] "Thursday night at the new erected Lodge, the Prince William Tavern, Charing Cross, the following gentlemen were admitted Free and Accepted Masons—viz., Governor Tinkler, General Tinkler, Governor Burrington, —— Frederick, Esq., a foreign minister, —— Goulston, Esq., Philip Lassels, Esq., Major Singleton, Mr Theobalds, Capt. Read, Mr Rice, and Mr Baynes, Master of the House. Present—The Duke of Norfolk, G.M., Lord Kingston, Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., Sir W. Saunderson, Sir W. Young, Col. Carpenter, and Mr Batson" (The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 259, March 7, 1730). "Latter end of last week a new Lodge was set up at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher's Row, near Temple Bar, where several gentlemen of fortune were admitted Free and Accepted Masons. Present—the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), Lord Kingston, late G.M., Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., and all

twenty pounds to the Charity fund, (2.) a large folio book for the records of Grand Lodge, and (3.) a sword of state (still in use), to be borne before the Grand Master, being the old trusty sword of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, which was next worn by his brave successor in war, Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, with both their names on the blade.

In this year the pamphlet already referred to, entitled "Masonry Dissected," was published by Samuel Prichard. "This work contained a great deal of plausible matter, mingled with some truth as well as falsehood; passed through a great many editions; was translated into the French, German, and Dutch languages; and became the basis or model on which all the *subsequent*[1] so-called expositions were framed."[2] It elicited a noble reply from an unknown writer, styled "A Defence of Masonry," which has been commonly, though (I think) erroneously, ascribed to Dr Anderson, and produced one other good result by inducing stricter caution at the admission of visitors into lodges. Thus we learn, from the minutes of Grand Lodge, that on August 28, 1730, "Dr Desaguliers stood up and (taking notice of a printed Paper lately published and dispersed about the Town, and since inserted in the News Papers, pretending to discover and reveal the Misteries of the Craft of Masonry) recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge, particularly the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication,[3] for preventing any false brethren being admitted into regular Lodges, and such as call themselves Honorary Masons. The Deputy Grand Master seconded the Doctor, and proposed several rules to the Grand Lodge, to be observed in their respective Lodges, for their security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft."

The same records inform us that in the following December "D.G.M. Blackerby took notice of a Pamphlet lately published by one Prichard, who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In violation of the Obligation of a Mason w^ch^ he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry, and expressing himself with the utmost indignation against both him (Stiling him an Impostor) and of his Book as a foolish thing not to be regarded. But in order to prevent the Lodges being imposed upon by false Brethren or Impostors: Proposed till otherwise Ordered by the Grand Lodge, that no Person whatsoever shall be admitted into Lodges unless some Member of the Lodge there present would vouch for such visiting Brothers being a regular Mason, and the Member's Name to be entered against the visitor's Name in the Lodge Book, which Proposal was unanimously agreed to."

It is a curious coincidence that the names of two of the earliest Grand Masters should be prominently associated with the proceedings of this meeting—Desaguliers, as the champion of order and regularity, and Sayer, alas, as an offender against the laws of that body over which he was called, in the first instance, to preside. The records state—"A paper, signed by the Master and Wardens of the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Knave's Acre, was presented and read, complaining of great irregularities having been committed by B^ro^ Anthony Sayer, notwithstanding the great ffavours he hath lately received by order of the Grand Lodge."[4]

the other Grand Officers of the Society" (*Ibid.*, No. 260, March 14, 1730). The former of these lodges I cannot identify, but the constitution of the latter (No. 74) was paid for April 21, 1730.

[1] It differed from the *earlier* so-called "exposures" in being much fuller, but there is every reason to believe that catechisms of a like character (and value) were in use very shortly after the establishment of the Grand Lodge. *Cf. ante*, pp. 357, 363; and Chap. XIII., p. 128.

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 601. [3] Not recorded. [4] *Ante*, p. 347.

December 15, 1730.—"Bro. Sayer attended to answer the complaint made against him, and after hearing both parties, and some of the Brethren being of opinion that what he had done was clandestine, others that it was irregular—the Question was put whether what was done was clandestine, or irregular only, and the Lodge was of opinion that it was irregular only—whereupon the Deputy Grand Master told Bro. Sayer that he was acquitted of the charge against him, *and recommended it to him to do nothing so irregular for the future*"!

At this meeting the powers of the Committee of Charity were much extended. All business referring to Charity was delegated to it for the future, and the Committee were empowered to hear complaints, and ordered to report their opinion to Grand Lodge.

The Earl of Sunderland and Lord Portmore declining to be put in nomination for the Grand Mastership, Lord Lovell was elected to that office on March 17, 1731, on which occasion the following important regulations were enacted:—

That no Lodge should order a dinner on the Grand Feast Day.

That none but the Grand Master, his Deputy, and the Grand Wardens, should wear the Jewels in gold or gilt pendant to blue ribbons about their necks, and white leather aprons lined with blue silk.

That all who had served any of the three grand offices[1] should wear the like apron lined with blue silk in all lodges and Assemblies of Masons.

That Stewards should wear aprons lined with red silk, and have their proper jewels pendant to red ribbons.

That all who had served the office of Steward, should be at liberty to wear aprons lined with red silk "and not otherwise."

That Masters and Wardens of Lodges might wear their aprons lined with white silk, and their respective jewels with plain white ribbons, "but of no other colour whatsoever."

At the Quarterly Communication in June, a petition was presented, signed by several brethren, praying that they might be admitted into the Grand Lodge, and constituted into a *regular* lodge at the Three Kings in Crispin Street, Spittlefields. "After some debate, several brethren present vouching that they were *regular* Masons, they were admitted, and the Grand Master declared, that he or his Deputy would constitute them accordingly, and signed their petition for that purpose."

Of the distinction then drawn between the "regular" masons, and those hailing from lodges still working by inherent right, and independently of the central authority, the official records afford a good illustration.

These inform us that the petition for relief of Brother William Kemble was dismissed "satisfaction not being given to the Grand Lodge, how long he had been made a *regular* Mason,"[2] whilst a similar application from Brother Edward Hall, a member of the Lodge at the Swan in Chichester, resulted in a vote of Six Guineas, the latter alleging that he had been made a Mason in the said Lodge "by the late Duke of Richmond, six-and-thirty years ago,"

[1] *I.e.*, G.M., D.G.M., and Wardens. The Treasurer and Secretary were not at this time regarded as Grand Officers. *Cf. post*, p. 392.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, June 24, 1731. Another applicant for relief at this meeting—Henry Pritchard—was described as "a *regular* Mason upwards of forty years." This, if it does nothing else, would seem to establish the fact that the existence of Lodges in 1691—*working on the same lines as the memorable Four*, who met at the Goose and Gridiron in 1717—was believed in by the Grand Lodge of 1731. *Cf. ante*, p. 364, note 5.

and being recommended by the then holder of that title, the Grand Master of 1724, who was present during the consideration of the petition.[1]

The Duke of Lorraine, who had received the two first degrees of Masonry at the Hague, by virtue of a Deputation granted to Dr Desaguliers and others in 1731, visited England the same year, and was made a Master Mason, together with the Duke of Newcastle, at an "Occasional" Lodge formed by the Grand Master, at Houghton Hall, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, for that purpose.[2]

Lord Lovell was succeeded by Viscount Montagu,[3] and the latter by the Earl of Strathmore, at the time of his election Master of No. 90, the "University Lodge, at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher's Row." He was installed by proxy, but presided over Grand Lodge on December 13, 1733, when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"That all such business which cannot conveniently be despatched by the Quarterly Communication, shall be referred to the Committee of Charity.

"That all Masters of Regular Lodges (contributors within twelve months to the General Charity), together with all present, former, and future Grand Officers, shall be members of that Committee.

"That all questions shall be carried by a majority of those present."

It has been necessary to give the preceding resolutions somewhat at length, because they have been singularly misunderstood by Findel and other commentators. Thus the German historian assures us—"This innovation, viz., the extension of the Committee for the administration of the Charity Fund into a meeting of *Master Masons*,[4] on whom power was conferred to make arrangements of the greatest importance, and to prepare new resolutions, not only virtually annulled the authority vested in the Grand Lodge, but likewise greatly endangered the equality of the Brethren in the different Lodges."[5]

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 2, 1732. *Cf. ante*, p. 261. My friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, lays great stress on this circumstance, as tending to "whitewash" Anderson, so far at least as respects the latter's statement with regard to the Duke of Richmond having been Grand Master in 1695. See, however, *ante*, pp. 256, 261; and Chap. XII., *passim*.

[2] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129. According to the minutes of No. 30,—constituted at Norwich 1724, erased Feb. 10, 1809, and the warrant assigned to the Lodge of Rectitude, Westbury, No 632 (now No. 335)—published in the *Freemason*, Dec. 17, 1870, "Ye Rt. Hon. ye Lord Lovell, when he was G.M. summoned ye M. and Bn. to hold a lodge at Houghton Hall—there were present the G.M., His Royal Highness the Duke of Lorrain, and many other noble Bn., and when all was put into due form, ye G.M. presented the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex, Major-General Churchill, and his own Chaplin, who were unanimously accepted of, and made Masons by Rt. W'pful Thos. Johnston, the then M. of this Lodge." Among the distinguished members of the Lodge were Martin Folkes and Dr Samuel Parr.

[3] According to Anderson (Constitutions, 1738, p. 194), Deputations were granted by Lord Montagu for constituting lodges at Valenciennes [in French Flanders], No. 127, and the Hotel de Bussy in Paris, No. 90, but the numerical position of the former, and the notice already given (*ante*, p. 353) of the latter, conflict with this assertion. Preston says, that in Lord Montagu's year, the Brethren met at Hampstead, and instituted the "Country Feast." This is slightly misleading. According to the records—"Viscount Montague, Grand Master, being Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, *desired such brethren as pleased, to dine with him there*, and accordingly" the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, Lords Strathmore, Carpenter, and Teynham, and above one hundred brethren "dined with the Grand Master at the house of B^ro. Captain Talbot, being the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, at which time the Grand Master resign'd his chair as Master of that Lodge to the Lord Teynham" (Grand Lodge Minutes, April 13, 1732).

[4] The italics are mine.

[5] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 154.

G. Laurie Hall.

SIR CHARLES LANYON

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER FOR COUNTY ANTRIM

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

The criticism is misplaced. No such evils resulted, as, indeed, would have been simply impossible, upon the state of facts which the records disclose. Indeed, the schismatic Grand Lodge of 1753—which is supposed to have owed its existence to the series of innovations begun December 13, 1733—as we shall presently see, delegated, in like manner, the management of its routine business to a very similar committee, styled the "Steward's Lodge," the record of whose proceedings happily survives, whilst of that of its prototype, alas, only a fragment has been preserved.[1]

Whilst, however, many important details must remain hidden, which might explain much that is obscure in this portion of our annals, it is satisfactory to know that all matters deemed to be of consequence—and many that were not—were brought up by the Committee of Charity at the next Quarterly Communication for final determination. It is when the Communications were held with irregularity that our loss is the greatest, and of this we meet with an early example, for during the administration of the Earl of Crawford, who succeeded Lord Strathmore,[2] an interval of eleven months occurred between the meetings of Grand Lodge.

The former of these noblemen was initiated in the Lodge of Edinburgh under somewhat singular circumstances, as the following minute of that body attests: "Att Maries Chapell, the 7th day of August 1733. Present: the Right Honourable James Earle of Strathmore, present Grand Master of all the Lodges in England, and also chosen Grand Master for this present meetting. The which day the Right Honourable John Earle of Crawfurd, John Earle of Kintore, and Alexander Lord Garlies, upon application to the Societie, were admitted entered apprentices, and also receaved fellow crafts as honorary members."[3]

The Earl of Crawford was installed in office March 30, 1734, and the next meeting of Grand Lodge took place on February 24, 1735,[4] when "Dr Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, presented a Memorial, setting forth, that whereas the first edition of the General Constitutions of Masonry, compiled by himself, was all sold off, and a Second edition very much wanted, and that he had spent some thoughts upon some alterations and additions that might fittly be made to them, which he was now ready to lay before the Grand Lodge for their approbation—Resolved—that a Committee be appointed consisting of the present and former Grand Officers, and such other Master Masons as they should think proper to call on, to revise and compare the same, and when finished to lay the same before the Grand Lodge ensuing for their approbation."

Dr Anderson "further represented that one William Smith, said to be a Mason, had, without his privity or consent, pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid, to the prejudice of the said Dr Anderson, it being his sole property."

[1] The Minutes of the Committee of Charity, now extant, commence June 2, 1761.

[2] The Earl of Strathmore was elected Grand Master of Scotland, December 1, 1740.

[3] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 161. On the same occasion two former Lord Provosts of Edinburgh were also initiated, and of the "group of Intrants" Lyon observes—"Two of them—Lords Crawfurd and Kintore—became Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of England; the latter also filled that post in the Grand Lodge of Scotland; another—Lord Garlies—presided in the same Grand Body; and the remaining two—ex-provosts Lindsay and M'Aulay—were afterwards Grand Wardens under the Scottish Constitution" (*Ibid.*).

[4] *Ante*, p. 11.

"It was therefore Resolved and Ordered—That every Master and Warden present should do all in their power to discountenance so unfair a practice, and prevent the said Smith's Books[1] being bought by any member of their respective Lodges."

At this meeting the minutes of the two last Committees of Charity were read and approved of. The cost of serving the grand-mastership was restricted in future to the sum of thirty guineas, and the following resolution was adopted:

"That if any Lodge for the future within the Bills of Mortality shall not regularly meet for the space of one year, such Lodge shall be erased out of the Book of Lodges, and in case they shall afterwards be desirous of meeting again as a Lodge, they shall loose their former Rank, and submitt themselves to a New Constitution."[2]

In the following month—March 31—the Grand Master "took notice (in a very handsome speech) of the Grievance of making extraneous Masons, in a private and clandestine manner, upon small and unworthy considerations, and proposed, that in order to prevent the Practice for the future: No person thus admitted into the Craft, nor any that can be proved to have assisted at such Makings, shall be capable either of acting as a Grand Officer on occasions, or even as an officer in a private Lodge, nor ought they to have any part in the General Charity, which is much impaired by this clandestine Practice."

"His Worship, secondly, proposed, that since the General Charity may possibly be an inducement to certain persons to become Masons merely to be admitted to the Benefit thereof: That it be a Resolution of the Grand Lodge that the Brethren subscribing any Petitions of Charity should be able to certify that they have known the Petitioner in reputable or at least in tollerable circumstances."

These proposals of the Grand Master, together with some others referring to the fund of Charity, "were received with great unanimity and agreed to."[3]

"Then a Motion was made that Dr James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions[4]) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time," also of the Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and of "the Brethren who have served the Craft in the Quality of Stewards, which was thought necessary—Because it is Resolved, that for the future, all Grand Officers (except the Grand Master) shall be selected out of that Body."

The business of this important meeting having been brought to a satisfactory close, "his Lordship was pleased to order"—so the minutes inform us—"a large quantity of Rack, that was made a present of, from Bengall, to be made into Punch, and to be distributed among the Brethren."

[1] The work referred to was entitled "A Pocket Companion For Freemasons," MDCCXXXIV.

[2] The "force of this resolution" was afterwards made to operate from June 24, 1735, and to apply to "*all Lodges in England*, that neither meet, nor send in their charity, or attend Quarterly Communication, within the space of one year."

[3] A summary of the above resolutions forms the 5th Item of New Regulation VIII., as given in the Constitutions of 1738 (p. 156).

[4] The publication of this book—according to Findel—was most likely delayed in consequence of the grievous events which, like a storm, were gathering round the Fraternity, threatening to disturb its peace, and which were sought to be averted by the passing of the resolution (New Regulation VIII.) against the illegal conventions of Masons, "who have lately met secretly," etc. (History of Freemasonry, p. 155). See, however, the last note, and *ante*, p. 385.

Lord Weymouth,[1] who became the next head of the Society, was installed April 17, 1735, but left all business to be transacted by his Deputy John (afterwards Lord) Ward, in which capacity the latter presided at a Quarterly Communication, held June 24, and as the minutes inform us, "very justly took notice of the great want of order that had sometimes happened in the debates of these Assemblies, and earnestly recommended to those present, the preserving proper Decency[2] and Temper in the management of the Debates; and advised *that only one person should speak at a time*, desiring only that the Practice of the Grand Lodge in this case might be a fitt Pattern to be followed by every Private Lodge." On the same occasion, a memorial was read from the Stewards, praying:—

"1. That they might meet monthly or otherwise, as a Lodge of Master Masons (under the Denomination of the Steward's Lodge) and be enrolled among the number of the Lodges as usual, with the times of their meeting.

"2. That they might be so far distinguished (since all the Grand Officers are for the future appointed to be chosen out of their number[3]) as to send a deputation of 12 from the whole body of Stewards to each Quarterly Communication. All the 12 to have voices, and to pay half a crown apiece towards the expense of that occasion.

"3. That no one who had not served the Society as a Steward might be permitted to wear the Coloured Ribbonds or Aprons. But that such as had been Stewards might wear a particular Jewel suspended in the proper Ribbond wherein they appear as Masons."

On a division being taken, the privileges sought to be obtained, were granted, "45 of the Assembly being in the Affirmative, and 42 in the negative."

"It was also declared—That the 12 Stewards for any coming year might attend in their proper colours, and on paying as usual for 4 Lodges, but are not to be allowed to vote, nor to be heard in any debate, unless relating to the ensuing Feast."

The twelve Stewards appeared for the 1st time in their new badges at a Grand Lodge, held December 11, 1735. Sir Robert Lawley, Master of the newly constituted Steward's Lodge, "reported that Br. Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, had been pleased to entertain it on the first visiting Night with an excellent Discourse containing some Maxims and Advice that concerned the Society in General, which at the time seemed to their own Lodge, and an hundred visiting Brethren," worthy of being read before the Grand Lodge itself—which was accordingly done, it being "received with great attention and applause," and the lecturer "desired to print the same."[4]

After these amenities, the proceedings were diversified by the presentation of "a petition and appeal, signed by several Masters of Lodges against the privileges granted to the Steward's Lodge at the last Quarterly Communication. The Appellants were heard at large, and the

[1] The author of "Multa Paucis" omits Viscount Weymouth from the list of Grand Masters, and says—"Grand Master Crawford honoured the Fraternity with continuing in Solomon's Chair for the space of two years" (p. 98).

[2] On April 6, 1736, a New Regulation (XL.) containing ten articles—for explaining what concern'd the *Decency* of Assemblies and Communications—was proposed by D.G.M. Ward, and agreed to by the Grand Lodge.

[3] Agreed to at the previous Communication in March. The privilege of nominating their successors, had been conceded to the Stewards, March 2, 1732.

[4] Martin Clare—a Fellow of the Royal Society—was appointed D.G.M. in 1741. His Oration was translated into several foreign languages, and a reprint of it will be found in the Pocket Companion for 1754 (pp. 282-291), and other works.

question being put, whether the determination of the last Quarterly Communication, relating to that matter, should be confirmed or not. In the course of the collecting the votes on this occasion, there appeared so much confusion, that it was not possible for the Grand Officers to determine with any certainty what the numbers on either side of the question were. They were therefore obliged to dismiss the Debate and close the Lodge."

Martin Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, acted on this occasion as Deputy Grand Master, and George Payne (by desire) as Grand Master, with Jacob Lamball and Dr Anderson as his Wardens "*pro tempore*."

To the presence, perhaps, in the official chairs, of the three veterans, whose services as Grand Officers began before those of the Grand Stewards had any existence, may be due the fact, that for once at least, the pretensions of the latter met with a signal check. At the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, however, held April 6, 1736, Ward was present, and in the chair, with Desaguliers sitting as his Deputy, and against the influence of these two supporters of the Steward's Lodge, combined with that of several noblemen who also attended on the occasion, Payne, Lamball, and Anderson, though reinforced by the presence of a fourth veteran —Josiah Villeneau, Grand Warden in 1721—must have felt—if, indeed, my belief in their wishing to give the weaker side in the contention the benefit of fair play rests upon any other foundation than conjecture—that it would be useless to struggle.

The appeal does not seem to have been proceeded with, though the principle it involved was virtually decided (without debate[1]) by the members of Grand Lodge being declared to be—1. The four present and all former grand officers; 2. The Master and Wardens of all constituted (*i.e.*, regular) lodges; and 3. The Master and Wardens, and *nine* representatives of the Steward's Lodge.[2]

It was not until June 24, 1741, that "the Treasurer, Secretary, and Sword-bearer of the Society were declared *members* of every Quarterly Communication or Grand Lodge;" and it was only decided, after a long debate, on June 14, 1753, that "the Treasurer was a 'Grand Officer,' by virtue of his office, and as such, to be elected from amongst the brethren who had served the Stewardship."

Frederick, Prince of Wales, became a member of the Society in 1737, and the "New Book of Constitutions" was published in 1738, the same year in which the first Papal Bull was issued against the Freemasons. With the exception of these events, and the issue of deputations for the purpose of founding lodges in foreign parts—of which more hereafter—there is nothing of moment to chronicle from April 15, 1736, when the sequence of Grand Masters was continued by the installation of the Earl of Loudoun, down to May 3, 1739, when Henry, Marquess of Carnarvon, who followed the Earl of Darnley in the chair, in turn gave place to Lord Raymond.

Not to break the thread of my narrative, the few observations that I have to make on the

[1] *I.e.*, in Grand Lodge, though the subject was doubtless discussed at the Committee of Charity, which resisted the encroachments of the Stewards until a much later date. See the next note.

[2] Feb. 7, 1770.—"As the right of the members of the Steward's Lodge in general to attend the Committee of Charity appeared doubtful, the Grand Lodge was of opinion they had not a general right to attend. But in order to make a proper distinction *between that and the other Lodges*, a motion was made [and adopted], that as the Master alone of each private Lodge had a right to attend, so the Master and three other members should attend on behalf of the Steward's Lodge, at every succeeding Committee" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

Constitutions and the Bull of 1738 will be postponed until the general history of the Society has been brought down to the year 1754, at which date *another* Marquess of Carnarvon appears on the scene, also as Grand Master, with whose acts, notably in regard to the so-called "Ancient" Masons, those of his predecessor in office (and title) appear—perhaps not unnaturally—to have been confounded.

During the administration of *James*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1754-56, we find many subjects engaging the attention of Grand Lodge, with which we are, to a certain extent, familiar, from the earlier records dealing with the history of English Masonry at the time of *Henry*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1738-39. Irregularities, calling for prompt action on the part of the authorities, occurred in either case, and to complete the parallel, new editions of the "Constitutions" were published in 1738, and also in 1756. But the "irregularities"—to use the generic term by which all breaches of Masonic law or discipline were commonly described—were of an entirely different character in the respective eras of the two Lords Carnarvon; and it is quite as improper to associate the grand-mastership of the earlier of these noblemen with the commencement of the great Schism, as it would be to mark the date of some event still looming in the future, by connecting it with the year (1874) when the name of a *third* Lord Carnarvon was added—amid general rejoicing—to the roll of our English Grand Masters.

On June 12, 1739, the members of Grand Lodge were "moved to take into their future cons^{n}. the complaint concerning the irregular making of Masons," brought before them in the previous June. "Whereupon the Grand Master [Lord Raymond] took notice, that although some Brothers might have been guilty of an offence tending so much to destroy the Cement of the Lodge, and so utterly inconsistent with the Rules of the Society, yet he could not bring himself to believe that it had been done otherwise than through Inadvertency, and therefore proposed that if any such Brothers there were, they might be forgiven for this time, which was Ordered accordingly;" also "that the Laws be strictly put in Execution against all such Brothers as shall for the future countenance, connive, or assist at any such irregular makings."

A summary of these proceedings is given in the Constitutions of 1756, 1767, and 1784; but in the edition last named, we meet with a note of fifty lines, extending over three pages,[1] and which, from its appearance in a work sanctioned and recommended by the Masonic authorities, has led to a wide diffusion of error with regard to the historical points it was placed there to elucidate. It does not even possess the merit of originality, for the compiler or editor, John Noorthouck, took it without acknowledgment from Preston, by whom the statements it contains, were first given to the world in a manner peculiarly his own, and from which those familiar with the general proportion borne by the latter's assertions to the actual truth, will believe that the note in question rests on a very insecure foundation of authority. Besides the affairs of the Society in 1739, it also professes to explain the causes which led to the great Schism, and for this reason will be considered later [2] and as introductory to the two following chapters, wherein the formation of a *second* Grand Lodge of England and its alleged connection with York are severally treated.

Lord Raymond was succeeded in April 1740 by the Earl of Kintore, who had only retired from the presidency of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in the previous November. The latter's initiation has been already adverted to,[3] and it only remains to be stated that he was Master

[1] 239-241. [2] *Post*, p. 397. [3] *Ante*, p. 389.

of the Lodge of Aberdeen from 1735 to 1738 inclusive; also that as Grand Master of the Scottish, as well as of the English Craft, he was succeeded by the Earl of Morton.

On July 23, 1740, "Bro. Berrington informed the [Grand] Lodge that several Irregularities in the making of Masons having been lately committed, and other Indecencies offered in the Craft by several Brethren, he cautioned the Masters and Wardens against admitting such persons into their Lodges. And thereupon, several Brethren insisting that such Persons should be named, the same was, after a long Debate, and several Questions put—Ordered accordingly. When Bro Berrington informed the Lodge that Bro George Monkman had a list of several such persons. He on being required to do so, named Esquire Cary, Mansell Bransby, and James Bernard, late Stewards,[1] who assisted at an irregular Making." The minutes of this meeting terminate somewhat abruptly with the words—"When it being very late, the Lodge was closed." No further proceedings in the matter are recorded, nor, indeed, are *any irregularities of the kind* again mentioned in the official records until 1749, when Lord Byron had entered upon the third year of his grand mastership. This, conjointly with the circumstance that Berrington and Monkman, as well as the others, were former Grand Stewards,[2] whose position in those days corresponded very closely with that of Grand Officers in our own, demands very careful attention.

It is evident that the authority of Grand Lodge was in no wise seriously menaced between 1740 and 1749, as the stream of historians would have us believe; indeed, on the contrary, the absolute silence of the records, with regard to infractions of Old and New Regulation VIII.[3] during the period in question, sufficiently proves that, for a time at least in the regular lodges, they had entirely ceased. This supposition is strengthened, however, by the evidence last presented, from which it would appear that irregularities were committed by the thoughtless, as well as by those who were wilfully disobedient to the laws; and that in both cases the governing body was quite able to vindicate its authority.

On June 24, 1741, it was ordered by Grand Lodge that the proceedings of lodges, and the names of brethren present at meetings, should not in future be printed without the permission of the Grand Master or his deputy. Also "that no new Lodge should for the future be constituted within the Bills of Mortality, without the consent of the Brethren assembled in Quarterly Communication first obtained for that purpose." The latter regulation being found detrimental to the Craft, was repealed March 23, 1742, and in lieu thereof it was resolved "that every brother do conform to the law made February 19, 172$\frac{3}{4}$, 'that no brother belong to more than *one* Lodge within the Bills of Mortality.'"[4]

Lord Ward, who succeeded the Earl of Morton in April 1742, was well acquainted with the nature and government of the Society, having served every office from the Secretary in a

[1] They served the office of Steward at the Grand Feast, April 22, 1740, were thanked in the usual form by the Grand Master, and were directed to choose their successors.

[2] Findel justly observes (here following Kloss), "that the establishment of the Steward's Lodge, and the privileges accorded to them, although innovations totally opposed to the Masonic Spirit of Equality, were not by any means a sufficient reason for disunion in the Fraternity" (*op. cit.*, p. 173). Indeed, as will be seen from the text, the Stewards took part in the very irregularities, which have been attributed to the favouritism—shown to themselves!

[3] Constitutions, 1738, pp. 156, 157. The former will be found in the Appendix. The latter consists of laws passed April 25, 1723; Feb. 19 and Nov. 21, 1724; Feb. 24 and March 31, 1735; which are referred to in this chapter under their respective years.

[4] *Ante*, p. 376.

private lodge to that of Grand Master. The administration of the Earl of Strathmore, who next presided over the Society, is associated with no event of importance; and of that of his successor, Lord Cranstoun, it is only necessary to record that on April 3, 1747, a resolution was passed, discontinuing for the future the usual procession on the feast day.

"The occasion of this prudent regulation was, that some unfaithful brethren, disappointed in their expectations of the high offices and honours of the Society, had joined a number of the buffoons of the day, in a scheme to exhibit a mockery of the public procession to the grand feast."[1]

Lord Byron was elected Grand Master on April 30, 1747, and presided over the fraternity until March 20, 1752, but was only present in Grand Lodge on those dates, and on March 16, 1752, when he proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor. During the presidency of this nobleman, which lasted for five years, the affairs of the Society were much neglected, and to this period of misrule—aggravated by the summary erasure of lodges to which I shall shortly have occasion to refer—we must look, I think, for the cause of that organised rebellion against authority, resulting in the great Schism. As will be seen below,[2] only one Grand Lodge (besides the Grand Feast of April 30) was held in 1747; in 1748 there were two; in 1749 and 1750, one each; and in 1751, two. Between, moreover, these several Communications, there were, in two instances, great intervals of time—that of June 1750, being held *thirteen*, and that of September 1751, *fifteen*, months after its immediate predecessor.

The same Grand Officers, and Grand Stewards, continued in office from 1747 until 1752, which is the more remarkable because the honours of the Craft were much coveted. The Stewards were an influential body, and from 1728 to 1747, with but two exceptions—1742-43 and 1745-46, when Lords Ward and Cranstoun respectively had second terms—twelve Stewards were annually appointed.

In "Multa Paucis" a statement occurs, which, though the work is not one of much authority, I think must have had some foundation in fact, the more especially, as the event it professes to record, is only said to have happened about eleven or twelve years previously, and therefore stands on quite another footing, historically speaking, from the earlier part of the same publication.[3]

The following is the passage referred to:

"Grand Master Byron was very inactive. Several years passed by without his coming to a Grand Assembly, nay, even neglected to nominate his successor.

"The Fraternity, finding themselves intirely neglected, it was the Opinion of many old Masons to have a consultation about electing a new and more active Grand Master, and assembled for that Purpose, according to an Advertisement, which accidentally was perceived by our worthy Brother, *Thomas Manningham*, M.D., who, for the Good of Masonry, took the trouble upon him to attend at this Assembly, and gave the Fraternity the most prudent

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 253.

[2] Dec. 16, 1747; March 7 and Dec. 22, 1748; May 26, 1749; June 25, 1750; Sept. 4 and Oct. 24, 1751.

[3] "Every historical work needs to be analysed, and to have its several portions separately estimated. Whatever is remote or particular will claim our credence according to the opinion we may form of the historian's veracity, accuracy, judgment, and means of information; but the truth of narratives relating to events *that were matters of notoriety in the writer's time*, rests altogether upon a different ground; being necessarily involved in the fact that the work was published and accepted as authentic at such or such a date" (Taylor, The Process of Historical Proof, 1828, p. 57).

Advice for their future Observance, and lasting Advantage. They all submitted to our worthy Brother's superior Judgement, the Breach was healed."[1]

The minutes of the Grand Lodge are provokingly silent throughout the period under examination, and the only entry to which I need allude occurs under May 26, 1749, when a "Bro. Mercado" having acknowledged his fault, and explained that a person made a mason irregularly, "had agreed to be regularly made the next Lodge night at the George in Ironmonger Lane, was, at the intercession of the Master and Wardens of the said Lodge, forgiven."

Lord Byron, who, we learn, "had been abroad for several years," proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor, on March 16, and the latter was duly placed in the chair on March 20, 1752, when "all expressed the greatest Joy at the happy Occasion of their Meeting, after a longer recess than had been usual." Dr Manningham, who had been one of the Grand Stewards under Lord Byron, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, although, unlike all his predecessors in that office from 1735,[2] he had not previously served as a Grand Warden, a qualification deemed so indispensable in later years, as to be affirmed by a resolution of the Committee of Charity.[3] This points to his having rendered signal services to the Society, which would so far harmonise with the passage in "Multa Paucis," and be altogether in keeping with the character of the man.[4]

On June 18, 1752, complaint was made in Grand Lodge, "of the frequency of irregular makings—when the D.G.M. recommended the brethren to send to him or the Grand Secretary the names of such as shall be so irregularly made, and of those who make them."

At this date, however, the schism or secession had assumed form and cohesion, and although the recusant masons had not yet formed a "Grand Lodge," they were governed by a "Grand Committee,"[5] which was the same thing except in name.

On November 23, 1753, it was enacted, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason without due inquiry into his character, neither shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise the same Brother at one and the same Meeting, without a dispensation from the Grand Master, which on very particular occasions may be requested."

Also, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason for a less sum than one Guinea, and that Guinea to be appropriated either to the private Fund of the Lodge, or to the Publick Charity, without deducting from such Deposit any Money towards the Defraying the Expense of the Tyler," etc.

The latter resolution was not to extend, however, to waiters or other menial servants.

Lord Carysfort was succeeded by *James*, Marquess of Carnarvon—son of the Duke of Chandos, a former Grand Master[6]—who, on investment—March 25, 1754—continued Dr

[1] The Complete Free Mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets [1763-64], p. 105. *Cf. ante*, pp. 87, 280, 391.

[2] The "Deputies" appointed after the regulation of March 31, 1735 (*q. v.*), John, afterwards Lord, Ward; W. Græme; Martin Clare; Sir R. Lawley; W. Vaughan; E. Hody; and Fotherly Baker, had all served both as Stewards and Grand Wardens.

[3] April 8, 1767. From 1735 down to 1812, every D.G.M. except Manningham and John Revis (1757-61) was a past Steward and Grand Warden. The latter, however, served the Stewardship in 1729, and was Grand Secretary 1734-56.

[4] *Cf.* Constitutions, 1756, p. 258.

[5] The "Transactions" of this body commence February 5, 1752. *Cf.* Chap. XVIII.

[6] *Ante*, p. 393.

Manningham as his Deputy. In this year a committee was appointed to revise the "Book of Constitutions;" twenty-one country lodges were erased for nonconformity with the laws; and some irregularities were committed by a lodge meeting at the Ben Jonson's Head in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, through which we first learn, in the records under examination, of the existence of so-called *Ancient Masons*, who claimed to be independent of the Grand Lodge of 1717, and, as such, neither subject to its laws or to the authority of its Grand Master.

According to Laurence Dermott, the members of this Lodge, No. 94, "were censured, not for assembling under the denomination of 'Ancient Masons,' but for practising Ancient Masonry;"[1] which is incorrect, as they were guilty of *both* these offences. The former they admitted, and the latter was substantiated by the evidence of "Bro^rs^ Jackson and Pollard, who had been refused admittance at those Meetings until they submitted to be made *in their novel and particular Manner.*"[2] For these practices the lodge was very properly erased, and it is curious that the only hands held up in its favour were those of the representatives of the lodge then meeting at the Fish and Bell—Original No. 3.

The Marquis of Carnarvon was succeeded by Lord Aberdour, afterwards 16th Earl of Morton, a former Grand Master of Scotland (1755), May 18, 1757, of whose administration it will be sufficient to record, that on January 24, 1760, a resolution was passed to the effect that the sum of fifty pounds be sent to Germany, to be distributed among the soldiers who were Masons in Prince Ferdinand's army, whether English, Hanoverians, or Hessians.

I have now brought down the annals of the Grand Lodge of England to a period at which it will be convenient to pause, whilst we proceed to examine the records of two contemporary bodies—the "Grand Lodge of *All* England," and the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions." Accounts of these Societies will therefore be given in Chapters XVIII. and XIX. respectively, and the order of time will be so far transgressed as to preserve the narrations entire. But it is first of all essential to revert to the *alleged* origin of the Great Schism, and there are also a few features of the Freemasonry of England between 1723 and 1760 upon which a word or two have yet to be said.

The note in the Constitutions of 1784, to which I have referred at p. 393, was copied from the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1783; but the subject-matter appeared in the earlier Calendar of 1776, whilst that publication was brought out by the Stationers' Company,[3] and before it had passed into the hands of Grand Lodge. The disputes of the year 1739 were included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry," compiled by William Preston,[4] who, I apprehend, must have published a pamphlet, reflecting on the Schismatics, in 1775.[5] A still earlier notice of his *quondam* co-sectaries, occurs in the second edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," which also appeared in that year. It is given as a *note* to the narrative of Lord Raymond's administration under the year 1739,[6] and runs—

"Several persons, disgusted at some of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge *at this time*, renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master, and in opposition to the original laws of the Society, and their solemn ties, held meetings, made masons, and falsely assuming the appellation of a Lodge, even presumed to constitute lodges. The regular masons, finding it necessary to check their progress, *adopted some new measures.* Piqued by this proceeding, they endea-

[1] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.
[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 8, 1754; March 20 and July 24, 1755.
[3] The editions of 1775 and 1776 were published by the Stationers' Company.
[4] *Post*, p. 423.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 424.
[6] P. 258.

voured to propagate an opinion, that the ancient practices of the Society were retained by them, and totally abolished by the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the appellation of *Modern Masons*. By this artifice they continued to impose on the public, and introduced several gentlemen into their assemblies; but of late years, the fallacy being detected, they have not been so successful."

In the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1776, however, the disturbances, which we are told above had their origin in 1739, are traced back to the time of Lord Loudon, whose appointment of grand officers in 1736, Preston now informs us, gave offence to a few individuals, who withdrew from the Society during the presidency of the Earl of Darnley, but in that of Lord Raymond "assembled in the character of Masons, and without any power or authority from the Grand Master, initiated several persons into the order for small and unworthy considerations."[1]

Ultimately the story assumed the stereotyped form in which we now possess it. Successive editions of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in 1781, 1788, 1792, and later, inform us that in the time of Lord Carnarvon (1738) some discontented brethren, taking advantage of the breach between the Grand Lodges of London and York,[2] assumed, without authority, the character of York Masons; that the measures adopted to check them seemed to authorise an omission of, and a variation in, the ancient ceremonies; that the seceders immediately announced independency, and assumed the appellation of *ancient* masons, also they propagated an opinion that the ancient tenets and practices of Masonry were preserved by them; and that the regular lodges, being composed of *modern* masons, had adopted *new* plans, and were not to be considered as acting under the *old* establishment.[3]

Here, as I have already ventured to express, we meet with an anachronism, for the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of 1738 are certainly confused with those of a much later date. But the chief interest of the story, lies in the statement that changes were made in the established forms, "which even the urgency of the case could not warrant."[4] Although, indeed, the passages last quoted were *continued* in the editions of his work published after 1789, we must not lose sight of the fact that they were written (1781) by Preston—a very doubtful authority at any time—during the suspension of his Masonic privileges, and when he must have been quite unable to criticise dispassionately the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, against whose authority he had been so lately in rebellion.[5]

It appears to me that the summary erasure of lodges for non-attendance at the Quarterly Communications, and for not "paying in their charity," was one of the leading causes of the Secession, which, as before expressed, I think must have taken place during the presidency of Lord Byron (1747-52). In the ten years, speaking roundly, commencing June 24, 1742, and ending November 30, 1752, no less than forty-five lodges, or about a third of the total of those meeting in the metropolis, were struck out of the list. Three, indeed, were restored to their former places, but only after intervals of two, four, and six years respectively. The case of the "Horn" Lodge has been already referred to;[6] but with regard to those of its fellow-

[1] Pp. 19, 20; also reproduced in substance in the edition for 1783.

[2] *Cf. post*, p. 412.

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 285, *et seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 287. Compare with the words italicised in the extract from the edition of 1775 (*ante*, p. 397).

[5] *Post*, p. 425, *et seq.*

[6] *Ante*, p. 348.

sufferers, mentioned in the note below,[1] it may be stated that No. 9 was restored, "it appearing that their Non-Attendance was occasioned by Mistake;" and also No. 54, "it appearing that their not meeting regularly had been occasioned by unavoidable Accidents."

On the principle that history repeats itself, the minutes of "Sarum" Lodge, later in the century, may hold up a mirror, in which is reflected the course of action adopted by the erased lodges of 1742-52. This lodge, which became No. 37 at the change of numbers in 1780, was erased February 6, 1777, for non-compliance with the order of Grand Lodge, requiring an account of registering fees and subscriptions since October 1768.

"Our refusal," says their letter in reply,[2] "has arisen from a strict obedience to the laws, principles, and constitutions, which expressly say, 'that though the Grand Lodge have an inherent power and authority to make new regulations, the real benefit of the ancient Fraternity shall in all cases be consulted, and the old landmarks carefully preserved.' By the late attempt of the Grand Lodge to impose a tax on the brethren at large, under penalty of erasing them from that list wherein they have a right to stand enrolled, as long as they shall preserve the principles of that constitution, the bounds prescribed by these landmarks seem to have been exceeded; the Grand Lodge has taken upon itself the exercise of a power hitherto unknown; the ancient rules of the fraternity (which gave freedom to every Mason) have been broke in upon; and that decency of submission, which is produced by an equitable government, has been changed to an extensive, and, we apprehend, a justifiable resistance to the endeavours of the Grand Lodge."

The Lodge was restored May 1, 1777, but on a further requisition from the Grand Lodge of two shillings per annum from each brother towards the Liquidation Fund, the members met, November 19, 1800, and unanimously agreed *not* to contribute to this requisition. After which, a proposal for forming a Grand Lodge in Salisbury, independent of the Grand Lodge of England, was moved and carried.[3]

The arbitrary proceedings of 1742-52 were doubtless as much resented in London, as those of 1777-99 were in the Country, and in passing from the subject, I shall briefly remark that though the last Lodge warranted in 1755, bore the number 271, only 200 Lodges were carried forward at the closing-up and alteration of numbers in 1756.[4]

According to the Engraved Lists,[5] Lodges were constituted by the Grand Lodge of England at Madrid in 1728, in Bengal 1730, at Paris 1732, Hamburgh and Boston (U.S.A.) 1733, the Hague, Lisbon, and in Georgia, 1735; in the West Indies 1738, Switzerland 1739, Denmark 1745, Minorca 1750, Madras 1752, Virginia 1753, and in Bombay 1758. Deputations were also granted to a number of persons in foreign countries, but of these no exact record has been preserved

[1] No. 9, The King's Arms, New Bond Street, *erased* March 25, 1745; *restored* March 7, 1747. No. 54, The George, in St Mary Axe, *erased* Nov. 21, 1745; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751. No. 2, The Horn, in Westminster, *erased* April 3, 1747; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751.

[2] Dated March 19, 1777. [3] F. H. Goldney, History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire, 1880, pp. 109-119.

[4] Forty-five *London* Lodges were erased in 1742-52; one—at the Ben Jonson's Head—in 1755; and during the same period 4 surrendered their warrants; total 50. Twenty-one *Country* Lodges were struck out in 1754, which gives us 50+21 = 71. Three of the former class, as we have seen, were restored, and this represents the number of Lodges omitted in the list of 1756, concerning which no details are afforded by the records.

[5] The series commences in 1723, and apparently terminates in 1778. The "Signs of the Houses" are not shown after 1769.

Among the early Grand Masters who were Fellows of the Royal Society, may be named Dr Desaguliers, the Duke of Montagu, the Earls of Dalkeith, Strathmore, Crawford, and Morton, Lords Paisley and Colerane—and Francis Drake, who presided over the Grand Lodge at York. The Duke of Lorraine, and the Chevalier Ramsay, were likewise both "Brethren" and "Fellows."

The following Deputies were also F.R.S.: Martin Folkes, D.G.M., 1724; W. Græme, 1739; Martin Clare, 1741; and E. Hody, 1745-46; so were Sir J. Thornhill, S.G.W., 1728, and Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward, 1734; whilst it may interest some readers to learn that William Hogarth, son-in-law of the former, served the stewardship in 1735. Of the other Grand Stewards down to the year 1760 it will be sufficient to name John Faber, 1740; Mark Adston, 1753; Samuel Spencer, 1754; the Rev. J. Entick, 1755; and Jonathan Scott, 1758-59.

Editions of the "Book of Constitutions" appeared in 1723, 1738, 1746,[1] and 1756. The last named was compiled by the Rev. John Entick, and published by Jonathan Scott, and in it some alterations in, and additions to, the "Ancient Charges," which had disfigured the second edition, were omitted. The spirit of toleration which breathes in the Masons' creed has been attributed by Findel[2] and others to the influence of certain infidel writers. But of these, Woolston was probably mad, and, as remarked by a contemporary, "the devil lent him a good deal of his wickedness and none of his wit." Chubb was almost wholly uneducated; and although Collins, Tindal, and Toland discussed grave questions with grave arguments, they were much inferior in learning and ability to several of their opponents, and they struggled against the pressure of general obloquy. The deist was liable to great social contempt, and in the writings of Addison, Steele, Pope, and Swift he was habitually treated as external to all the courtesies of life. A simpler reason for the language of the Charge, "Concerning God and Religion," will be found in the fact that Anderson was a Presbyterian, and Desaguliers an Episcopalian; whilst others, no doubt, of the Grand Officers of that era were members of the older faith. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they united on a platform which would divide them the least; and in so doing, the churchmen among them may have consoled themselves with the reflection, that Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, had many years before (1672), endeavoured to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology. At the same time, it must be freely conceded, that the principles of inductive philosophy which Bacon taught, and which the Royal Society had strengthened, had acquired a complete ascendancy over the ablest minds. Perhaps therefore the object of these prescient brethren, to whom is due the absence of sectarianism in our Charges, may be summed up in the words of Bishop Spratt (1667), the first and best historian of the Royal Society, who thus describes the purposes of its founders:

"As for what belongs to the members themselves, that are to constitute the Society, it is to be noted that they have freely admitted men of different religions, countries, and professions of life. This they were obliged to do, or else they would come far short of the largeness of their own declarations. For they openly profess not to lay the foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant philosophy—but *a philosophy of mankind.*"

[1] The 1738 edition, with a new title-page.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 125. See, however, Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., pp. 522, 524; and Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., pp. 363, 425, 443.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FREEMASONRY IN YORK.

I HAVE already cited the "Parchment Roll"[1] as evidence of the character of the old Lodge at York from March 19, 1712, down to December 27, 1725, during which period the records testify that the meetings were simply entitled those of a Lodge, Society, Fraternity, or Company of "Antient and Honourable Assemblies of Free and Accepted Masons."

Other evidences of the existence of the Lodge at York have been given, dating back to the seventeenth century, notably the York MS. of A.D. 1693, which contains "the names of the Lodg;" six in all, including the warden.[2] A still earlier relic is a mahogany flat rule or gauge, with the following names and year incised:—

William ✡ Baron of Yorke 1663

Iohn Drake Iohn ✡ Baron.

Mr Todd[3] is inclined to think that the John Drake mentioned was collated to the Prebendal Stall of Donnington in the cathedral church of York in October 1663, and if so, Francis Drake, the historian, was a descendant, which, to say the least, is very probable.

Considerable activity was manifested by the York brotherhood from 1723—the year when the premier Grand Lodge of England published its first "Book of Constitutions"—and particularly during 1725.

The following will complete the roll of meetings (1712-1730), of which the first portion has been already furnished.

"[4] This day Dec. 27, 1725, Being the Festival of St John the Evangelist, the Society went in Procession to Merchant's Hall, where, after the Grand Feast was over, they unanimously chose the Worsp[l]. Charles Bathurst, Esqre., their Grand Master, Mr Johnson his Deputy, Mr Pawson and Mr Drake, Wardens, Mr Scourfield, Treasurer, and John Russell, Clerk for the ensuing year."

[1] Pp. 271-274.

[2] Chap. II., p. 68; and see *facsimile* in Hughan's "Old Charges."

[3] Freemason, Nov. 15, 1884.

[4] Continued from page 274, and now for the first time published *in extenso*.

"Dec. 31, 1725.—At a private Lodge held at Mr Luke Lowther's, at the Starr in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons." [Name omitted.]

"Jan. 5, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge held at Mr John Colling's at y^e^ White Swan in Petergate, the underwritten persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Thomas Preston.
Martin Crofts."

"Feb. 4, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, Sr William Milner, Bar^t^., was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. W^m^. Milner."

"Mar. 2, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the White Swan in Petergate, the undernamed Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. John Lewis."

"Apr. 2, 1726.—At a private Lodge at y^e^ Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Robert Kaye.
W. Wombell.
W^m^. Kitchinman.
Cyril Arthington."

"Apr. 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the following Gentleman was sworn and admitted into y^e^ Antient Society of Free Masons. J. Kaye."

"May 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at M^r^ James Boreham's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Charles Guarles.
Rich^d^. Atkinson.
Sam^l^. Ascough."

"May 16, 1726.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's at y^e^ Star in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Gregory Rhodes."

"June 24, 1726.—At a [1]General Lodge held at M^r^ Boreham's in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jo^n^. Cossley.
W^m^. Johnstone.

At the same time the following persons were sworn and admitted into the Hon^ble^. Society, vizt.,

William Marshall.
Matt ⋀ Cellar.
His mark.
Benjamin Campsall.
William Muschamp.
W^m^. Robinson.
Matthew Groul.
John Bradley.
John Hawman."

[1] Haghan is of opinion that there was another minute book for records of the regular monthly meetings.

"July 6, 1726.—Whereas it has been certify'd to me that M^r^ William Scourfield has presumed to call a Lodge and make masons without the consent of the Grand Master or Deputy, and in opposition to the 8th article of the Constitutions,[1] I do, with the consent of the Grand Master and the approbation of the whole Lodge, declare him to be disqualify'd from being a member of this Society, and he is for ever banished from the same.

"Such members as were assisting in constituting and forming M^r^ Scourfield's Schismatical Lodge on the 24th of the last month, whose names are John Carpenter, William Musgrave, Thomas Allanson, and Tho^s^. Preston, are by the same authority liable to the same sentence, yet upon their acknowledging their Error in being deluded, and making such submission as shall be judg'd Requisite by the Grand Master and Lodge at the next monthly Meeting, shall be receiv'd into the favour of the Brotherhood, otherwise to be banish'd, and Mr Scourfield and their names to be eras'd out of the Roll and Articles.

"If any other Brother or Brothers shall hereafter separate from us, or be aiding and assisting in forming any Lodge under the said Mr Scourfield or any other Person without due Licence for the same, He or they so offending shall be disown'd as members of this Lodge, and for ever Excluded from the same."[2]

"July 6, 1726.—At a private Lodge held at M^r^ Geo. Gibson's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free Masons, vizt.,

Henry Tireman.
Will. Thompson."

"Augt. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at M^r^ Lowther's at the Star in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons, vizt.,

Bellingham Graham.
Nic^o^. Roberts."

"Dec. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the Right Hon^ble^. Arthur L^d^. Viscount Irvin was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

A. Irwin."

"Dec. 15, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jno. Motley.
W^m^. Davile.
Tho^s^. Snowsell."

"Dec. 22, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Richard Woodhouse.
Robart Tilburn."

"June 24, 1729.—At St John's Lodge held at y^e^ Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons, vizt.,

Basil Forcer.
John Lamb."

[1] Evidently Regulation VIII. of the Grand Lodge in London is here referred to.

[2] The York authorities were evidently determined to put down with a strong hand all irregularities on the part of Schismatics. Wm. Scourfield, referred to above, was, in all probability, the Grand Treasurer elected at the Festival of 1725. The records are silent as to the name of the presiding officer.

"The same day Edward Thompson, Junior of Marston, Esq^r., was chosen Grand Master, M^r John Wilmer, Deputy Grand Master, Mr Geo. Rhodes and Mr Geo. Reynoldson, Grand Wardens, for ye year ensuing, and afterwards the Grand Master was pleased to order the following appointment, viz., I do appoint D^r Johnson, Mr Drake, M^r Marsden, Mr Denton, M^r Brigham, M^r R. Marsh, and Mr Etty to assist in regulating the state of the Lodge, and redressing from time to time any inconveniences that may arise.

Edw^d. Thompson, Gr. Mr."

"May 4, 1730.—At a private Lodge at Mr Colling's, being the Sign of y^e White Swan in Petergate, York, it was order'd by the Dep. Mast^r. then present—That if from thenceforth any of the officers of y^e Lodge should be absent from y^e Company at y^e Monthly Lodges, they shall forfeit the sum of one shilling for each omission. John Wilmer, Dep. G. M."

It will be at once noticed that the Festival of St John the Evangelist, 1725, was celebrated under somewhat different circumstances from any of those held previously, inasmuch as it was termed the "Grand Feast," the "President" of former years being now the "Grand Master," and a Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Clerk were also elected. It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that this expansion of the Northern organisation was due to the formation of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717, of which doubtless the York Fraternity had been informed, and who therefore desired to follow the example of the Lodges in London, by having a Grand Master to rule over them.

A point much discussed of late years is the number of lodges which are essential to the legal constitution of a Grand Lodge, for even if the minimum were fixed at three or five,[1] as some advocate, the York organisation would be condemned as illegal. It must, however, be borne in mind, that in 1725, as in 1717, there were no laws to govern the Craft as to the constitution of Grand Lodges, the first of its kind being only some eight years old when the second Grand Lodge was inaugurated; and though the Northern Authority was not the result, so far as is known, of a combination of lodges, as in London, clearly there was as much *right* to form such an organisation in the one case as in the other.

It is to be regretted that the records of the "Four Old Lodges" do not antedate those of the "Grand Lodge" they brought into existence, as fortunately happens in the case of the single lodge which blossomed into the "Grand Lodge of *all* England, held at York," and assuredly the priority of a few years cannot be urged as a reason for styling the one body legal, and denying such a position to the other. Apparently for some years the York Grand Lodge was without any chartered subordinates, but that of itself does not invalidate its claim to be the chief authority, at least for Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties. That it emanated from an old lodge at work for years prior to the creation of the London Grand Lodge, there cannot be a doubt; the records preserved going back to 1712, whilst others ranging from 1705 were extant in the last century. These extend throughout, and indeed overlap, that obscure portion of our annals, viz., the epoch of transition. It has long been assumed that this lodge of 1705-12 and later, is the same as the one alluded to in the Minster Archives of the fourteenth century. It may be so, and the popular belief is perhaps

[1] The earliest of all Grand Lodges, viz., that constituted at London in 1717, was pronounced by Laurence Dermott "*defective in numbers*," because "in order to form a Grand Lodge, *there should have been* the Masters and Wardens of *five* regular lodges" (Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778, p. 14).

the true one, but until it is supported by at least a *modicum* of evidence, it would be a waste of time to proceed with its examination.[1]

In the brief registers of the meetings from 1725 to 1730, it will be seen that after the year 1725, even when Festivals were held, they are not described as Grand Lodge assemblies; but that some of them were so regarded is evident from the speech delivered by Francis Drake, F.R.S.,[2] "Junior Grand Warden," at the celebration of the Festival of St John the Evangelist in 1726. This well-known antiquary was familiar with the Constitutions of 1723, for he styles Dr Anderson "The Learned Author of the Antiquity of Masonry, annexed to which are our Constitutions," and adds, "that diligent Antiquary has traced out to us those many stupendous works of the Antients, which were certainly, and without doubt, infinitely superior to the Moderns."[3] Drake's statement that "the first Grand Lodge ever held in England, was held at York," I need not pause to examine, its absurdity having been fully demonstrated in earlier Chapters.[4] If indeed, for *Grand Lodge*, we substitute "*Assembly*," the contention may perhaps be brought within the region of possibility, and the ingenious speculation that the meeting in question was held under the auspices of "Edwin, the first Christian King of the Northumbers, about the Six Hundredth year after Christ, who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral," is at least entitled to consideration, notwithstanding the weakness of its attestation.[5] Not so, however, the assertions, that "King Edwin" presided as "Grand Master," and that the York Lodge is "the Mother Lodge of them all," which will rather serve to amuse, than to convince the readers of this History. The explanation offered by Drake with regard to "Edwin of the Northumbers" does not seem to have been popular at any time, either with the York Masons, or with the Craft at large, for the date ascribed to the apocryphal "Constitutions of 926," has been almost invariably preferred by the brethren in the north, and Laurence Dermott was not slow to follow their example, as will be seen farther on.[6] The "Old Charges" explicitly refer to Prince Edwin *temp.* Athelstan, and to no one else, as being the medium of procuring for the Masons the privilege of holding their Assemblies once a year, *where they would*, one of which was held at York; and therefore, it requires something more than the colourable solution of Drake, to set aside the uniform testimony of our time-honoured Operative Constitutions. Hargrove states that "In searching the Archives of Masonry, we find the first lodge was instituted in this city (York) at a very early period; indeed, even prior to any other recorded in England. It was termed 'The Most Ancient Grand Lodge of *all* England,' and was instituted at York by King Edwin in 926, as appears by the following curious extract from the ancient records of the Fraternity."[7]

[1] There is absolutely nothing to connect the York Lodge of the eighteenth and most probably the seventeenth century with lodges of earlier date, though of course the possibility of the former being a lineal descendant of the latter must be conceded.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 273, 284.

[3] "A Speech deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons at a Grand Lodge, held at Merchants' Hall, in the City of York, on St John's Day, December 27, 1726. The Right Worshipful Charles Bathurst, Esq., Grand Master" (1st edit., Thomas Gent, York, 1727, *circa*. Reprinted, London, 1729 and 1734; also by Hughan, Masonic Sketches, 1871).

[4] II., pp. 101, 105; XII., pp. 55, 59. [5] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 247.

[6] *Cf. ante*, p. 287, and *post*, the Observations on the Schismatic or "Atholl" Grand Lodge, *passim*.

[7] Hughan informs me that the extract he had sent him (and which he inserted in his "Old Charges," in reference to York) from Hargrove's History, 1818, p. 476, is deficient in the following line, "and gave them the *charter*

The first writer who treated the subject of Masonry in York at any length was Findel,[1] but the observations of this able historian have been to a great extent superseded by a monograph from the pen of Hughan, published in 1871.[2] The labours, indeed, of subsidiary writers must not be ignored. Many of the articles dealing with York, and its unrivalled (English) Archives, in the late *Freemasons' Magazine*, represent work, which in other hands would have assumed the proportion of volumes. It is now difficult, if not altogether impossible, to trace how far each historian of the Craft is indebted to those that have preceded him. Especially is this the case with regard to subjects largely discussed in publications of an ephemeral character such as the Journals of the Fraternity. There quickly arises a great mass of what is considered common property, unless, as too often happens, it is put down to the account of the last reader who quotes it. It is true that he who shortens the road to knowledge, lengthens life, but we are all of us more indebted than we believe we are, to that class of writers whom Johnson termed "the pioneers of literature, doomed to clear away the dirt and the rubbish, for those heroes who pass on to honour and to victory, without deigning to bestow a single smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress."[3]

Among those members of the Craft, to whose researches we are chiefly indebted for the notices of York and its Freemasons, which lie scattered throughout the more ephemeral literature of the Craft, are some to whom I may be allowed to allude. The name of the late E. W. Shaw[4] was familiar to a past generation of Masonic readers, not less so that of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford,[5] whose former labours, indeed, have been eclipsed by later ones. Mr T. B. Whytehead and Mr Joseph Todd[6] may be next referred to, both diligent explorers of Masonic Antiquities, and to whose local knowledge, visitors at the old shrine of Yorkshire Masonry are so much indebted.

Evidently it was the custom to style the ordinary meetings of the York Brethren "Private Lodges," those held on the Festival Days in June and December being entitled "General" or "St John's" Lodges. It appears that brethren who temporarily presided, in the absence of the Presidents and (subsequently) Grand Masters, were described as Masters, but I do not consider they were the actual Masters of the Lodge, not only because there were *three* Brethren so entitled, who occupied the chair at the meetings held on July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, but because the Rulers at that period were named *Presidents*. The regular monthly meetings were apparently distinct from the "Private Lodges," the latter being additional to the ordinary assemblies, and it may well be, were convened exclusively for "makings." The numerous gatherings of the Lodge indicate that the interest of the members was well sustained, at least for a time.

and *commission* to meet annually in communicaytion." This clause is peculiar to the MS. noted by Hargrove, which so far has escaped detection. *Vide* Chap. II., p. 74; also Hughan, Old Charges, p. 7.

[1] History of Freemasonry, pp. 83, 158-170.

[2] History of Freemasonry at York, forming Part i. of "Masonic Sketches and Reprints." I am glad to announce that a new edition of this interesting work is contemplated by the author, in which will be incorporated all the more recent discoveries.

[3] Lacon, vol. ii., p. 104.

[4] *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. to June, 1864, p. 163.

[5] *Cf.* The Archives of the York Union Lodge, by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Freemasons' Magazine, Ap. 16, 1864).

[6] I may perhaps be permitted to mention in this place, my gratification at having been elected an honorary member of the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges (Nos. 236 and 1611)—a distinction I share with Hughan—on the proposal in the one instance of Mr Todd, and in the other of Mr Whytehead.

The "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725,"[1] were as follows:

"Articles agreed to be kept and observed by the Antient Society of Freemasons in the City of York, and to be subscribed by every Member thereof at their Admittance into the said Society.

Imprimis.—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.

2.—All Subscribers to these Articles not appearing at the monthly Lodge, shall forfeit Six-pence each time.

3.—If any Brother appear at a Lodge that is not a Subscriber to these Articles, he shall pay over and above his club [*i.e.*, subscription] the sum of one Shilling.

4.—The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly Lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese, and Tobacco in common, but if any 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.

5.—The Master or Deputy shall be obliged to call for a Bill exactly at ten o'clock, if they meet in the evening, and discharge it.

6.—None to be admitted to the making of a Brother but such as have subscribed to these Articles.

7.—Timely notice shall be given to all the Subscribers when a Brother or Brothers are to be made.

8.—Any Brother or Brothers presuming to call a Lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons, without the Master or Deputy, or one of them deputed, for every such offence shall forfeit the sum of Five Pounds.

9.—Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother shall forfeit one Shilling.

10.—Clerk's Salary for keeping the Books and Accounts shall be one Shilling, to be paid him by each Brother at his admittance, and at each of the two Grand days he shall receive such gratuity as the Company [*i.e.*, those present] shall think proper.

11.—A Steward to be chose for keeping the Stock at the Grand Lodge, at Christmas, and the Accounts to be passed three days after each Lodge.

12.—If any disputes arise, the Master shall silence them by a knock of the Mallet, any Brother that shall presume to disobey shall immediately be obliged to leave the Company, or forfeit five Shillings.

13.—An Hour shall be set apart to talk Masonry.

14.—No person shall be admitted into the Lodge but after having been strictly examined.

15.—No more persons shall be admitted as Brothers of this Society that shall keep a Public-House.

16.—That these Articles, shall at 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.

17.—Every new Brother at his admittance shall pay the Wait[er]s as their Salary, the sum of two Shillings, the money to be lodged in the Steward's hands, and paid to them at each of the Grand days.

[1] These are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," pp. 44, 45, as transcribed from the original, written on parchment, and now in the custody of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

18.—The Bidder of the Society shall receive of each new Brother at his admittance the sum of one Shilling as his Salary [*see* Rule 7].

19.—No Money shall be expended out of the Stock after the hour of ten, as in the fifth Article."

These Laws were signed by "Ed. Bell, Master," and 87 Members, and though not unusual in character for the period, they are not unworthy of reproduction as the earliest regulations known, of the old Lodge at York.

It is much to be regretted that the "narrow folio manuscript Book, beginning 7th March 1705-6, containing sundry Accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge,"[1] is still missing, all the efforts of those most interested in the discovery having so far proved abortive. With that valuable document before us, it would doubtless be easy to obtain clues to several puzzles which at present confront us. Its contents were well known in 1778, as the following letter proves, which was sent by the then Grand Secretary (York) to Mr B. Bradley, of London[2] (J. W. of the "Lodge of Antiquity"), in order to satisfy him and Mr William Preston (P. M. of the same old lodge, and author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry") of the existence of the ancient Grand Lodge at York before the year 1717.

"Sir,—In compliance with your request to be satisfied of the existence of a Grand Lodge at York previous to the establishment of that at London in 1717 I have inspected an Original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge beginning at 1705 and ending in 1734 from which I have extracted the names of the Grand Masters during that period as follows:

1705 Sir George Tempest Barronet.
1707 The Right Honourable Robert Benson Lord Mayor [of York].
1708 Sir William Robinson Bar^{t}.
1711 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^{t}.
1713 Sir George Tempest Bar^{t}.
1714 Charles Fairfax Esq^{r}.
1720 Sir Walter Hawkesworth Bar^{t}.
1725 Edward Bell Esq^{r}.
1726 Charles Bathurst Esq^{r}.
1729 Edward Thompson Esq^{r}. M.P.
1733 John Johnson Esq^{r}. M.D.
1734 John Marsden Esq^{r}.

"It is observable that during the above period the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same house and there is an Instance of its being holden once (in 1713) out of York, viz., at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons.

"In short the superior antiquity of the Grand Lodge of York to all other Lodges in the Kingdom will not admit a Doubt all the Books which treat on the subject agree that it was founded so early as the year 926, and that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth it was so numerous that

[1] A Schedule of the Regalia, Records, etc., dated September 15, 1779, will be found in Hughan's "Masonic Sketches," p. 20, *et seq.*

[2] Copied for Hughan by Mr Todd, P.M. and Treasurer of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

mistaking the purport of their Meeting she was at the trouble of sending an armed Force to dislodge the Brethren, it apears by the Lodge Books since that Time that this Lodge has been regularly continued and particularly by the Book above extracted that it was in being early in the present Century previous to the Era of the Aggrandized Lodge of London—and that it now exists even the Compilers of the Masons Almanack published under the sanction of that Lodge cannot but acknowledge tho they accompany such their acknowledgement with an invidious and unmasonic Prophecy that it will be soon totally annihilated—an event which we trust that no man nor sett of men who are mean enough to wish, shall ever live to see.

"I have intimated to this Lodge what passed between us of your Intention to apply for a Constitution under it and have the satisfaction to inform you that it met with universal Aprobation —You will therefore be pleased to furnish me with a petition to be presented for the purpose specifying the Names of the Brethren to be appointed to the several Officies, and I make no Doubt that the Matter will be speedily accomplished.

"My best Respects attends Brother Preston whom I expect you will make acquainted with the purport of this and hope it will be agreeable to him—I am with true Regard

Your most faithfull Brother
and Obedient Servant

JACOB BUSSEY, G.S.

"To Mr Benjam. Bradley,
N°. 3 Clements Lane Lombard Street
London.

"York, 29th Augst 1778."

I shall here merely notice the circumstance that Grand Secretary Bussey terms the chief officers prior to December 1725 "Grand Masters," instead of "Presidents."

Presuming that the year in each case means the period of service, and that the election or installation took place on the celebration of the (immediately) preceding Festival of St John the Evangelist, that would really take the Register back to December 1704; when Sir George Tempest, Bart., was chosen to be the President; succeeded in 1707 by the Right Hon. Robert Benson, Lord Mayor of York (afterwards Baron Bingley); after whom came Sir William Robinson, Bart., for 1708 (M.P. for York, 1713); followed by other local celebrities, down to the year 1734. Mr Whytehead observes most truly, that "a large proportion of the Masons at York were Lord Mayors, Aldermen, and Sheriffs; and even down to our own day it has been the same."[1] Admiral Robert Fairfax, the "Deputy President" at Christmas 1721, was Lord Mayor in 1715 and M.P. in 1713; and other instances might be cited of the distinguished social position of these early rulers of the Yorkshire Fraternity. I am not, indeed, much impressed with the accuracy or critical value of the list of "Grand Masters" supplied by Mr Bussey, and for more reasons than one. Take, for instance, the names of some of the Presidents. Sir Walter Hawkesworth is recorded as the President, June 24, 1713,[2] though not mentioned by Bussey after 1711, until 1720. Then, again, Charles Fairfax is not recognised as the chief Ruler in the minutes of Christmas 1716 and 1721, but is distinctly described as the Deputy President ("D. P."); neither is he anywhere

[1] Some Ancient Masons and their Early Haunts (Freemason, October 25, 1884).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 271.

termed *the* President in the existing Roll of 1712-30. His name certainly occurs as "The Worshipful Charles Fairfax, Esq^re.," on June 24, 1714; but the same prefix was accorded to other temporary occupants of the chair, who were not Presidents at the time. The so-called President of 1725 is simply entitled "Master" on July 21 in that year, as Scourfield and Huddy are in 1725. It is impossible, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusion with regard to these officers as respects the list in question, nor can their status in the Lodge be even approximately determined upon the evidence before us.

Dr Bell, of Hull, in his "Stream of English Freemasonry," rather too confidently assumes that the tenure of office of the successive Presidents lasted from the years opposite their own names, until the dates placed by the same authority against those of their successors. This, of course, *may* have been sometimes the case; but we know for a certainty that it was not always so. For 1713 the same writer gives Sir Walter Hawkesworth instead of Sir George Tempest as the President, and I am inclined to agree with him in so doing, notwithstanding it is opposed to Bussey's statement. Dr Bell bestows the title of President on Charles Bathurst for the year 1724, and "Edmund Bell *or* William Scourfield" Esquires for 1725. Charles Bathurst was not initiated until July 21, 1725,[1] unless, indeed, the office was held by his father, as Mr Whytehead suggests [2] was possible; if so, the elder Bathurst died during his year of office, and was succeeded by his son on December 27, 1725. I am inclined to believe the year stated by the Grand Secretary was not the right one, for there are other discrepancies which have yet to be considered. So far as can now be conjectured, "George Bowes, Esq.," who was Deputy President on March 19, 1712, and August 7, 1713, was as much entitled to be described as President as either of the three gentlemen already mentioned. Mr Whytehead has succeeded in tracing another Grand Master "of the Grand Lodge of all England at York," thus proving the incomplete character of the list of Masonic dignitaries supplied by the Grand Secretary of 1778. The discovery made by this excellent authority he thus relates: "A short time ago I noticed in an old copy of 'Debrett' a statement that the first baronet of the Milner [3] family was Grand Master of Freemasons in England. I knew that he had been 'made' at York, as also that he had not been Grand Master of either of the Southern Bodies; and after some enquiry, and the kind assistance of Mr Clements Markham and of Bro. Sir F. G. Milner, I have ascertained that the first baronet was Grand Master at York in 1728-9. In a MS. work in four volumes in the Leeds Library, entitled, 'A Collection of Coats of Arms and Descents of the Several Families of the West Riding, from MSS. of John Hopkinson; corrected by T. Wilson, of Leeds,' is the following entry, under the name of Sir W. Milner: 'On St John Baptist Day, 1728, at York, he was elected Grand Master of the Freemasons in England, being the 798 successor from Edwin the Great.' This is an interesting addition to the list of the York Grand Masters." [4]

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 273.

[2] Freemason, November 8, 1884.

[3] Sir W. Milner was initiated on February 4, 1725-6, the present baronet, Sir F. G. Milner, M.P. for York, being "his great-great-great-grandson" (according to Mr Whytehead), the latter having been installed as W.M. of the "Eboracum Lodge," No. 1611, York, on November 10, 1884, and curiously enough the interesting discovery came just in time to furnish the materials for one of the most attractive features of the toast-list at the subsequent banquet, designed by the successful investigator.

[4] Freemason, December 20, 1884.

It will be remembered that the next Grand Master, "Edward Thompson, Junior, of Marston, Esq.," was elected and installed at a "St John's Lodge," held on June 24, 1729.

What Jacob Bussey, G.S., intended to convey by the words, "It is observable that, during the above period, the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same place,"[1] is not altogether clear, as several consecutive meetings took place at Mr James Boreham's, 1712-26, and at the "Starr in Stongate," 1725-29. Moreover, there were Lodges held in other houses more than once in the year—*e.g.*, at John Colling's, in Petergate, 1724-25.[2]

It is from this letter we learn that the Lodge was held at Bradford by the York Brethren, when some eighteen gentlemen were made Masons. No mention is made of the Lodge held at Scarborough in 1705, under the presidency of William Thompson, Esq., though I am strongly of opinion that it assembled under the banner of the old Lodge at York.[3]

Preston bases his account of the York Grand Lodge on the letter of its Grand Secretary (probably with subsequent additions from the same source). "From this account," says Preston, "which is authenticated by the Books of the Grand Lodge at York, it appears that the Revival of Masonry in the South of England did not interfere with the proceedings of the fraternity in the North; nor did that event taking place alienate any allegiance that might be due to the General Assembly or Grand Lodge there, which seems to have been considered at that time, and long after, as the Mother Lodge of the whole Kingdom. For a series of years the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two Grand Lodges, and private Lodges flourished in both parts of the Kingdom under their separate jurisdiction. The only mark of superiority which the Grand Lodge in the North appears to have retained after the revival of Masonry in the South, is in the title which they claimed, viz., *The Grand Lodge of all England*,[4] TOTIUS ANGLLÆ; while the Grand Lodge in the South passed only under the denomination of '*The Grand Lodge of England.*'"[5] The distinction claimed by the York Masons appears to have originated with the Junior Grand Warden on December 27, 1726; at least, there is no earlier reference to it with which I am acquainted.

Preston was a warm adherent of the Northern Grand Lodge during the period of his separation from the Grand Lodge of England,[6] and assuredly, if all he states about its antiquity and character could be substantiated, no one need wonder at his partiality being so marked. He declares that "To be ranked as descendants of the original York Masons was the glory and boast of the Brethren in almost every country where Masonry was established; and from the prevalence and universality of the idea that York was the place where Masonry was first

[1] "Occasionally the Feast was held at the houses of the brethren by turns—in uno certo loco ad aliquesse domum fratrum vel sororum."—Caistor, Bundle cccx., No. 193 (English Gilds, introduction, by Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxxiii., note 4).

[2] *Ante*, pp. 271-274.

[3] Hughan informs me, on the authority of Mr Samuel Middleton, of Scarborough, that William Thompson was M.P. for that town in 1705, and was appointed Warden of the Mint in 1715. He died in 1744. In a footnote to an old local history, he is described as "of Scarbro."

[4] It is possible (as Hughan suggests) that this title may have been a retort upon the Pope, by whom Canterbury was given a precedence over York, the Archbishop of the former city being styled "Primate of *all* England," and the latter "of England" only.

[5] Illustrations of Masonry, 1788, pp. 245, 246. The above remarks are slightly varied and curtailed in later editions.

[6] *I.e.*, the Regular or Constitutional Grand Lodge, dating from 1717. His connection with other Grand Lodges will be presently noticed.

established by Charter, the Masons of England have received tribute from the first States in Europe."[1] What can be said of such a statement, when, as a simple matter of fact, not a Lodge *abroad* was ever constituted by the York Grand Lodge, and as to the tribute mentioned, there is not the slightest confirmatory evidence respecting it to be found anywhere.

The fact is, Preston doubtless wrote what he thought ought to be the case, if it were not really so, or shall we say, what he considered might be true, if the means for a full investigation were granted him.

Preston's version of the breach which occurred between the two Grand Lodges—London and York—is in the form of two distinct statements, one of which must be inaccurate, as both cannot be true. According to him, it arose out "of a few Brethren at York having, on some trivial occasion, seceded from their ancient Lodge, [and] applied to London for a Warrant of Constitution. Without any inquiry into the merits of the case, their application was honoured. Instead of being recommended to the Mother Lodge, to be restored to favour, these Brethren were encouraged to revolt; and in open defiance of an established authority, permitted, under the banner of the Grand Lodge at London, to open a new Lodge in the city of York itself. This illegal extension of power, and violent encroachment on the privileges of antient Masonry, gave the highest offence to the Grand Lodge at York, and occasioned a breach, which time, and a proper attention to the Rules of the Order, only can repair."[2] His second version of the "breach" is said to be due to the encroachment of the Earl of Crawford on the "Jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Masons in the City of York, by constituting two Lodges within their district, and by granting without their consent, three Deputations, one for Lancashire, a second for Durham, and a third for Northumberland. This circumstance the Grand Lodge at York at that time highly resented, and ever after seem to have viewed the Grand Lodge at London with a jealous eye. All friendly intercourse was dropt."[3] Yet another supposed cause of unpleasantness was found in the granting of a Patent to the Provincial Grand Master of Yorkshire, by the Marquis of Carnarvon, in 1738, which it seems so troubled the minds of the York Brothers "that since that circumstance, all correspondence between the two Grand Lodges has ceased."[4]

Those who have adopted Preston's view of the subject have been led astray, for there is not even the shadow of a proof, to substantiate the allegation that at any time there was animosity, either on the one side or the other; and as Hughan[5] clearly shows, if Preston's explanations are accepted, the granting of the warrant for No. 59, Scarborough, on August 27, 1729, is quite ignored, besides which, we shall find farther on, that a friendly correspondence on the part of the York Grand Lodge was offered the Grand Lodge of England, after the breach between them is said to have occurred.

It is singular also to note the error of Findel[6] and other historians with respect to the invasion of the York Territory, A.D. 1734, for as Hughan conclusively points out, there is no register of any lodge being warranted or constituted in Yorkshire or its neighbourhood in that

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, p. 246.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1788, p. 247.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[5] Masonic Sketches and Reprints, part i., p. 31.
[6] Many Brethren at their own request received in London a charter for the institution of a Lodge at York (Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 165).

year. The fact is, the second Yorkshire Lodge was No. 176, Halifax, July 12, 1738 (now No. 61), the first, as I have already stated, being the one at Scarborough of 1729.[1]

It is not possible now to decide when the "Grand Lodge of all England" ceased to work—that is to say, spasmodically at least. Findel states that "the York Lodge was inactive from 1730 to 1760," and "at its last gasp,"[2] on May 30, 1730, when fines were levied for non-attendance. The same able writer observes: "The isolated or Mother Lodge, which dates from a very early period, had, until the year 1730, neither made nor constituted any other Lodge."[3] If by the latter declaration, it is meant that a lodge or lodges were formed by the "Grand Lodge of all England," in 1730, I am not aware of any evidence to justify the statement, but it occurs to me, that collateral proof is not wanting to suggest the constitution, or at least the holding of lodges in other parts of the country, besides York, under the authority of the Old Lodge in question, prior to 1730; the assemblies at Scarborough and Bradford in 1705 and 1713 respectively, being alone sufficient to support this contention.

That the Grand Lodge at York was not extinct even in 1734 is also susceptible of proof, for the Roll of Parchment, No. 9, still preserved by the present "York" Lodge (No. 236), which is a List of Master Masons, thirty-five in all, indicates that meetings had been held so late as that year, and probably later,—July 7, 1734, being attached to the 27th name on the Register. There are then eight more names to be accounted for, which may fairly be approximately dated a few months farther on, if not into the year 1735.

Neither is there occasion to depend entirely upon the testimony of this Roll of Master Masons (the earliest date on which is of 1729, and the latest of 1734), for the "Book of Constitutions," 1738, contains the following reference to the York Lodge, which is not one likely to have been inserted, unless it was known that, about the time or year mentioned, the Lodge was still in existence.

> "All these foreign Lodges [*i.e.*, those to which Deputations had been granted by the Grand Lodge of 1717] are under the Patronage of our Grand Master of *England*.
>
> "But the *old Lodge* at YORK City, and the *Lodges* of SCOTLAND, IRELAND, FRANCE, and ITALY, affecting Independency, are under their own *Grand Masters*, tho' they have the same *Constitutions, Charges, Regulations*, &c., for Substance, with their Brethren of *England*."[4]

Then there are the several allusions to Freemasonry at York by Dr Fifield Dassigny in 1744, especially the note, "I am informed in that city is held an assembly of Master Masons, under the title of Royal Arch Masons,"[5] which in all fairness cannot be dated farther back than 1740; but of this more anon. It appears to me, therefore, that there is evidence of a positive character, confirmatory of the belief that the York Masons did not lay aside their working tools until considerably later than the year named by Findel and other Historians; hence I quite agree with Hughan in his supposition that the "Grand Lodge of all England" was in actual being until about 1740-50.

[1] *Cf.* Gould, "Four Old Lodges," pp. 51, 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] History of Freemasonry, p. 164.

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 196.

[5] Dr Fifield Dassigny, A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Freemasonry, Dublin, MDCCXLIV., reprinted in Hughan's Masonic Memorials, 1874, where the passage quoted above will be found at p. 89.

That the Lodge flourished at York many years anterior to the inauguration of the Premier Grand Lodge of England, cannot, I think, be doubted, though it was not dignified by the name of a "Grand Lodge" until some eight years after the constitution of its formidable rival; and, that it was an honourable, as well as an ancient Society, is abundantly proved by reference to those of its valuable records which are happily still preserved and zealously guarded by their careful custodians, the members of the "York" (late the "Union") Lodge.

Whatever uncertainty may surround the question of the cessation from work (1740-50), there is none whatever as to the period of the Revival of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" at York, as fortunately the records are preserved of the inauguration of the proceedings, and the commencement of a new life, which, though far more vigorous than the old one, was yet destined to run its course ere the century had expired. We shall hardly err if we ascribe this revival to the establishment of a lodge at York by the Grand Lodge of England.[1] The Lodge No. 259 on the roll of the southern organisation, held at the "Punch Bowl," was warranted January 12, 1761, whilst the neighbourhood, so to speak, was "unoccupied territory." The charter and minutes of this friendly rival are in the possession of the "York" Lodge, No. 236, and have been carefully examined and described by Mr T. B. Whytehead.[2] The earliest record is dated February 2, 1761, but its promoters soon shook off their first allegiance, evidently preferring a connection with the local Grand Lodge to remaining, so to speak, but a remote pendicle of the more powerful organisation of the metropolis. That this was not the first lodge established by the latter in Yorkshire has been already stated. Charters were issued for Scarborough in 1729, Halifax in 1738, and Leeds in 1754, besides many others in adjoining provinces, and Provincial Grand Masters were appointed for Yorkshire in 1738, and also in 1740, when Mr William Horton was succeeded by Mr Edward Rooke.[3]

On the opening day at the "Punch Bowl" there were eight members present, and the same number of visitors. Great zeal was manifested by the petitioners and the brethren generally, several meetings being held from 1761 to 1763; but I do not think they met as a lodge after January 1764. Malby Beckwith, the new Master, who was placed in the chair on January 18, 1762, was duly addressed by the retiring W.M. Bro. Frodsham, and by request of the members the charge was printed and published, going through more than one edition.[4] Mr Whytehead tells us that "as Bro. Seth Agar, the W.M. (from Jan. 3, 1763), soon afterwards became Grand Master of *all* England, it seems probable that the superior assumption of Grand Lodge had eclipsed the humble Punch Bowl Lodge, and that the latter was deserted by its members."[5]

That the constitution of the Lodge of 1761 was actually the cause of the revival of the slumbering Grand Lodge cannot be positively asserted, but it appears to me most probable that the formation of the one led to the restoration of the other, and yet, singular to state, the

[1] *I.e.*, the Grand Lodge constituted at London, A.D. 1717.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, Dec. 27, 1879; Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

[3] Dr Bell, in his "History of the Province of North and East Yorkshire," gives the name of William Horton as Prov. G.M. to 1756, but he died in or before 1740.

[4] "A Charge delivered to the most antient and honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in a Lodge held at the Punch-Bowl, in Stonegate, York, upon Friday the 18th of January 1762, by Bro. Frodsham, at his dismission of the chair."

[5] Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

latter organisation, though apparently owing a new lease of life to the existence of the former, was only able to shake off the lethargy of long years by absorbing the very body which stimulated its own reconstitution.

I will now cite the full account of the revival, which is given by Hughan [1] from the actual records.

"The Antient and Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons Belonging to the City of York, was this Seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1761, Revived by six of the surviving members of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge being opened, and held at the House of Mr Henry Howard, in Lendall, in the said City, by them and others hereinafter named. When and where it was further agreed on, that it should be continued and held there only the Second and Last Monday in every month.[2]

Present—

Grand Master,	. .	Brother Francis Drake, Esq., F.R.S.
Deputy G.M.,	. .	George Reynoldson.
Grand Wardens,	. .	George Coates and Thomas Mason.

Together with Brothers Christopher Coulton and Martin Crofts.

Visiting Brethren.

Tasker, Leng, Swetnam, Malby Beckwith, Frodsham, Fitzmaurice, Granger, Crisp, Oram, Burton, and Howard.

"Minutes of the Transactions at the Revival and Opening of the said Grand Lodge :—

"Brother John Tasker was by the Grand Master, and the rest of the Brethren, unanimously appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer. He having first petitioned to become a member, and being approved and accepted *nem. con.*

"Brother Henry Howard also petitioned to be admitted a member, who was accordingly balloted for and approved *nem. con.*

"Mr Charles Chaloner, Mr Seth Agar, George Palmes, Esq., Mr Ambrose Beckwith, and Mr William Siddall, petitioned to be made Brethren the first opportunity, who being severally balloted for, were all approved *nem. con.*

"This Lodge was closed till Monday, the 23rd day of this instant March, unless in case of Emergency."

Several of the visitors mentioned were members of the Lodge assembling at the "Punch Bowl," and the fact of their being present in such a capacity is sufficient proof that the two Grand Lodges were on terms of amity, especially emphasised by the friendly action of the York organisation later on, about which a few words have presently to be said.

A noticeable feature of this record is that the Grand Master, Deputy, and Wardens occupied their positions as if holding them of inherent right, the only Brother elected to office being the Grand Secretary, who was also the Grand Treasurer. I think, therefore, that Francis Drake and his principal officers must have acted in their several capacities prior to the dormancy of 1740-50. If this was the case—and there are no facts which militate against such an hypothesis—then the Grand Master and his coadjutors were nominated and elected at assemblies of the Grand Lodge of which no record has come down to us.

The five candidates proposed on March 17 were initiated on May 11, 1761; mention is also made of a Brother being raised to the degree of a master mason on May 23, and apprentices were duly passed as Fellow Crafts. Minutes of this kind, however, I need not

[1] Masonic Sketches, p. 51.

[2] The "volume of the Sacred Law," which it is believed was used at the meetings, is in the safe-keeping of the York Lodge No. 236, and is inscribed "*This Bible belongs to the Free Masons' Lodge at Mr Howard's at York*, 1761."

reproduce in these pages, neither is there much in the rules agreed to in 1761, and later, which require particularisation.

The fees for the three degrees and membership amounted to £2, 16s., which sum "excused the brother from any further expence during Lodge hours for that Quarter, supper and drink out *of* and Glasses broke *in* the Lodge only excepted." The quarterage was fixed at six shillings and sixpence, "except as above." Candidates were only eligible for initiation on a unanimous ballot, but joining members, "regularly made masons in another Lodge," were elected if there were not more than two adverse votes; the fee for the latter election being half a guinea. Careful provisions were laid down for the guidance of the officers in the event of brethren seeking admission who were unable to prove their "*regularity*." It was ordered on July 15, 1777, "that when a Constitution is granted to any place, the Brother who petitioned for such shall pay the fees charged thereon *upon delivery*;" and on Nov. 20, 1778, the members resolved "that the Grand Master of *All* England be on all occasions as such stiled and addressed by the Title of *Most Worshipful*, and the Masters of all Lodges under the Constitution of this Grand Lodge by the Title of *Right Worshipful*." The secretary's salary was fixed at ten guineas per annum from Dec. 27, 1779, and the Treasurer was required "to execute his Bond in the Penal sum of one hundred pounds." The fee for certificates was fixed at six shillings each, "always paid on delivery." Unless in cases of emergency two degrees were not allowed to be conferred in one evening, and "separate Ballot shall be made to each degree distinct," as is still the custom under many Grand Lodges, but not in England, one ballot covering all three degrees, and also membership.[1]

We now approach an important innovation on the part of the York *Grand* Lodge, no less than the granting of warrants for subordinate lodges, in accordance with the custom so long followed by its London prototype. As I have previously intimated, the meetings of the old lodge at York, held out of that city, do not appear to have led to the creation of separate lodges, such as Bradford in 1713 and elsewhere. On this point it is impossible to speak with precision; it cannot be positively affirmed they did not, but, on the other hand, there is no evidence to warrant even a random conjecture that they did.

So far as evidence is concerned, there is nothing to warrant the belief, so frequently advanced, that charters were granted for subordinate lodges by the Grand Lodge of *all* England, until after the "Revival" of 1761. Prior to that date, indeed, it is quite possible that frequent meetings were held by the old York Lodge, in neighbouring towns, but never (it would appear) were any other lodges constituted by that body, as we know there were in 1762 and later.

No little trouble has been taken in an attempt to compile for the first time a list of the several lodges warranted by the York authorities, but unfortunately there is not sufficient data to make the roll as complete as could be desired. The only one of the series that bears an official number is the first lodge that was warranted.[2]

[1] There is no proof that the "Grand Lodge of *All* England sided actively with either of the two "Grand Lodges of England," formed respectively in 1717 and 1753. Passively, indeed, its sympathies would appear to have been with the older organisation, and though it ultimately struck up an alliance with the Lodge of Antiquity (under circumstances to be presently related), in so doing a blow was aimed at the pretensions of *both* the Grand bodies claiming jurisdiction in the south.

[2] The Grand Lodge stated in 1773—"It is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a number to the Constitutions granted by it," thus rendering it far from an easy task to trace the various York Lodges, and to fix their precedence.

"YORK" LODGES FROM 1762.

1. French Lodge,	"Punch Bowl," York,	June 10,	1762.
2.	Scarborough,[1]	Aug. 19,	1762.
3. "Royal Oak,"	Ripon,	July 31,	1769.
4. "Crown,"	Knaresborough,	Oct. 30,	1769.
5. "Duke of Devonshire,"	Macclesfield,	Sept. 24,	1770.
6.	Hovingham,	May 29,	1773.
7.	Snainton, near Malton,	Dec. 14,	1778.
9. "Druidical Lodge,"	Rotherham,	Dec. 22,	1778.
10. "Fortitude," at the "Sun,"	Hollingwood, Lanc.,	Nov. 27,	1790.

Deputation for a "Grand Lodge."

8. "Grand Lodge of England, South of the River Trent," March 29, 1779.

{No. 1, "Lodge of Perfect Observance," London, Aug. 9, 1779.
No. 2, "Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph," London, Nov. 15, 1779.}

In addition to these, I should add that in the Records and elsewhere, mention is made of petitions being presented to the Grand Lodge for the holding of lodges, some of which were doubtless granted; but there is no register existing from which we can ascertain what charters were actually issued.

I. Petition addressed to the "G.M. of All England at York," and signed by Abraham Sampson, about the year 1771. He declared that he had been taken to task by the "Grand Lodge in London" for getting a Warrant for Macclesfield. The new Lodge was to be held at the "Black Bull, otherwise the Rising Sun, Pettycoat Lane, White Chappel," the first Master and Wardens being nominated.

II. A letter was read at the Grand Lodge held September 27, 1779, "Requiring the mode of applying for a Constitution," the petitioner being "Bro. William Powell," of Hull. Mr J. Coultman Smith[2] declared that the charter of the present "Humber Lodge," No. 57, of that town, was derived from the York Grand Lodge; but he is in error, that Lodge having been constituted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London.[3]

III. A letter was received from Doncaster, dated July 11, 1780, to the effect that a Warrant had been applied for and granted. I imagine there had been an application sent to

[1] There was much correspondence about certain masonic jewels, between the Grand Secretary at York and a Bro. W. Hutton Steel, of Scarborough, and others, extending from 1772 to 1781. The jewels were said to have been used by a lodge whose "Constitution was obtained from York," probably No. 2 as above. Bro. Steel presented them on Dec. 26, 1779, and declared that "No meeting of a Lodge since 1735" had been held, and that he was the "Last Survivor of four score brethren." My impression is that this aged Brother referred to the Lodge No. 59, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England—not *All* England—in 1729, and this opinion is strengthened by the fact that 1729 is engraved on these jewels, which are carefully treasured at York. Doubtless they were used by both the lodges named, prior to their becoming extinct.

[2] History of the Warrant of the Humber Lodge, 1855.

[3] See my "Atholl Lodges," pp. 13, 14, for the vicissitudes of this Lodge.

the York Grand Lodge; but a charter had been obtained *ad interim* from London,—the present St George's Lodge, No. 242, of Doncaster, being the one referred to.[1]

IV. A petition was received for a Lodge to be held at the "Brush Makers' Arms, Smithy Door," at the house of John Woodmans, Manchester, dated December 23, 1787; but as the records of that period are missing, I cannot say what answer was given to the petitioners, but it is very likely that a charter was granted.

I am indebted to Mr Whytehead for the following interesting extract from the records, which establishes the fact that the year 1762 witnessed the first Lodge being placed on the roll of the revived Grand Lodge at York.[2]

"Constitutions or Warrants granted by this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge to Brethren enabling them to hold Lodges at the places and in the houses particularly mentioned in such constitutions or warrants.

"No. 1. Anno Secundo Brother Drake G.M. *On* the 10th day of June 1762 a constitution or warrant was granted unto the following Brethren, French Prisoners of War on their Parol (viz.) Du Fresne, Le Pettier, Julian Vilfort, Pierre Le Villaine, Louis Bruslé, and Francis Le Grand, *Thereby* enabling them and others to open and continue to hold a Lodge at the sign of the Punch Bowl in Stonegate in the City of York and to make New Brethren as from time to time occasion might require, *Prohibiting* nevertheless them and their successors from making anyone a Brother who shall be a subject of Great Britain or Ireland, *which said Lodge* was accordingly opened and held on the said 10th day of June and to be continued regularly on the second Thursday in every month or oftener if occasion shall require."

Of the second Lodge but little account has been preserved in the archives of the "York Lodge," though undoubtedly a minute-book was sent to the Grand Lodge for safe custody, which contained the records either of this Lodge or of the one formed in 1729 by the Grand Lodge in London.[3]

Of the third on the list there is no doubt, it having been duly "seal'd and signed;" neither is there any as to the fourth, the minute of October 30, 1769, reading as follows: "The three last-mentioned Brethren petitioned for a Constitution to open and hold a Lodge at the sign of the Crown in Knaresbrough, which was unanimously agreed to, and the following were appointed officers for the opening of the same." It would seem that the belief in a Lodge

[1] W. Delanoy, History of St George's Lodge, 1881.

[2] It would have simplified matters very considerably if this list, which was begun "in order," had been continued in like manner by the York officials.

[3] Hughan declares he saw a minute-book, or extracts therefrom, in the York archives, being records of a Lodge opened at Scarborough "on Thursday the 19th August 1762 by virtue of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at York, Bro. Thos. Balderston, Rt. Worpl. M.; Thos. Hart, S.W.; John Walsham, J.W.; Mattw. Fowler, S.;" hence I am inclined to believe that the second on the roll is the Lodge referred to. Mr Joseph Todd has kindly transcribed the few minutes thus preserved, which begin March 25, 1762 (before the warrant was received), and end August 30, 1768.

having been warranted in the Inniskilling Dragoons by the York authorities[1]—which I shared with Hughan—on the same day as No. 4, must be given up, since Messrs Whytehead and Todd positively affirm that there is no reference whatever in the minutes to such a charter having been granted. The earliest allusion to the Inniskilling Dragoons is in 1770, when the brethren of the Lodge held in that regiment (doubtless No. 123 on the roll of "Atholl" Lodges) took part, *with other visitors*, in the Great Procession on the celebration of the Festival of St John the Evangelist. It was arranged on December 17, Mr Whytehead informs me, that "the Brethren of the Inniskilling Regiment who carry the Colours and act as Tylers, as also all the Brethren in the said Regiment who are private soldiers to have tickets gratis." The hospitality thus exhibited to the members of a regimental Lodge by the brethren at York, has been again and again exercised of late years by the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges, no warmer reception being ever given to military Lodges then in the city of York. The Lodge at Macclesfield does not seem to have been successfully launched, as no fees were ever paid to the authorities at York; and probably the existence of an "Atholl" Lodge in the same town from 1764[2] may have had something to do with the members of No. 5 transferring their allegiance.

I have nothing to add as to Nos. 6 and 7, but the ninth of the series, according to Hughan, was called "No. 109" at Rotherham, the members evidently considering that the addition of one hundred to its number would increase its importance. Some of its records have found their way to York, ranging from December 22, 1778, to March 26, 1779. There is no account of the Lodge at Hollingwood among the York documents, the only notice of its origin being the original charter in the archives of the "United Grand Lodge of England," which has been transcribed and published by Hughan.[3] A volume of minutes of the York Grand Lodge, 1780-92, is evidently still missing, which Hargrove saw in Blanchard's hands so late as 1819.

Hughan, in his "History of Freemasonry at York," and Whytehead, ably continuing the same subject, "As Told by an Old Newspaper File,"[4] have furnished most interesting sketches of the proceedings of the York Grand Lodge from the "Revival" of 1761, as well as of those assembling under other Constitutions. It is not my intention, however, to do more than pass in review a few of their leading references. In the *York Courant* for December 20, 1763, is an advertisement by authority of Mr J. S. Morritt, the Grand Master, the two Grand Wardens being Messrs Brooks and Atkinson, the latter Brother having been the Builder of the Bridge over the Foss at York. He and his brother were initiated in 1761, "without paying the usual fees of the Lodge, as being working masons," indicating (Whytehead suggests) the fact that the old Lodge at York recognised its operative origin. Several of the festivals were held at the "Punch Bowl," an inn being much frequented by the York masons. The Lodges favoured

[1] Atholl Lodges, p. 25. It is but fair, however, to state that the text of the minutes of the procession suggest that a Lodge was formed, either in Inniskilling or in connection with the regiment mentioned, as the record reads: "Many Brethren from York, as well as from the daughter Lodges of the Grand Lodge, established at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Inniskilling, were present at this Festival."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Masonic Sketches, Pt. 2, Appendix C, p. 41. The warrant was signed by Messrs Kilby and Blanchard, Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively. It is to be regretted that this charter is not included among the Masonic documents so zealously guarded at York.

[4] Freemason, September 1884.

processions to church prior to the celebration of the festivals, many of the advertisements for which have been carefully reproduced by Whytehead.

In the *Courant* for June 10, 1770, is an announcement on behalf of the Lodge at the "Crown," Knaresborough, for June 26,—"A regular Procession to Church to hear Divine Service and a Sermon to be preached by a Brother suitable to the occasion," being the chief attractions offered by the Rev. Charles Kedar, the Master, and Messrs Bateson and Clark, Wardens. In similar terms, another procession was advertised for December 27, 1770, to St John's Church, Micklegate, York, the notice being issued by order of Grand Master Palmes. The sermon was preached by Bro. the Rev. W. Dade, Rector of Barmston, in the East Riding,[1] the congregation including more than a hundred brethren. It was usual to have both a summer and winter festival in York; so the zeal of the Fraternity was kept alive, so far as processions and festive gatherings could promote the interests of the Society.

The brief existence of the Lodge at the "Punch Bowl" (1761) did not deter the brethren of the Grand Lodge of England from constituting another Lodge in York—the "Apollo" being warranted there as No. 450 on July 31, 1773. Mr Whytehead[2] states that many distinguished brethren were connected with this Lodge; and several of the members of the old Lodge, who should have stood by their mother, went over to the more fashionable body which met at the George Hotel, in Coney Street. The "Apollo" was evidently regarded as an intruder by the York Grand Lodge, as the brethren of the latter convened their meetings on the same day and hour as those of the rival Society. In 1767 the Grand Lodge of England (London) was courteously informed by Mr David Lambert, Grand Secretary of the York organisation, that the Lodge formerly held at the "Punch Bowl" "had been for some years discontinued, and that the most Antient Grand Lodge of *all* England, held from time immemorial in this city, is the only Lodge held therein."[3] The York Grand Secretary had not the satisfaction of transmitting the intelligence of the decease of rival No. 2, for the latter outlived the York Grand Lodge by many years.[4] Another Lodge came on the scene, and announced that its festival was to be held at "the house of Mr William Blanchard, the Star and Garter, in Nessgate, York," on December 27, 1775. This was the "Moriah" Lodge, originally chartered by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London, in the 1st Regiment of Yorkshire Militia, as No. 176, Sheffield,[5] October 14, 1772. Its stay in the city was probably of very short duration, being a military Lodge.

St John's Day, 1777, witnessed the Grand Lodge being held at "York Tavern," and the Provincial Grand Lodge[6] at "Nicholson's Coffee House." Both bodies attended divine service, the former at St Helen's and the latter at St Martin's, suitable discourses being delivered by the Rev. Brothers John Parker and James Lawson respectively. The Rev. J. Parker, vicar of St Helen's, was "made" in 1776, without any fee being charged, and became Chaplain to the Grand Lodge, being also the annual preacher at the holding of the festivals. Meetings by both bodies—Grand and Provincial—were frequently thus held on the same day. Still another

[1] Author of a "History of Holderness."

[2] Freemason, August 30, 1884.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52.

[4] The Lodge did not become extinct "about the year 1813," as Mr Todd supposes (History of the York Lodge, No. 236, p. 16), but was transferred to Hull in 1817; the furniture, jewels, and various warrants being sold for some £60. It was subsequently known as the "Phœnix," until its final collapse about twenty years afterwards.

[5] Atholl Lodges, p. 34.

[6] Holding under the Grand Lodge of England.

Lodge was constituted by the "Mother of Grand Lodges," and this time on such a sure foundation that it has outlived all its early contemporaries. I allude to the "Union" Lodge, No. 504, which was first held by dispensation dated June 20, 1777, Mr Joseph Jones being the first W.M. The subsequent and eventful career of this justly celebrated Lodge, I cannot now pause to consider, and will simply remark that its name was appropriately changed to that of the "York" in 1870, when No. 236, time having but served to enhance its reputation. The last meeting advertised in the *Courant* by the York Grand Lodge was dated June 18, 1782; but undoubtedly there were many assemblies of the brethren held after that year, even so late as the next decade. Hargrove[1] states, "As a further proof of the importance of this Lodge, we find it recorded that 'On the 24th June 1783, the Grand Master, with all the officers, attended in the great room of the Mansion House, where a Lodge in the third degree was opened, and brother Wm. Siddall, esquire, at that time the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Grand Master elect, was installed, according to an ancient usage and custom, The Most Worshipful Grand Master Mason of *all* England, and was thus saluted, homaged, and acknowledged.' About the year 1787 the meetings of this lodge were discontinued, and the only member now remaining is Mr Blanchard, proprietor of the *York Chronicle*, to whom the writer is indebted for information on the subject. He was a member many years, and being 'Grand Secretary,' all the books and papers which belonged to the lodge are still in his possession." Either Hargrove misunderstood Blanchard, or the latter possessed a very treacherous memory, since there is abundant evidence to prove that the Grand Lodge was in existence even so late as August 23, 1792, which is the date "of a rough minute recording the election of Bro. Wolley[2] as Grand Master, Bro. Geo. Kitson, Grand Treasurer, Bro. Thomas Richardson, S.G.W., and Bro. Williams, J.G.W."[3] There is also a list still extant, in Blanchard's handwriting, containing an entry of October 1, 1790, when a brother was raised to the Third Degree; and I have already mentioned the grant of a warrant in that year by the same body, which does not savour of extinction. I need not add other evidences of the activity of the Grand Lodge, as the foregoing are amply sufficient. Even the Constitutions of 1784, published by the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, thus refers to the Northern Grand Lodge. "Some brethren at York continued to act under their original constitution, notwithstanding the revival of the Grand Lodge of England; but the irregular Masons in London never received any patronage from them. The ancient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, *which is still extant*, but consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated."[4] Here, doubtless, the wish was father to the thought, but the prediction of John Noorthouck was soon fulfilled, though it must not be overlooked that he acknowledges the antiquity and, so to speak, the *regularity* of the York Grand Lodge, at a period, moreover, when the secession of the Lodge of Antiquity from the Grand Lodge of England—in which movement, though a member of No. 1,[5] Noorthouck was not a participant—had greatly embittered (for reasons I am

[1] History and Description of the Ancient City of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, pp. 478, 479.

[2] The "York" Lodge has an engraved portrait of Grand Master Wolley, and Mr Whytehead presented one to the Grand Lodge of England. Wolley afterwards changed his name to Copley.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 60.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 240; Freemasons' Calendar, 1783, p. 23.

[5] John Noorthouck, stationer, is entered in the Grand Lodge register as having become a member of the Lodge of

about to mention) the relations between the two earliest of the English Grand Lodges. That a warrant or deputation for the constitution of a "Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," under the wing of the "Lodge of Antiquity," was issued by the York authorities, has been already stated. The story of the two parties in the Lodge of Antiquity—1779-89—each striving to extinguish or coerce the other; the apparent triumph of the minority, who had the support of their Grand Lodge; the secession of the majority; the expulsion of the leaders, including the famous author of the "Illustrations of Masonry;" and the setting up of a rival Grand Lodge, is not only a long one, but is also far from being a pleasant study, even at the present time. I shall, however, bring it within the smallest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, and as the whole story is so thoroughly interwoven with the history of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the claims—real or imaginary—advanced on its behalf by William Preston, it may be convenient to give in this place, a short but comprehensive memoir of that well-known writer, which will come in here, perhaps, more appropriately than at any other stage, since in addition to the leading part played by him in the temporary alliance of the Lodge of Antiquity with the "Grand Lodge of *all* England," there are other reasons for the introduction of his Masonic record as a whole—in the chapter devoted to "Freemasonry in York." In those which respectively precede and follow, a great deal of the history which has been generally—not to say, universally—accepted, as fact, rests upon his sole authority. Whilst, therefore, the narrative which I have brought up to the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, is fresh in the recollection, and before proceeding with a description of the Great Schism, which becomes the next subject for our consideration, let us take a closer view of the writer, whose bare statement, unsupported by evidence, has been held sufficient—by the majority of later historians—to establish any point in eighteenth century Masonry, that it might be called in aid of.[1]

William Preston, whose father was a writer to the signet, was born at Edinburgh, July 28, 1742, O.S., and came to London in 1760, where he entered the service of William Strahan, His Majesty's Printer.

Soon after his arrival in London, a number of Brethren from Edinburgh attempted to establish a Lodge (in London) under sanction of a constitution from Scotland.[2] "Lest, however, such a grant should interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England, it was agreed (1762) to refuse their request. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland offered to recom-

Antiquity in 1771, three years before Preston joined it. Both men were largely employed by the celebrated printer, William Strahan.

[1] In the ensuing pages, besides the official records of the *four* Grand Lodges, in existence during the period over which this sketch extends, and other documents and authorities specially referred to, use has been made of the following works: Illustrations of Masonry, editions, 1781, 1788, 1792; Freemasons' Magazine, vol. iv., 1795, p. 3, *et seq.*; European Magazine, vol. l., 1811, p. 323; "A State of Facts: Being a narrative of some late Proceedings in the Society of Free Masons, respecting William Preston, Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1. London, Printed in the year MDCCLXXVIII."

[2] Findel cites the application of some London Brethren to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and observes, "It was determined to refuse this request, lest by complying they might interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. *The so-called Ancient or York Masons* received, then, at that time no support from Scotland" (History of Freemasonry, p. 178).

mend them to the [*Antient*] Grand Lodge of England,"[1] who granted them a dispensation to form a lodge and to make Masons.[2]

Preston was the second person initiated under this dispensation, and the associated brethren were afterwards duly constituted into a lodge (No. 111) by the officers of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge in person, on or about April 20, 1763. After meeting successively at Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; The Scots Hall, Blackfriars; and the Half Moon, Cheapside; the members of No. 111—at the instance of William Preston—petitioned for a charter from the "Regular" Grand Lodge, and the lodge was soon after constituted a *second* time in Ample Form, by the name of the "Caledonian Lodge," under which name it still exists (No. 134), on May 21, 1772. He instituted a Grand Gala at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, and delivered an oration, afterwards printed in the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in the same year.

A regular course of lectures were publicly delivered by him at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street in 1774.

At last he was invited by his friends to visit the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1, then held at the Mitre. This he did, June 15, 1774, when the Brethren of that Lodge were pleased to admit him a member, and—what was very unusual—elected him Master at the same meeting.

He had been Master of the Philanthropic Lodge,[3] at the Queen's Head, Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, above six years, and of several other lodges before that time. But he was now taught to consider the importance of the office of the first Master under the English Constitution.

To the Lodge of Antiquity he now began chiefly to confine his attention, and during his mastership, which continued for some years, the lodge increased in numbers and improved in its finances.

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort, and the Secretaryship of Thomas French, he had become a useful assistant in arranging the General Regulations of the Society, and reviving the foreign and country correspondence. Having been appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Secretary, under James Heseltine, he compiled for the benefit of the charity, the History of Remarkable Occurrences, inserted in the first two publications of the "Freemasons' Calendar," and also prepared for the press an appendix to the "Book of Constitutions," from 1767, published in 1776.

From the various memoranda he had made, he was enabled to form the History of Masonry, afterwards printed in his "Illustrations." The office of Deputy Grand Secretary he soon after voluntarily resigned.

The Schismatic body, under whose banner he had been initiated, were regarded by him with very scant affection, a feeling heartily reciprocated by the Atholl (or Ancient) Grand Lodge, as the minutes of that Society attest.

Thus, in November 1775, a long correspondence between William Preston, styled "a

[1] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, with an Account of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1804, p. 192.

"March 2, 1763.—Bro^r. Rob^t. Lochhead petitioned for Dispensation to make Masons at the sign of the White Hart, in the Strand—And a dispensation was granted to him to continue in force for the space of 30 days" (Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England "According to the Old Institutions—*i.e.*, of the Schismatics or 'Ancients'").

[3] Bearing curiously enough (1756-70) the same number—111—as that of his mother lodge.

Lecturer on Masonry in London," and William Masson, Grand Secretary of Scotland, was read —the former having endeavoured to establish an understanding between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the "Modern"[1] Grand Lodge—but being referred by the latter to B^ro^. Will^m^. Dickey, Grand Secretary, "Ancients," for information, in a reply dated October 9, states:— "It is with regret I understand by your letter, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland has been so grossly imposed upon as to have established a correspondence with an irregular body of men, who falsely assume the *appellation* of *Antient* Masons."

From the resolutions passed on this occasion, we find that the "Ancient" Grand Lodge stigmatised, in terms of great severity, certain passages in Preston's writings,[2] for example, where describing the "Ancients," he mentions their rise into notice, "under the fictitious sanction of the Ancient York Constitution, which was entirely dropt at the revival in 1717"— and they placed on record an expression of surprise at "an Ancient Grand Lodge, being said to be revived by entirely dropping the old Constitutions." "Of equal sense and veracity," did they deem a further statement of Preston's, "that the regular masons were obliged to adopt fresh measures, and some variations were made in and additions to the established forms," remarking that an adoption of fresh measures and variations was openly confessed, nor could human wisdom conceive how such a change could be constitutional or even useful in detecting impostors, though it was plain that such new change might be sufficient to distinguish the members of the new Masonical Heresy from those who adhered to the good old system." They also "thought it remarkable (if such alterations were absolutely necessary) that no account of them had been transmitted to Scotland or Ireland, as such alterations obliterated the ancient landmarks in such manner as to render the ancient system scarcely distinguishable by either of those nations, tho' ever famous for Masonry."

The dispute in which Preston's Lodge, at his instigation became embroiled with the "regular or Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England, originated in this way:—

The Rev. M. H. Eccles, rector of Bow, having been re-elected chaplain to the Lodge of Antiquity, engaged to preach an anniversary sermon on December 27, 1777, particulars of which were advertised in the *Gazetteer* for December 24. The brethren proceeded to church informally, clothing as masons in the vestry. On returning they walked to the Lodge room without having divested themselves of their masonic clothing. John Noorthouck, a member, took exception to the latter action of the Lodge, but Preston claimed that "the proceedings of the Brethren on St John's Day were perfectly conformable to the principles of the Institution and the laws of the Society." Preston cited the law respecting processions, but contended that it was not "calculated to debar the members of any private lodge from offering up their adoration to the Deity in a public place of worship in the character of masons, under

[1] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established A.D. 1717. The so-called "Ancients" being a Schismatic body, dating—as a Grand Lodge—from 1752-3. The epithets, *Ancient* and *Modern*, as applied to the rival Grand Lodges, will be dealt with in the next chapter—meanwhile, I may explain that whilst preferring the use of more suitable expressions, to distinguish between the two bodies, *the terms actually employed* will be given as far as possible, when quoting from official records. *Cf. ante*, p. 287, note 2.

[2] The reference given in the minutes is—"p. 4, line 35, etc."—and the publication quoted from must have been a pamphlet printed after the 2d edit. of the "Illustrations of Masonry." The passages referred to, slightly amplified, will be found (under the year 1739) in all the later editions; also in the "Freemasons' Calendar," 1776; and the "Constitutions," 1784.

the direction of their master." Noorthouck and Bottomley failed to obtain the consent of the members to a resolution terming the procession an "unguarded transaction," but on Preston moving "that the Lodge of Antiquity disapproves of any general processions of a masonic nature contrary to the authority of the Grand Lodge," it was passed unanimously. A memorial was presented to the Grand Lodge by the minority, signed by the two mentioned, and two others, four in all. A reply to this protest was also signed in open lodge on January 27, 1778, by all but six (including Preston), and by six others subsequently who were not at the meeting, making a total of seventeen. The R.W.M. (John Wilson) and Preston waited on the Grand Secretary in the interim, imploring him to do his utmost to obtain an amicable settlement.[1] The "Committee of Charity," on January 30, 1778, sided with the minority, and as Preston justified the proceedings of the Lodge, on the ground of its possessing certain "inherent privileges by virtue of its original constitution, that other lodges of a more modern date were not possessed of," resolved that the Lodge of Antiquity possessed no other privilege than its rank according to seniority, and "Mr Preston was desired publicly to retract that doctrine, as it might tend to create a schism." This he refused to do, or to sign a declaration to the same purport, and was forthwith expelled from the Society.[2] At the Quarterly Communication ensuing, however, he presented the following memorial:—"I am sorry I have uttered a doctrine contrary to the general opinion of the Grand Lodge, and declare *I will never in future* promulgate or propagate a doctrine of any inherent right, privilege, or pre-eminence in Lodge No. 1 more than any other lodge, except its priority as the senior Lodge." The motion for his expulsion was then rescinded.[3]

There, it might have been expected, matters would have been allowed to rest, but the lamentable course pursued by the majority in the Lodge, in expelling Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly, led to fresh disturbances. At the Quarterly Communication held April 8, 1778, the Master of No. 1 was directed to produce the Minute Book on the 29th of the month, and Preston's name was ordered to be struck off the list of members of the "Hall Committee," "by reason of his having been chiefly instrumental in fomenting discord in the Lodge No. 1; and his being otherwise obnoxious to the greatest part of the Society."

On January 29, 1779, the Master of No. 1 being called upon by the Committee of Charity to state whether their order,[4] respecting the restoration of Brothers Bottomley, Noorthouck, and Brearly, had been complied with. "Bro. Wm. Rigge, the Master, stated that on the evening of the last Quarterly Communication, viz., Nov. 4, last, it was resolved not to comply with the order of the Grand Lodge, and that the Lodge should withdraw itself from the authority of the Grand Lodge in London, and immediately join what they called the York Grand Lodge, after which the health of James Siddell was drank as Grand Master of Masons, the said Bro. Wm. Rigge and Brother Le Caan only dissenting. And that it was further

[1] So far, Preston himself, in his "State of Facts," but the subsequent proceedings, at the Committee of Charity, are given from the actual minutes of that body.

[2] Minutes, Committee of Charity, January 30, 1778.

[3] Grand Lodge Minutes, February 4, 1778.

[4] Made October 30, 1778. At this meeting "a Pamphlet lately published by Bro. Wm. Preston under the title of 'a State of Facts,' was cited as containing 'many *severe, inflammatory,* and *false* Reflections upon the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge in general, and upon the Conduct of Brother Heseltine, the Grand Secretary, in particular.'"

resolved to notify such proceedings to the Grand Secretary, and that a manifesto[1] should be published to the world."

It was further stated that a minority—who were desirous of continuing their allegiance to the Grand Lodge—opposed the violent proceedings of the majority, and informed the latter, that they had no right to take away the books and furniture of the lodge, which were the joint property of all the members, "notwithstanding which the factious junto, in defiance of every rule of justice, honour, or common honesty, in the deadest hour of the night, by force took away all the furniture, Jewels, and Books belonging to the Lodge, and had since assembled under a pretended [and] ridiculous authority called by them the Grand Lodge of York Masons, of which one James Siddell, a tradesman in York, calls himself Grand Master."

It was also reported that the "Manifesto" alluded to had been published and dispersed, also that the members who remained true to their allegiance had elected the said Wm. Rigge their Master, and had restored Brothers Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly to their rank and status in the Lodge. The following resolution was then passed by the Committee of Charity:—

"That whenever the Majority of a Lodge determine to quit the Society, the Constitution and Power of Assembling remains with the rest of the members who are desirous of continuing their alliance."

After which John Wilson, William Preston—described as a "Journeyman Printer"—and nine others, were expelled from the Society, and their names ordered to be "transmitted to all regular Lodges, with an Injunction not to receive or admit them as members or otherwise; *nor* to countenance, acknowledge, or admit into their Lodges, any Person or Persons, assuming or calling themselves by the name of *York Masons*, or by any other Denomination than that of *Free* and *Accepted Masons*, under the Authority of, or in Alliance and Friendship with, the Grand Lodge of England,[2] of which his Grace the Duke of Manchester is at present Grand Master."

These proceedings—confirmed by Grand Lodge, February 3, 1779—evoked a further pamphlet from the seceders, dated March 24 in the same year, and issued from the Queen's Arms Tavern, St Paul's, under the hand of "J. Sealy, Secretary," wherein they protest against "the very disrespectful and injurious manner in which the names of several brethren are mentioned," and "the false, mean, and scandalous designations annexed to them."[3]

The expelled members, as we have seen, resorted to the "Deputation from the Grand Lodge of *all* England to the R. W. Lodge of Antiquity, constituting the latter a Grand Lodge of England south of the River Trent, dated March 29, 1779,"[4] and were soon actively engaged under their new constitution.

Mr John Wilson, late Master of No. 1, was the first Grand Master, and Mr John Sealy the Grand Secretary, the inaugural proceedings taking place on June 24, 1779—Preston having the office of Grand Orator conferred upon him on November 3. On April 19, 1780, Mr Benjamin

[1] Printed by Hughan in "Masonic Sketches and Reprints" (Appendix D); and by myself in the "Four Old Lodges," p. 26.

[2] *I.e.*, as distinguished from the other Grand Lodge of England (*Ancients*), of which the Duke of Atholl (also at the head of the Scottish craft) was then the Grand Master.

[3] A copy of this pamphlet (folio) is to be found in the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity.

[4] Hargrove says it was granted in 1799 (*op. cit.*, p. 476), but this was probably due to a typographical error only, 1779 being intended.

Bradley was installed as the second Grand Master, Preston being appointed his D.G.M., and Messrs Donaldson and Sealy were elected Grand Treasurer and Secretary respectively. The only two lodges formed under the auspices of this "feudal" Grand Lodge were numbered one and two, the junior being the first to be constituted. The ceremony took place at the "Queen's Head Tavern," Holborn, on August 9, 1779. The lodge was named "Perseverance and Triumph," and had Preston for its first Master. On November 15, 1779, the "Lodge of Perfect Observance" was constituted at the "Mitre Tavern," Fleet Street—P. Lambert de Lintot[1] being R.W.M. Mr B. H. Latrobe was Grand Secretary in 1789, and in a report to the "Grand Lodge of all England held at York," mentioned that "at the last Q.C., 29 Dec. 1789, the decayed state of the two Lodges was taken into consideration," and a deputation was appointed to make due inquiries. This was followed by a favourable result, which led that official to remark that, "upon the whole, the prospect before us seems to be less gloomy than that we have had for some time past."

As the "Lodge of Antiquity" preserved a dual existence, the private lodge and the Grand Lodge (offshoot of the York Grand Lodge) being kept quite distinct (on paper)—though virtually one and the same body—there were, in a certain sense, three subordinate lodges on the roll of the "Grand Lodge of England south of the Trent."[2]

During the suspension of his masonic privileges by the Grand Lodge of England, Preston rarely or ever attended any meetings of the Society, though he was a member of many lodges both at home and abroad. It was at this period of his life that he wrote the passages in his "Illustrations" concerning the "inherent rights" of the four lodges of 1717, which have been since adopted by the generality of Masonic historians. In the edition of 1781, referring to the subject, he observes—"when the former editions of this Book were printed, the author was not sufficiently acquainted with this part of the history of Masonry in England."[3] It may be so, and the reflections in which he indulges during the "Antiquity" schism were possibly the result of honest research, rather than mere efforts of the imagination. However, I shall follow the example, and echo the words last quoted, of the writer whose memoir I am compiling, by asking the readers of my "Four Old Lodges" to believe that when "that book was printed, the author"—to the extent that he took on trust the loose statements in the "Illustrations"—"was not sufficiently acquainted with those parts of the history of Masonry in England."

A memorial from Preston respecting his expulsion, was laid before Grand Lodge on April 8, 1789, but it was not even allowed to be read. At the ensuing Grand Feast, however, in the May following, wiser councils prevailed, and mainly through the mediation of William Birch, afterwards Master of the Lodge of Antiquity. Preston and those expelled with him in 1779, all "expressing their desire of promoting conciliatory measures with the Grand Lodge, and signifying their concern that through misrepresentation they should have incurred the displeasure of Grand Lodge—their wish to be restored to the privileges of the Society, to the

[1] Some notes respecting Lintot will be found in the *Freemason*, February 11, March 11, and May 6, 1882.

[2] Further details respecting these lodges are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 59; and by Whytehead in the *Freemason* for May 14, 1881, May 11, 1882, and December 13, 1884. Of the "Antiquity" Grand Lodge, I have merely to record that there were but two Grand Masters—John Wilson and Benjamin Bradley—and two Grand Secretaries—John Sealy, and later, B. H. Latrobe.

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1781, p. 224.

laws of which they were ready to conform," the Grand Lodge, being "satisfied with their apology," ordered that they should be restored to their privileges in the Society.[1] It has been said that Preston came out of this dispute the victor. Such was far from being the case. The attitude of the Grand Lodge of England was the same from first to last—that is to say, in the view which it adopted with regard to the great question of privilege raised by the senior Lodge on its roll. The "Manifesto" of the latter was revoked. The "majority" party tendered their submission. The "Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent" passed into the realm of tradition, and the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, reunited after many years of discord, have since that period, and up to the present day, worked together in such love and harmony as to render the Senior English Lodge, all that even William Preston could have desired,—viz., a pattern and a model for all its juniors on the roll.

In 1787 Preston was instrumental in forming—or, to use the Masonic equivalent, "*reviving*" —the Grand Chapter of Harodim, particulars of which are given in his work.[2] But it is upon his "Illustrations of Masonry" that his fame chiefly rests. Of this twelve editions were published in the lifetime of the author; and the late Godfrey Higgins was not far out in his statement that it "contains much useful information, but [Preston] had not the least suspicion of the real origin of Masonry."[3] It would be possible to go much further, but we should do well to recollect that "the times immediately preceding their own are what all men are least acquainted with."[4] It was Preston's merit that he sought to unravel many historical puzzles a stage or two removed from his own in point of time; and it must be regarded as his misfortune that he failed in his laudable purpose. He was too prone to generalise largely from a very small number of solitary facts; and of this a striking example is afforded by his observations on the early history of the Great Schism, upon which I have already had occasion to enlarge.

Preston died, after a long illness, on April 1, 1818, aged seventy-six, and was buried in St Paul's Cathedral. Among the bequests in his will were £500 consols to the Fund of Benevolence, and £300 consols as an endowment to ensure the annual delivery of the Prestonian lecture.

Returning to the history of Freemasonry at York, the following list of Grand Masters and Grand Secretaries from 1761, though not complete, is fuller than any before published.

	Grand Masters.	Grand Secretaries.
1761-2.	Francis Drake, F.R.S.	John Tasker.
1763.	John S. Morritt.	Do.
1764-6.	John Palmes.	Do.
1767.	Seth Agar.	David Lambert.
1768-70.	George Palmes.	Thomas Williamson.
1771-2.	Sir T. Gascoigne, Bart.	Thomas Johnson.

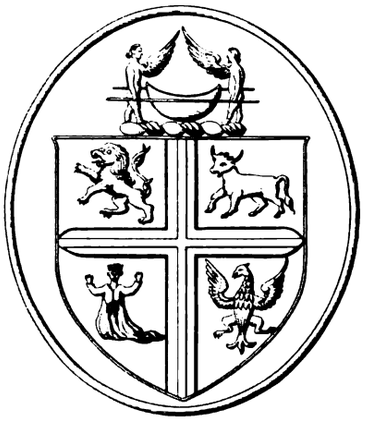
[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, May 4, 1789, and printed, with some slight variation, in the Grand Lodge Proceedings, November 25, 1789.

[2] Ed. 1792, p. 355.

[3] Anacalypsis, 1836, vol. i., p. 817.

[4] Horace Walpole, Letters to Sir H. Mann, vol. i., p. 181.

GRAND LODGE SEALS



1 COPPER SEAL AT YORK
Counter seal of N° 7
circa 1776-1779

2 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813

3 GRAND CHAPTER.
YORK *circa* 1780.
(Brass)

4 GRAND CHAPTER
ATHOLL *before* 1817

5 UNITED GRAND CHAPTER
LONDON 1817

6 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
ATHOLL *before* 1813

7 THE GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND
YORK *circa* 1776-1779
(brass)

8 GRAND CHAPTER, LONDON.
1769 – 1817

10 THE OFFICE SEAL OF
THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813

9 SILVER SEAL AT YORK
circa 1761

W H Rylands, Direx.

Wm M Smith Del & Sculp

Thomas C Jack, London & Edinburgh

1773.	Charles Chaloner.	Nicholas Nickson.
1774.	Henry Stapilton.	Do.
1775.	Do.	Joseph Atkinson.
1776-8.	William Siddall.	Jacob Bussey.
1779.	Do.	John Browne.
1780.	Francis Smyth, Jun.	Do.
1782.	Robert Sinclair.	Do.
1783-4.	William Siddall.	William Blanchard.
1790.	Thomas Kilby.	Do.
1792.	Edward Wolley.[1]	Do.

I must now advert to some novelties which found their way into and were considered a part of the York Masonic system. The subject is one that requires very delicate handling, and I shall do my best to avoid giving offence, either to those who believe that genuine Freemasonry consists of three degrees, and no more; or to the other and perhaps larger section of the Fraternity, who are not content with the simple system known to our Masonic forefathers—Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers. On both sides of the question a great deal might be advanced which it would be difficult to answer; but I shall endeavour to steer clear of the difficulties that beset our path—whether we incline in the one direction or the other—by rigidly confining myself, as far as possible, to actual facts, and by carefully eschewing (within the same limitations) those points of divergence upon which all good Masons can *agree* to *differ*.

Happily the Freemasons of England, who composed their differences and were reunited on a broader platform in 1813, are justified in leaving the consideration of all moot points of discipline and ceremonial of earlier date, to the antiquaries of the Craft, against whose research even the Solemn Act of Union cannot be pleaded as an estoppel.[2]

The additional ceremonies which had crept into use shortly before the fusion of the two Grand Lodges, are pleasantly alluded to by William Preston, who observes:

"It is well known to the Masons of this country, that some men of warm and enthusiastic imaginations have been disposed to amplify parts of the institution of Freemasonry, and in their supposed improvements to have elevated their *discoveries* into *new degrees*, to which they have added ceremonies, rituals, and dresses, ill-suited to the native simplicity of the Order, *as it was originally practised in this country*. But all these degrees, though probably deserving reprehension, as improper innovations on the original system of Masonry, I can never believe that they have either proceeded from bad motives, or could be viewed in any other light *than as innocent and inoffensive amusements*."[3]

"By the Solemn Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free-Masons of England, in December 1813, it was 'declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.'"[4]

This is a little confusing. The degree—as we now have it—of Installed Master not being

[1] Afterwards called Copley, of Potto Hall, near Stokesley.

[2] *Cf.* The Four Old Lodges, p. 87 (III.).

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, edit. 1804, pp. 339, 340.

[4] Book of Constitutions, 1884, p. 16.

mentioned at all, whilst that of the Royal Arch is brought in as the complement of certain other degrees, which, it was expressly stated, were *all* that existed of their kind.

The Grand Lodge of York went further, as will be shortly told; but it is first of all necessary to observe, that until quite recently the earliest allusion to Royal Arch Masonry (at York) was to be found in the "Treasurer's Book of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons," commencing April 29, 1768; but the fortunate discovery of Messrs Whytehead and Todd in 1879 now enables us to trace the degree back to February 7, 1762. "Passing over the mention of the Royal Arch by the 'Atholl' Masons in 1752, the next in order of priority is the precious little volume at York. . . . Its chief value consists in being the earliest records of a Chapter, including a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, known."[1] Full particulars of this valuable minute-book will be found in Mr Whytehead's article, entitled "The Royal Arch at York."[2] Hughan, who has carefully examined the volume, does not consider that it could have been the first record of the Royal Arch at York, though it is the earliest preserved. The meetings are described as those of a "Lodge"—not a "Chapter"—up to April 29, 1768; and the association, though evidently an offshoot of Lodge No. 259 at the "Punch Bowl," the chief officer ("P. H.") in 1762 being Frodsham, who was the first Master of that Lodge, it gradually obtained the support of the York Grand Lodge, and ultimately developed into a Grand Chapter for that degree. The special value of the volume is its record of the warrants granted to Royal Arch Chapters in the neighbourhood of York, the first of which was *petitioned* for on December 28, 1769, being the date of the earliest issued by the Grand Chapter in London ("Moderns"), which was granted on February 7, 1770. The book ends on January 6, 1776, the thread of the narrative being continued in another volume, beginning February 8, 1778, and ending September 10, 1781, which was recognised by Hughan amongst the books in the Grand Lodge of England. The "York" Lodge, by petition to the then Grand Master, Lord Zetland, secured its return to their archives, with the folio minute book, and two old MSS., which were all at that time preserved in the office of the Grand Secretary. Four Royal Arch warrants at least were granted, and probably more.

1. Ripon, ...	Agreed to	February 7, 1770.
2. "Crown" Inn, Knaresborough, . .	„	April 1770.
3. Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons, .	„	October 1770.
4. "Druidical" Chapter, Rotherham, .	„	February 25, 1780.

These Chapters appear to have been held under the protecting wings of Craft Lodges, as is the custom now—three out of the four preserving a connection with the "York" Grand Lodge, and the other, as already shown, being a regimental Lodge of the "Atholl" Masons. The degree was conferred at York on brethren hailing from Hull, Leeds, and other towns, which suggests that a knowledge of Royal Arch Masonry even at that period was far from being confined to the schismatics of London[3]—but of this more hereafter. The officers of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" were elected "Masters of this Royal Arch Chapter whenever such Presiding Officers shall be members hereof. In case of default, they shall be succeeded by the senior members

[1] Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 64. [2] Freemason, November 7, 1879.
[3] *I.e.*, the Masons under the obedience of the "Atholl" or "Ancient" Grand Lodge.

of the Royal Arch Chapter (May 2, 1779)." The only copy of a York charter (R. A.) known, is given by Hughan,[1] and was issued on July 6, 1780, to members of the "Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Masons at Rotherham," under the seal of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England."

A unique meeting of the Royal Arch degree (not the "*third*," as Hargrove erroneously states) took place on May 27, 1778, in York Cathedral, and is thus described: "The Royal Arch Brethren whose names are undermentioned assembled in the Ancient Lodge, now a sacred Recess with[in] the Cathedral Church of York, and then and there opened a Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons in the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch. The Chapter was held, and then closed in usual form, being adjourned to the first Sunday in June, except in case of Emergency." This unusual gathering, in all probability, has supplied the text or basis for the "tradition" that the Grand Lodge in olden time was in the habit of holding its august assemblies in the crypt of the venerated Minster.

On June 2, 1780, the Grand Chapter resolved that "the Masonic Government, anciently established by the Royal Edwin, and now existing at York under the title of The Grand Lodge of All England, comprehending in its nature *all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry*, very justly claims the subordination of all other Lodges or Chapters of Free and Accepted Masons in this Realm." The degrees were five in number, viz.: the first three, the Royal Arch, and that of Knight Templar. The Grand Lodge, on June 20, 1780, assumed their protection, and its minute-book was utilised in part for the preservation of the records of the Royal Arch and Knight Templar Degrees. Hughan considers that the draft of a certificate preserved at York for the five degrees of January 26, 1779, to November 29, 1779, "is the oldest dated reference that we know of to Knight Templary in England."[2]

Of the Encampments warranted by the Grand Lodge of *all* England for the "Fifth Degree," *i.e.*, the Knight Templar, I know but of two, viz.:

K. T. Encampment, Rotherham,[3].	.	July 6, 1780.
Do., No. 15, Manchester,[4]	.	October 10, 1786.

What ultimately became of the first mentioned is unknown, but the second seems to have joined the Grand Encampment held in London, under "Thomas Dunkerley, G.M.," the charter bearing date May 20, 1795.[5]

It will be seen, therefore, that, though various methods were employed to preserve the vitality of the York organisation, the prestige and prosperity generally of the rival Grand Lodges in London ultimately brought about its dissolution. Notwithstanding the recognition of the Royal Arch Degree, and subsequently of the Templar ceremony, the Grand Lodge of *all* England—if we except the transitory Grand Lodge formed in London—never exercised any influence beyond Yorkshire and Lancashire; and hence *all its warrants*, which have been traced from the earliest down to the latest records, were authorised to be held in those two

[1] Masonic Sketches, pt. ii., p. 18.

[2] T. B. Whytehead, "The Connection between the Templars and the Freemasons in the City of York," 1877. See also Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 68.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 62.

[4] John Yarker, Notes on the Orders of the Temple and St John, etc., 1869.

[5] *Ibid.*

counties only. The boast, therefore, of being "York Masons," so frequently indulged in, more especially in the United States, is an utterly baseless one, because the Grand Lodge of York (as we are justified in inferring) had outlived all its daughter Lodges—which existed in England only—before sinking into its final slumber towards the close of the last century. Even at the height of its fortunes, the York branch of the Society was a very small one. Still, however, the relative antiquity of the *Lodge*—which certainly existed in the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier—invests the history of Freemasonry at this traditional centre with an amount of interest which, it is hoped, will more than justify the space which has been accorded to its narration.

Before, however, passing from the subject, a few words have yet to be said respecting the seals used by the now extinct Grand Lodge of *all* England, for impressions of which I have to thank Mr Joseph Todd; and with this description I shall include, for the sake of convenience, that of some other arms, of which plates are given.

When a seal was first used by the York Masons it is now impossible to decide. The seal affixed to the York "Constitutions and Certificates," as described by the Grand Secretary on December 14, 1767, in a letter to the "Grand Lodge of England," was "Three Regal Crowns, with this Circumscription: 'Sigillum Edwini Northum. Regis.'"[1] I take this to be the "Old Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms," of silver, mentioned in the inventory of Jan. 1, 1776, as "An iron screw press, with a Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms let into the fall," and also in the "Schedule of the Regalia and Records, etc.," of September 15, 1779. In the latter inventory is named "A Seal and Counter Seal, the first bearing the arms of Prince Edwin, and the other the arms of Masonry." The seal-in-chief of the latter is of brass, and bears the legend: "✠ Sigil : Frat : Ebor : Per. Edwin : Coll :" above the three crowns being the year "A.D. 926." The "Counter Seal" (of copper) contains the arms and crest, as used by the "Atholl" Masons, of which I shall have occasion to speak further on.[2]

It is quite clear to me, that the first seal mentioned, is the one referred to by Grand Secretary Lambert in 1767, and that it was set aside later on for the "Seal and Counter Seal" named in the inventory of 1779. Impressions of the latter are attached to the warrant or deputation to "The Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," of March 29, 1779, and are in an oval tin box, opening with movable lids on both sides, happily still preserved by the Lodge of Antiquity. It would therefore be made between the dates of the two inventories—1776-1779.

An engraving of these seals (seal and counter seal) is to be found in Hargrove's "History of York,"[3] and likewise in Hughan's latest work.[4] The seal preserved of the Grand Chapter (York) is apparently the one mentioned in the records, March 3, 1780—"Ordered that a Seal be provided for the use of the Grand Chapter, not exceeding half a Guinea." It was paid for on April 7. The design is of an unusual kind, being a rainbow resting on clouds at each end; below is a triangle, and then a crescent, and the legend, "Grand-Royal-Arch-Chapter-York." It has been reproduced by Hughan for the first time, who, however, is not correct

[1] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52. The author styles this the "*Counter* Seal," in his "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; but I should doubt its having been used for that purpose.

[2] "A large silk Banner, with the Society's Arms, Mottos, etc., painted on both sides, fringed about with silk fringe," is entered in the inventories of 1776 and 1779. (See coloured plate.)

[3] History of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 477.

[4] Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884.

in treating the seal of the "Arms of Masonry" as the *counter* seal of the Grand Chapter, as it is distinctly stated in the inventory of 1779 to be that of the Grand Lodge. I believe we owe to Mr W. H. Rylands the correct arrangement of the seals at York.

Colonel Shadwell Clerke, Grand Secretary, has kindly placed at my disposal impressions of the seals preserved at Grand Lodge. Of these, the more important will be found engraved with those from York. In order to distinguish the seals of the two Grand Lodges of England, the title "Atholl" has been used in one case. It may be pointed out that the arms used by "The Grand Lodge of Masons," as it is styled on the seal (No. 2), are those granted to the Masons' Company, with the colours changed, the addition of beavers as supporters, and with a bird assumed to be intended for a dove, but here more nearly resembling a falcon, substituted for the original crest of a towered castle. The other Grand Lodge, called on the seal (No. 6) "of Free and Accepted Masons," bears the arms as given by Dermott in 1764, and called the "Arms of Masonry" in the York Inventory of 1779. Of the two coloured plates very little need be said, as the inscriptions, like those of the seals, sufficiently describe what they represent. They include reduced copies of the arms as given in the grants to the Masons' and Carpenters' Companies in the fifteenth century,—of the Marblers, Freemasons (the towers being in this instance gold), and the Bricklayers and Tilers, as painted upon the Gateshead Charter of 1671. The date *circa* 1680, of the panel in the possession of Mr Rylands, is, in the opinion of some antiquaries, the *earliest* to which it may be attributed; most probably the blue of the field in the first and third quarters has perished. For a careful coloured drawing of the banner already referred to, I am indebted to Mr Joseph Todd, who has most willingly placed at my disposal in this as in other matters all the information of which he is in possession. As this banner is mentioned in the Inventories of January 1, 1776, and September 15, 1779, it must have been for some little time in the possession of the Lodge at York, otherwise it could not be the same as that mentioned in the minutes under December 27, 1779, then said to be presented by Bro. William Siddall.

The arms of the Stonemasons of Strassburg from the seal *circa* 1725, is coloured according to the description given by Heideloff; and in the case of those of the Nurenberg, also loosely described by the same author, Mr W. H. Rylands is of opinion that the description is perhaps to be understood,—following a usual custom in heraldry, that the arms and colours were the same as those of Strassburg, only "with this difference, it is the bend that is red," that is to say, the colours were simply reversed for distinction. The arms of the city of Cologne are given for comparison with those from the seal of the Masons of that city, found on the Charter, dated 1396. No colours are to be noticed on the original seal, which appears with others of the same class on a plate in an earlier portion of this work. In a most courteous reply to a request made by Mr Rylands for help in the matter, Dr Höhlbaum, Stadtarchivar of Cologne, although he agreed that the colours were most probably based on those in the arms of the city, was unfortunately unable to give any definite information on the subject. These colours have been followed in the plate. The three coronets on an azure field, were the arms borne by the Grand Lodge of *all* England—"Prince Edwin's arms"—and are therefore the same as those given on the York Seals.

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND "ACCORDING TO OLD INSTITUTIONS."

THE Minutes of that Schismatic body, commonly, but erroneously, termed the "Ancient Masons," commence in the following manner:

"TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GRAND COMMITTEE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

At the Griffin Tavern in Holborn, London, Feb. 5th, 1752. MR HAGARTY [1] IN THE CHAIR.

Also present the Officers of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, being the Representatives of all the Ancient Masons in and adjacent to London. Brother John Morgan, Grand Secretary, Informed the Committee that he being lately appointed to an office on board one of His Majesty's ships, he rec^{d}. orders to prepare for his departure, and therefore advised the Grand Committee to chose a new Secretary immediately.

Upon which Bro. John Morris, past Master of No. 5, and Bro. Laurence Dermott of Nos. 9 and 10, and past Master No. 26, in Dublin, were proposed and admitted as candidates for the office of Grand Secretary, and Grand Secretary Morgan was ordered to examine the Candidates separately, and report his opinion of their Qualifications.

After a long and minute Examination, relative to Initiation, passing, Instalations, and General Regulations, etc., Bro. Morgan declared that Bro. Laurence Dermott was duly qualified for the Office of Grand Secretary.

Whereon, the Worshipful Master in the Chair put up the Names of John Morris and Laurence Dermott, seperately, when the latter was Unanimously chosen Grand Secretary; and accordingly he was installed (in the Ancient Manner) by the Worshipful M^{r} James Hagarty, Master of No. 4, then presiding officer, assisted by M^{r} John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, and the Masters present.

After which Bro. Morgan (at the request of the president) proclaimed the new Grand Secretary thrice, according to ancient custom, upon which the new Secretary received the

[1] "The above Mr James Hagarty is a painter, and lives now (1752) in Leather Lane, London" [Note in Original].

usual salutes, and then the President and late Grand Secretary, John Morgan, delivered the books, etc., into the hands of the new Secretary, Upon certain conditions which was agreed by all parties, and which conditions the said Worshipful Bro. James Hagarty can explain.[1]

The Grand Committee unanimously joined in wishing B^ro^. Morgan Health and a successful voyage, and then closed with the Greatest Harmony. Having adjourned to Wednesday, the fourth of March next."

Of Laurence Dermott, the first Grand Secretary of the Seceders, it may be said, without erring on the side of panegyric, that he was the most remarkable Mason that ever existed. "As a polemic," observes a judicious writer, "he was sarcastic, bitter, uncompromising, and not altogether sincere or veracious. But in intellectual attainments he was inferior to none of his adversaries, and in a philosophical appreciation of the character of the Masonic Institution, he was in advance of the spirit of his age."[2] Yet although a very unscrupulous writer, he was a matchless administrator. In the former capacity he was the embodiment of the maxim, "*de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace,*" but in the latter, he displayed qualities which we find united in no other member of the Craft, who came either before or after him.

As Grand Secretary, and later as Deputy Grand Master, he was simply the life and soul of the body with which he was so closely associated. He was also its historian, and to the influence of his writings, must be attributed, in a great measure, the marvellous success of the Schism.

The epithets of "Ancient" and "Modern" applied by Dermott to the usages of his own and of the older Society respectively, produced a really wonderful result.[3] The antithesis at once caught the public ear, and what is perhaps the strangest fact connected with the whole affair, the terms soon passed into general use, among the brethren under *both* Grand Lodges. The senior of these bodies, it is true, occasionally protested against the employment of expressions, which implied a relative inferiority on the part of its own members,[4] but the epithets stuck, and we constantly meet with them in the minute-books of lodges under the *older* system, where they were apparently used without any sense of impropriety.[5]

The memoirs of Laurence Dermott, for the most part inscribed by his own hand, are given us in the records of the "Ancients." By this I do not mean that we have there his autobiography, but the personality of the man was so marked, that with brief exceptions from the time the minutes commence, down to the date of his last appearance in Grand Lodge, the history of that body is very largely composed of personal incidents in the career of its Secretary and Deputy Grand Master.

Some curious anecdotes may be gleaned from these old records; and if Warburton's *dictum* be sound, who set more value on one material historical anecdote, than on twenty new

[1] "Be it Remembered that M^r^ John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, had a certain claim on the Manuscripts here said to be delivered to Laurence Dermott. Which claim was acknowledged by the G^d^. Committee as good and lawful, and for that and other Good Reason which cannot be committed to writing. The Worshipful Grand Committee did agree with Brother John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, that the new Secretary, Lau. Dermott, should be solemnly bound never to deliver the said Manuscript (viz., a Large folio bound in White Vellum) to any person, But him the said John Morgan or his order in writing" [*Ibid.*].

[2] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s. v.* [3] *Ante*, p. 287, note 2. [4] *Ante*, pp. 397, 426.

[5] *Post*, pp. 444, note 2; 462, 463; and see "The Four Old Lodges," p. 35.

hypotheses in Philosophy, or a hundred good criticisms—we cannot do better than trace the fortunes of Laurence Dermott, under the guidance of his own hand.

But before entering upon this task, a few preliminary words are essential. Laurence Dermott was born in Ireland, 1720; initiated into Masonry, 1740; installed as Master of No. 26,[1] Dublin, June 24, 1746; and in the same year became a Royal Arch Mason. Shortly after this, he came to England; and in 1748, joined a lodge under the *regular* establishment, but had shifted his allegiance, and become a member of Nos. 9 and 10, on the Roll of the Schismatics, when elected Grand Secretary by the latter, February 5, 1752. This office he laid down in 1771; and on March 27, that year, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, being succeeded, at his own request, by William Dickey, December 1777. He was again "Deputy" from December 27, 1783, until the recurrence of the same festival in 1787, when—also at his own request—he was succeeded by James Perry. His last attendance at Grand Lodge occurred June 3, 1789, and he died in June 1791.[2] There is no allusion to his death in the "Atholl" Records; and the only one I have met with in those of other Masonic jurisdictions, is the following: "June 4, 1792. *Resolved*, that in order to show the just regard and respect of this Grand Lodge for our late Bro. Laurence Dermott, the patron and founder thereof, it be recommended to every member of this Grand Lodge to appear on St John's Day next, with Aprons bordered with black or other marks of mourning."[3]

Dermott—who, the Minutes of July 13, 1753, inform us, "was obliged to work twelve hours in the day, for the Master Painter who employed him"—in all probability owed his appointment as Grand Secretary to the influence of James Hagarty, in whose employment it is very possible he was at the time.

As time advanced, his circumstances in life improved, for in 1764, the officers of No. 31 offered to become his security to the amount of £1000, if he was chosen Grand Treasurer; in 1766, he was able to subscribe £5 towards the relief of a brother in Newgate; in 1767, he "made a volluntary gift of the Grand Master's Throne, compleat, which cost in the whole, £34;" and in 1768, he is described in the records as a Wine Merchant.

His attainments were of no mean order. The Minutes of the Steward's Lodge—March 21, 1764—informs us that, an "Arabian Mason having petitioned for relief, the Grand Secretary conversed with him in the Hebrew language," after which, he was voted £1, 1s. Of Latin, he possessed at least a smattering, for when Grand Master Matthew, on being asked by him to name the text for a sermon—June 12, 1767—replied, "In principio erat sermo ille et sermo ille erat apud Deum erat que ille sermo Deus"—the Secretary at once made a bow and said, "Fungor officio meo."

Of his conscientiousness in the performance of his duties, the following affords a good illustration:

"March 19, 1766. *N.B.* The Grand Secretary was fined for swearing an oath, which fine he paid immediately; and was ordered to withdraw, during which time the Steward's Lodge order'd that the G. S. should be excused, and that the fine shou'd not be inserted among the

[1] According to the "Pocket Companion for Freemasons," Dublin, 1735, the Lodge, No. 26, then met at "the Eagle Tavern on Cork Hill."

[2] I derive this date from "Notes on Lau. Dermott and his Work," 1884, by W. M. Bywater, P. M. (and historian) of the "Royal Athelstan" Lodge, No. 19, p. 57.

[3] Early History and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Pt. ii., 1878, p. 119.

ARMS OF MASONS, CARPENTERS, ETC.

ARMS GRANTED TO THE CARPENTERS COMPANY.
OF LONDON. 6TH EDWARD IV. 1466.

ARMS GRANTED TO THE MASONS COMPANY.
OF LONDON. 12TH EDWARD IV. 1472-3.

ARMS OF THE SCULPTURES OR MARBLERS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER. 1671.

ARMS OF THE FREE MASONS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER. 1671.

W. H. Rylands Del. *Wm. H. Swaine. Sculp.*

Thomas C. Jack. London. & Edinburgh.

Transactions of the Steward's Lodge. Notwithstanding this lenitive order, the G. S. thinks he cannot violate that part of his Instalation Ceremony, which expressly says, that he shall not favour the undeserved. LAU. DERMOTT.

"Therefore I have made this note."[1]

Although frequently debarred by sickness from actual attendance at the meetings of Grand Lodge, towards the closing years of his Secretaryship, the records afford numerous examples of his devotion to the best interests of the Society. Thus, under March 7, 1770, we find: "Heard a second letter from G. S. Dermott, humbly proposing that no part of the Grand Fund be appropriated, expended, disbursed, nor ordered towards defraying the charges of any Publick Feast, Musick or Procession for the future, the Funerals of Indigent Brethren (only) excepted—and which was unanimously approved of."

In addition to his manifold labours as Secretary, he took upon himself the task of compiling a "Book of Constitutions" for the Seceders. This work—which will be hereafter considered—passed through no less than four editions during the author's lifetime,[2] and if his fame rested on nothing else, would alone serve as a lasting monument of his zeal and ability. Originally published at his own risk, its sale must have been very remunerative; and on September 29, 1785, when the thanks of Grand Lodge were voted to him for "giving up his property of 'Ahiman Rezon' to the Charity," the endowment must have been a very substantial addition to that fund.

It is worthy of notice, that in "Ahiman Rezon," 1764, whilst explaining the difference between "Antient and Modern" [Masonry], the author says: "I think it my duty to declare solemnly, before God and man, that I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen, members of the Modern Society; but, on the contrary, love and respect them."[3] "Such," he adds, fourteen years later, "was my declaration in the second edition of this book; nevertheless, some of the Modern Society have been extremely malapert of late. Not satisfied with saying the Ancient Masons in England had no Grand Master, some of them descended so far from truth as to report, the author had forged the Grand Master's hand-writing to Masonic warrants, etc. Upon application, His Grace the most Noble Prince John, Duke of Atholl, our present R. W. Grand Master's father, avowed his Grace's hand-writing, supported the Ancient Craft, and vindicated the author in the public newspapers." He then goes on to say: "As they differ in matters of Masonry, so they did in matters of calumny; for while some were charging me with forgery, others said, that I was so illiterate as not to know how to write my name. But what may appear more strange is, that some insisted that I had neither father nor mother; but that I grew up spontaneously in the corner of a potatoe garden in Ireland." "I cannot reconcile myself," he continues, "to the idea of having neither father nor mother; but . . . be that as it may, as I do not find that the calumny of a few Modern Masons has done me any real injury, I shall continue in the same mind as express'd in the declaration to which this notice is written."[4]

In Masonic circles, Dermott was probably the best abused man of his time, and he revenged himself by holding up the members of the rival Society[5] to the ridicule of the

[1] Steward's Lodge Minutes—footnote.

[2] 1756, 1764, 1778, and 1787. Subsequent editions appeared in 1800, 1801, 1807, and 1813.

[3] P. xxiv. [4] Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778.

[5] *I.e.*, The "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England.

public. Of this, one example must suffice. Describing their innovations, he says: "There was another old custom that gave umbrage to the young architects, *i.e.*, the wearing of aprons, which made the gentlemen look like so many mechanicks, therefore it was proposed, that no brother (for the future) should wear an apron. This proposal was rejected by the oldest Members, who declared that the aprons were all the signs of Masonry then remaining amongst them, and for that reason they would keep and wear them. [It was then proposed, that (as they were resolved to wear aprons) they should be turned upside down, in order to avoid appearing mechanical. This proposal took place, and answered the design, for that which was formerly the lower part, was now fastened round the abdomen, and the bib and strings hung downwards, dangling in such manner as might convince the spectators that there was not a working mason amongst them.

"Agreeable as this alteration might seem to the gentlemen, nevertheless it was attended with an ugly circumstance: for, in traversing the lodge, the brethren were subject to tread upon the strings, which often caused them to fall with great violence, so that it was thought necessary to invent several methods of walking, in order to avoid treading upon the strings.][1]

"After many years' observation on these ingenious methods of walking, I conceive that the first was invented by a man grievously afflicted with the sciatica. The second by a sailor, much accustomed to the rolling of a ship. And the third by a man who, for recreation, or through excess of strong liquors, was wont to dance the drunken peasant."[2]

Although the passages within crotchets were omitted after 1787, the remainder appeared in every later edition, including the final one of 1813. That such coarse observations could ever find their way into a work of the kind, may occasion surprise; but we should do well to recollect that when "journeymen painters" take to writing "Books of Constitutions," some little deviation from the ordinary methods must be expected. But we gain a clearer insight into the real character of the man, from the lines with which he concludes this portion of his work, wherein he expresses a hope—renewed in the two succeeding editions published before his death—that he may "live to see a general conformity and universal unity between the worthy masons of all denominations"—a hope, alas, not destined to fulfilment.

Mutatis mutandis, the description given by Burton of the split in the Associate Synod, will exactly describe the breach between, and reunion of, the Masons of England:

"After long separation, these bodies, which had been pursuing their course in different lines, re-united their forces. But, in the meantime, according to a common ecclesiastical habit, each body counted itself *the* Synod, and denied the existence of the other, save as a mob of impenitent Schismatics."[3]

As the earliest records of the Seceders are in the handwriting of Laurence Dermott, and date from his election as Grand Secretary, it is impossible to say how far, as an organised body, their existence should be carried back. A note to the minutes of September 14, 1752, affords the only clue to the difficulty, and, as will be seen, does not materially assist us. It states that a General Assembly of Ancient Masons was held at the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek Street, Soho,[4] on July 17, 1751, when the Masters of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 were authorised

[1] Ahiman Rezon, 1764, p. xxxi.

[2] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 344.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1778. Footnote to text of previous edition.

[4] May 6, 1752.—"Motion made—That this Grand Committee be removed back to the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek St., Soho, where it had [been] long held under the title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the

to grant dispensations and warrants, and to act as Grand Master. And the Masters of three lodges "did actually exercise such authority, in signing the warrant No. 8, from which [so the words run] this note is written, for Dermott never received any copy or manuscript of the former Transactions from Mr Morgan, late Grand Secretary: Nor does Laurence Dermott, the present Grand Secretary, think that Bro. Morgan did keep any book of Transactions,—though there is no certainty that he did not."

From this we learn that there were six[1] lodges in existence prior to July 17, 1751, but the exact dates of their constitution there are no means of determining; still it is not likely that the oldest of these lodges was formed before 1747.[2]

The proceedings of the Grand Committee, held March 4, 1752—Bro. John Gaunt, Master of No. 5, in the chair—are thus recorded by Laurence Dermott:

"Formal complaints made against Thomas Phealon and John Macky, better known by the name of the 'leg of mutton masons.' In course of the examination, it appeared that Phealon and Macky had initiated many persons for the mean consideration of a leg of mutton for dinner or supper, to the disgrace of the Ancient craft. That Macky was an Empiric in phisic; and both impostors in Masonry. That upon examining some brothers whom they pretended to have made Royal-Archmen,[3] the parties had not the least idea of that secret. That Dr Macky (for so he was called) pretended to teach a Masonical Art, by which any man could (in a moment) render himself invisible. That the Grand Secretary had examined Macky, and that Macky appeared incapable of making an Apprentice with any degree of propriety. Nor had Macky the least idea or knowledge of Royal-Arch Masonry. But instead thereof, he had told the people whom he deceived, a long story about 12 white Marble Stones, etc., etc. And that the Rainbow was the Royal Arch,[4] with many other absurdities equally foreign and rediculous.

"Agreed and ordered—that neither Thomas Phealon nor John Mackey be admitted into any ancient Lodge during their natural Lives."

On September 2, in the same year, it was agreed that every sick member should receive one penny per week from every registered Mason in London and Westminster; after which "the Lodge was opened in Ancient form of Grand Lodge, and every part of real Freemasonry was traced and explained" by the Grand Secretary, "except the Royal Arch."

"Dec. 6, 1752.—Resolved unanimously; that the Lodges, who by neglect or disobedience have forfeited their Rank and Number, shall be discontinued on the Registry, and the Junior Lodges who have proved themselves faithful friends of the Ancient Craft, shall henceforth

Old Institution. This motion was not seconded, and therefore dropt" (Grand Committee Minutes). An explanation of the statement embodied with the foregoing resolution, will be found above. Its value historically is scarcely equal to that of the preamble of a bill which has the ill luck not to ripen into an Act of Parliament. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VII., p. 373.

[1] The "Grand Committee of the 'Ancients,' which subsequently developed into their 'Grand Lodge,' was no doubt originally their senior private lodge, whose growth in this respect is akin to that of the Grand Chapter of the 'Moderns,' which, commencing in 1765 as a private Chapter, within a few years assumed the general direction of R. A. Masonry, and issued warrants of Constitution" (Atholl Lodges, p. ix.).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 395.

[3] The only allusion to the "*Royal* Arch," of earlier date, will be found in Dr Dassigny's "Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present Decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland," 1744. Reprinted by Hughan, in "Masonic Memorials of the Union," 1874; also in *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 368; vol. iii., pp. 5, 62, 111.

[4] *Q.* "Whence comes the Pattern of an Arch? *A.* From the Rainbow" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

bear the Title or Number so forfeited: The distribution to be according to Seniority. The Grand Secretary desired to know whether there was any other books or Manuscripts more than had been delivered to him upon the 2nd of Feb. 1752. To which several of the Brethren answered that they did not know of any; others said they knew M^r. Morgan had a roll of parchment of prodigious length, which contained some historical matters relative to the ancient Craft, which parchment they did suppose he had taken abroad with him. It was further said, That many Manuscripts were lost amongst the Lodges lately Modernized, where a vestige of the ancient Craft [*word erased*] was not suffered to be revived or practized. And that it was for this reason so many of them withdrew from Lodges (under the Modern sanction) to Support the true Ancient System. That they found the freemasons from Ireland and Scotland had been initiated in the very same manner as themselves, which confirmed their system and practice as right and just, Without which none could be deem'd legal, though possessed of all the books and papers on Earth.

"The Grand Secretary (Dermott) produced a very old Manuscript, written or copied by one Bramhall of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry the seventh; which was presented to M^r. Dermott in 1748, by one of the descendants of the writer—on perusal it proved to contain the whole matter in the fore-mentioned parchment, as well as other matters not in that parchment.

"B^r Quay moved 'that the thanks of the General committee be given to G. S. Dermott;' upon which B^m. James Bradshaw [and others] protested against any thanks or even approbation of the Secretary's conduct, who, instead of being useful, had actually Sung and lectured the Brethren out of their senses. The Secretary said—if he was so unfortunate as to sing any brother out of his Senses, he hoped the Worshipful Master in the Chair, and the Grand Committee, would allow him an hour's time, and he would endeavour to sing them into their senses again.

"The request was granted with great good humour, the Secretary made proper use of his time, and the W. Master clos'd and adjourned the Grand Committee to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand."

Several resolutions of a financial character were passed in the early part of 1753. On January 3, that every member of a Regular Lodge in and about the metropolis,[1] should contribute fourpence a month towards raising a Charity Fund; on February 7, that the officers of lodges might pay ten shillings per week to a sick member, and seven to a member confined for debt, with the assurance of being recouped from the Grand Fund; and, on April 4, that one shilling be spent by each member at every meeting; also that lodges pay two shillings and sixpence for each newly-made Mason, one shilling for joining members, and "that the G. Secretary be free from Contributions or reckonings, whilst being entitled to every benefit of the Grand Lodge, except a vote in chusing Grand Officers."[2]

The first *country* Lodge on the roll of the "Ancients" was constituted in this year. A petition from some brethren residing at Bristol was read October 3, when it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary shall proceed according to the antient custom of the Craft during the *inter Magistrum*."[3]

[1] At this time there were no others.

[2] Lodges Nos. 2 to 17 were represented at this meeting.

[3] The London lodges were usually established by means of a provisional dispensation in the first instance—*e.g.*: "June 19, 1753.—Ordered a dispensation for John Doughty, for the purpose of congregating and making of Freemasons

At the next meeting of the Grand Committee—December 5, 1753—"the Grand Secretary made a motion, 'that as the Fraternity had not made choice of any of the Noble personages formerly mentioned in those Transactions,[1] and it being doubtful whether the antient Craft cou'd be honour'd with a Noble Grand Master at this time, he humbly beg'd that the Brethren wou'd make choice of some worthy and skillfull Master to fill the chair for the space of six months successively.' Accordingly Br^o^ Robert Turner, Master of No. 15, was nominated and unanimously chosen, Instal'd, and Saluted." The Grand Master appointed Bro. William Rankin his Deputy, and Bros. Samuel Quay of No. 2 and Lachlan M'Intosh[2] of No. 3, were elected Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively.

The last lodge constituted in 1753 bore the No. 29, which, together with the transition from "Grand Committee" to "Grand Lodge," amply justified the brethren in voting a jewel of the value of five guineas to the Grand Secretary, on the second anniversary of his election to that office.

In 1754, a Committee of Charity, to be styled the Steward's Lodge, was appointed, the proceedings of which were read at the next ensuing meeting of Grand Lodge. Several lodges in arrears were declared vacant, and a minute of October 2 introduces us to a practice unknown, I believe, under any other Masonic jurisdiction. It runs—"Bro. Cowen, Master of Lodge No. 37, proposed paying one guinea into the Grand Fund for No. 6 (now vacant). This proposal was accepted, and the Brethren of No. 37 are to rank as No. 6 for ye future."

Robert Turner, the first Grand Master, who had been continued in office for a second term of six months, was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Vaughan on St John's Day in December. During the administration of the latter, the first of a long series of Military Warrants[3] was issued by this Grand Lodge, a fee of a Guinea was imposed on every new charter,[4] and the Grand Secretary was ordered to install and invest the several officers of Lodges, in cases where the retiring Masters "were incapable of [this] performance."[5]

The Earl of Blesington was elected Grand Master, December 27, 1756, and for four years presided over the Society, at least nominally, for he was present at none of its meetings. His Deputy was William Holford, but the management of affairs appears to have been left almost wholly to Laurence Dermott, by whom was brought out the same year, "Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother"—the "Book of Constitutions" of the "Ancients."

On March 2, 1757, the Grand Secretary, in vindication of his character, which had been aspersed by one John Hamilton, proved to the satisfaction of the Grand Lodge that he had been duly installed Master of Lodge No. 26, in the Kingdom of Ireland, May 24, 1746, having previously served therein the offices of Senior and Junior Deacon, Senior and Junior Warden, and Secretary.

at the One Tun in the Strand, from this day unto the first Wednesday in July next" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Cf. post*, p. 423, note 2.

[1] April 1, 1752.—Three brethren reported that they had waited on Lord George Sackville, who was about to attend his father, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but upon his return, would either accept the chair, or recommend them to another nobleman (Grand Lodge Minutes). The names of Lords Chesterfield, Ponsonby, Inchiquin, and Blesington "were laid before the Committee" in the following November.

[2] April 19, 1769.—Reprimanded by the Steward's Lodge for making masons clandestinely at Bristol, but his previous services recognised in having established Lodges at Berwick and Bremen. May 17.—Ordered to make submission before Nos. 84 and 118, Bristol.

[3] No. 41, 57th Foot, Sept. 7, 1755. [4] June 2, 1756. [5] June 24, 1756.

At the same meeting it was ordered—"that no person be made a mason in an Antient Lodge under the sum of £1, 5s. 6d., and cloath the Lodge if required.

"That a General Meeting of Master Masons be held on the 13th Inst., to compare and regulate several things relative to the Antient Craft; [and that] the Masters of the Royal Arch shall also be summon'd to meet, in order to regulate things relative to that most valluable branch of the Craft."

On March 13, the Grand Secretary "traced and explained the 1st, 2d, and 3d part of the Antient Craft, and Settled many things (then disputed) to the intire satisfaction of all the brethren present, who faithfully promised to adhere strictly to the Antient System and to cultivate the same in their several Lodges." Forty-six brethren, representing twenty-six lodges, were present on this occasion.

In the following June a regulation was made, forbidding the officers of Lodges—under the penalty of forfeiture of warrant—to admit as member or visitor, "any person not strictly an ancient Mason, Certified Sojourners excepted."

In the following year—March 1, 1758—a letter was read from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, announcing "a strict union with the Antient Grand Lodge in London."[1]

On December 5, 1759, "The Grand Secretary made a long and labour'd speech against any victuler being chosen a Grand Officer, which gave great offence to some persons in the Grand Lodge. The D.G.M. put the Question, viz.:

Whether the Secr., Lau. Dermott, for his last Speech, Merited Applause, or Deserved Censure.

For applauding the Secretary, ...	44
Against, ...	4

Upon which the R. W. Deputy said, 'Brethren, there are 44 votes for the Secretary, and 4 against him, by which it seems there are only 4 Publicans in the Room.'"

The next Grand Master was the Earl of Kelly, at whose accession—December 27, 1760—the number of lodges on the roll was eighty-three, being an increase of twenty-four, during the presidency of Lord Blesington. The most noteworthy were Nos. 65, Prov. G. Lodge of Nova Scotia (1757), and 69,[2] Philadelphia (1758).

The Grand Officers of the previous year were continued in their offices, and the "general thanks of the Fraternity" were conveyed to Laurence Dermott, who in reply "asked the Grand Lodge to believe two things, 1st, that he thought himself as happy in his Secretaryship, as the Great Pitt was in being Secretary of State; and, 2dly, that he would exert his utmost powers for the Good of the Antient Fraternity, so long as he lived." The services of the Grand Secretary were again recognised in a very marked and unusual manner in the following June, when the Deputy Grand Master proposed that he should be "toasted with the No. of his years," and it was "unanimously agreed that Laurence Dermott, Esq., Grand Secretary, shall

[1] June 2, 1762. A letter read from the Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, proposing a "continual correspondence," etc., and after citing the action of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in not admitting any Sojourner from England, as a member or petitioner, without a certificate under the seal of the Ancient Grand Lodge in London; it was ordered, that Sojourners from Ireland should similarly produce proper certificates from the Grand Lodge of that country (Grand Lodge Minutes).

[2] Warrant surrendered, but the precedency of the Lodge confirmed—Feb. 10, 1780—by the *Provincial* Grand Lodge under the Ancients, (No. 89). The latter was "closed for ever" on Sept. 25, 1786, and the next day at a convention of 13 Lodges, was constituted the *Grand* Lodge of Pennsylvania.

be Drank in form with 39, being now in the 39th year of his Age—which was accordingly done." A footnote, however, in his own handwriting, informs us that "the Secretary was in his 41st year."

On September 1, 1762, it was ordered, on the motion of the Secretary, who appears to have taken the lead in legislation, as well as in other things, that no one after October 2, ensuing, should be made a mason for a less sum than two Guineas, of which five shillings was to be paid to the Fund of Charity, and one shilling to the Grand Secretary: Also, That the whole sum should be paid on the night of Entrance, under the penalty of a Guinea, to be levied on the warrant, which was to be cancelled within six months, in default of payment.

That this prudent regulation was not immediately complied with, at least in all quarters, there is evidence to show, for the records inform us—under December 27, 1762—that "David Fisher, late Grand Warden Elect, having attempted to form a Grand Lodge of his own, and offered to Register Masons therein for 6d. each, was deem'd unworthy of any office or seat in the Grand Lodge."

A year later—December 7, 1763—the Grand Secretary was "Warranted and Impower'd to call and congregate a General Lodge in the town of Birmingham, and there to adjust and determine all complaints, disputes, or controversies, in or between the members of the Lodge No. 71 (or any other Brethren), in Birmingham aforesaid."

In 1764, there appeared a second edition of "Ahiman Rezon." A Bro. Matthew Beath was elected Grand Treasurer, June 6; and the members of No. 110 were admonished "for admitting Modern Masons into their Lodge," September 5.

On June 5, 1765, it was proposed, "that Every Past Master shall be a Member of, and have a vote in all Grand Lodges during his continuance [as] a Member of any Lodge under the Antient Constitution.

"This proposal occasion'd long various debates, several of the Masters and Wardens argued strenuously against the motion, while the presiding officer and three Masters were the only persons who spoke in favour of it." At length Grand Warden Gibson, who was in the Chair, put an amendment to the meeting, which was carried by a majority of 22 votes—there being 48 "for the past masters," and 26 "against them"—Whereupon, it was "ordered and declared that from and after the third day of December 1765, all and every Regular past master, while a member of any private Lodge, shall be a member of this Grand Lodge also, and shall have a vote in all cases except in making New Laws—which power is vested in the Master and Wardens, as being the only true Representatives of all the Lodges, according to the Old Regulation the tenth."

In the ensuing year—March 5, 1766—the Grand Master, with his grand officers and others, in fourteen coaches and chariots, drove in procession through Hampstead and Highgate, returning to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand to dine.

During the nominal presidency of Lord Kelly, sixty-two Lodges were added to the roll. Of these, seven were formed in regiments or garrisons, and eight in the colonies or abroad. Omitting Philadelphia—which received a *second* and *third* warrant in 1761 and 1764 respectively[1]—we find that Lodges under the "Ancients" were established at Charles Town, South Carolina, 1761; Amsterdam, 1762; Torlola, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Jamaica, 1763; St

[1] *Ante*, p. 442.

Helena, 1764; and Minorca, 1766. The next Grand Master, the Hon. Thomas Matthew, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, who was privately installed early in 1767,[1] appears to have been the first holder of the office who attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge. It was the custom of this worthy, wherever he resided—whether in Ireland, Great Britain, or France—"to hold a regular Lodge amongst his own domestics."

There now occur frequent entries—"G. S. Dermott absent in the Gout," which must have necessitated the assistance of a Deputy Grand Secretary, to which office we find that William Dickey, Jun., P.M. No. 14, was elected, June 1, 1768.[2] This he retained until 1771, and was subsequently Grand Secretary, 1771-77; D.G.M., 1777-81; President of the Grand Committee, 1782; and again D.G.M. from December 27, 1794, until his death, July 27, 1800.

The Grand Secretary and his Deputy had frequent disputes, and the former accused the latter—June 6, 1770—of having resigned his post "when he [Dermott] was so ill in the gout that he was obliged to be carried out in his bed (when incapable to wear shoes, stockings, or even britches) to do his duty at the Gd. Steward's Lodge." At the next meeting of Grand Lodge—September 5—Dermott "beg'd the Grand Lodge would please to do him justice, otherwise he sh[d] be under the disagreeable necessity of publishing his case." The Grand Secretary afterwards said "he should not give them any further trouble concerning his affairs, and that henceforth he would resign and for ever disclaim any office in the Grand Lodge."

Further recriminations were exchanged on December 5. The records state, "Many warm disputes happen'd between Laurence Dermott, William Dickey, Junior, and others, the recording of which wou'd be of no service to the Craft nor to the various speakers."

At a subsequent meeting, held December 19, it was unanimously agreed that William Dickey had been in fault, and the public thanks of the Grand Lodge were returned to Laurence Dermott for his great assiduity in his office.

John, third Duke of Atholl, was chosen Grand Master, January 30, and installed March 2, 1771, at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside. Dermott was appointed D.G.M.; and on March 6, William Dickey, Jun., was elected Grand Secretary.[3] These two men worked in thorough accord from this time, although the election of the latter took place in opposition to the wishes of the former, who favoured the claims of a rival candidate for the Secretaryship—which, to say the least, savoured slightly of ingratitude, since it was on the motion of William Dickey, Jun., that Dermott was recommended to the Duke of Atholl for the office of Deputy.

During the last four years of Dermott's Grand Secretaryship, twenty-two new *numbers* were added to the roll, which would show an apparent list of 167 Lodges in 1771, as com-

[1] The legality of the installation of the Grand Master *in private* was demurred to, November 25, 1767; and the D.G.M. stated "that the late Grand Master, the Earl of Blesinton, had been only privately installed by the grand officers and Secretary in his Lordship's library in Margaret Street." In the result, the installation of Grand Master Matthew was "declared regular."

[2] September 20, 1765—"Viseters—Br Dickey, jn, W.[M.] of No. 14, *Antient*" [and others]. March 21, 1766—"B. Lowrie Proposed Mr Willm Dickey, Junior, to Be made a *modern* Mason of; was Firsted and Seconded, and was admited, and was made a mason In this Lodge, and went through the Regular Degrees of the Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and Raisd to the Sublime degree of Master Mason" (Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246 under the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge).

[3] March 6, 1771—"Here Ends the minutes taken by Lau. Dermott, From the year 1751 [1752] to the year 1771" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

pared with 145 at the end of 1766. But this is misleading, because the "Ancients" constantly allotted a *vacant* instead of a *further* number to a new Lodge. Of this practice I have traced some thirty examples down to the close of 1770; and therefore, assuming that in every case a *new* warrant had received a *new* number, a grand total of at least 197 Lodges would have been reached by 1771.[1] Within the same period, about 339 Lodges were constituted by the *older* Grand Lodge of England.[2]

On the side of the Seceders, two military Lodges, and one each in Calcutta and Madras, were among the additions to the roll during the four years preceding 1771.

At a Grand Lodge, held September 4, 1771, Grand Secretary Dickey put the following question; "Is His Grace the Duke of Atholl Grand Master of Masons in every respect?" which being answered in the affirmative, the proposer said, "he had several times heard it advanced that the Grand Master had not a right to inspect into the proceedings of the Royal Arch." The Secretary further complained of many flagrant abuses of that "most sacred part of Masonry, and proposed that the Masters and Past Masters of Warranted Lodges be conven'd as soon as Possible, in order to put this part of Masonry on a Solid Basis."

Meetings accordingly took place in October and November, with the proceedings of which, Grand Lodge was made conversant by the Deputy Grand Master, December 4, 1771.

Dermott "expatiated a long time on the scandalous method pursued by most of the Lodges (on St John's Days) in passing a number of Brethren through the Chair, on purpose to obtain the sacred Mystry's of the Royal Arch. The Deputy was answered by several Brethren, that there were many Members of Lodges, who from their Proffesions in Life (The Sea for Example) that could never regularly attain that part of Masonry, tho' very able deserving Men."

Ultimately, it was resolved unanimously—"That no person for the future shall be made a Royal Arch Mason, but the legal Representatives of the Lodge, except a Brother (that is going abroad) who hath been 12 months a Registered Mason; and must have the Unanimous Voice of his Lodge to receive such Qualification."

The case of those brethren who "had been admitted among the Royal Arch Masons Illegaly," the Deputy suggested should be left to the next Grand Chapter,[3] which was agreed to.

On March 4, 1772, it was resolved "that the Master and Wardens of every Lodge (within five miles of London) shall attend the Grand Lodge on every St John's Day; on default thereof the Lodge shall pay ten shillings and sixpence to the Charitable Fund." This regulation was made more stringent in the following September, when it was ordered that the same officers, and within the same radius, should attend all meetings of the Grand Lodge, when duly summoned by the Grand Secretary, or else pay a fine of five shillings and threepence, which was "to be levy'd on the warrant."

In the same year—April 8—"James Cock, P. Master[4] No. 9, moved that a chaplain (for

[1] 195 Lodges were assigned numbers by the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge down to the end of 1739.

[2] *I.e.*, 330 were added to the roll between February 5, 1752, and the close of 1770. This, +9—the number of "Ancient" Lodges in existence at that date— =339.

[3] This is the first mention of "Grand Chapter" in these records, and there are no Royal Arch Minutes of earlier date than 1783. The *degree* itself, however, is referred to under the year 1752. *Cf. ante*, p. 439.

[4] It is evident that at this date Past Masters possessed votes. *Cf. ante*, p. 443.

the Grand Lodge) should be appointed annually, which was approved of, and the Rev. Dr James Grant was elected accordingly." Also, on June 3, it was "agreed that a brother be appointed *pro tempore* to carry the Sword at Public Processions, and that Br^o^. Nash, Jn^r^. of No. 2, carry the same next St John's Day."

At a Grand Lodge, held September 2, a letter was read from Bro. T. Corker, D. G. Secretary —Ireland—stating that "he cannot find any traces of the agreement, which was made between the two Grand Lodges in 1757," and also, "that nothing could have been more advantageous *to our poor fraternity*[1] than a strict adherence to such a resolution."

Resolved, "that a Brotherly connexion and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Ireland, has been, and will always be found, productive of Honour and advantage to the Craft in both Kingdoms."

A resolution in identical terms, was passed with regard to the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The reply of the latter was read May 3, 1773. It stated that the Grand Lodge of Scotland were of opinion that the Brotherly intercourse and correspondence (suggested), would be serviceable to both Grand Lodges.[2]

The *entente cordiale* between the two Grand Lodges may have been due in a great measure to the fact, that the Duke of Atholl, then at the head of the fraternity in the south, became Grand Master elect of Scotland, November 30, 1772, and Grand Master a year later. Indeed, at this, as at all other stages of his career, Dermott probably made the most of his opportunities, and so sagacious a ruler of men must have been fully alive to the importance of securing the friendship of the Masons in the Northern Kingdom. The minutes of the same meeting—May 3—then proceed:

"In order to preserve (for ever) the Harmony subsisting between the two Grand Lodges, We [the Grand Lodge of England] think it necessary to declare that (from this time) no warrant should be granted by the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, to any part of the World where either of them have a Provincial Lodge Established."[3]

The next entry which I shall transcribe, occurs under December 15, 1773, and is worthy of all praise.—"Ordered, That any Lodges running in arrears with their Landlords, [and not paying the same] on or before St John's Day, the Warrant shall be forfeited."

On June 1, 1774, Grand Secretary Dickey having reported that several lodges assembled under an authority from a set of gentlemen called Modern Masons, it was resolved—"If any Lodge under the ancient constitution of England, from the time hereafter mentioned, viz., Europe, Six Months; Asia, Two Years; Africa and America, Twelve Months; to be computed from the 24th day of June 1774; that shall have in their possessions any Authority from the Grand Lodge of Moderns, or in any manner assemble or meet under Such Authority, Shall be deemed unworthy of associating with the members of the Ancient Community, and the Warrant they hold under this R^t^. W. G. Lodge shall be immediately Cancel'd: Compleat notice of which the G. Sec^try^ shall give to all Warr^d^ Lodges under the Ancient Sanction.

"Resolved—That all Ancient Masons (of Repute) under the Sanction of the Moderns,

[1] The italics are mine. *Cf. ante*, p. 442.

[2] *Cf.* Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 205-209.

[3] If this regulation was operative at the present day, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland also agreed to it, the Grand Secretaries of the *three* Masonic jurisdictions in these Islands, would have far less foreign correspondence to contend with.

that may be inclined to obtain an Authority from this R. W. G. Lodge, Shall, by applying any time before the 24th June 1776, be Warranted, and the Expence of Such Warrant to be Charged only as a Renewal."

The death of the *third* Duke of Atholl—from whom a letter was read September 7, expressing satisfaction that the "Ancient craft is *regaining* its ground over the Moderns"—caused the election of grand officers to be postponed from December 7, 1774, until March 1, 1775.

On the latter date, the Grand Secretary "reported the following transactions of the Grand Master's Lodge:[1]

"'Feb. 25, 1775.—Admitted. His Grace the [*fourth*] Duke of Atholl into the first, second, and third degree; and after proper instructions had been given [it was] proposed that [he] should be Immediately Installed Master of the Grand Master's Lodge, which was accordingly done.'

"Upon the Secretary reading the above transactions, His Grace the Duke of Atholl was unanimously elected Grand Master," and, on the 25th of the same month, duly installed in the presence of the Duke of Leinster and Sir James Adolphus Oughton,[2] former Grand Masters of Ireland[3] and Scotland[4] respectively. William Dickey was continued as Secretary, and the new Grand Master "signed a warrant appointing Bro^r^ Lau: Dermott, Esq., to be His Grace's deputy; and ordered that the said deputy should be installed whenever his present indisposition would admit him to attend;" which was not until later in the year, when a series of discussions took place relative to a correspondence between William Preston and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which has been already referred to.[5]

In the following year—March 6—it was ordered, "That in future every Modern Mason, remade under this Constitution, shall pay to the Charitable Fund, etc., Six Shillings, unless they produce a certificate of their having been made a *Modern*, and in that case shall pay only three Shillings to the Fund."

On St John's Day (in Christmas) 1777, "Dermott informed the brethren that he had petitioned the Grand Master for liberty to resign his office of Deputy. His age, infirmities, and twenty years' service, having constrained him to take such measures." A letter was then read from the Duke of Atholl, expressing approval of William Dickey[6] as D.G.M., and stating that he had accepted the office of Grand Master of Scotland, "as he imagined it might accrue to the advantage of Ancient Masonry in England by indubitably shewing the tenets

[1] September 5, 1759.—"The Grand Master's Lodge proclaimed, and took the first seat accordingly as No. 1" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Revived* December 16, 1787, and retained its number at the Union. *Cf. ante*, p. 340.

[2] In 1752 General Oughton was Prov. G. M. of Minorca, under the older Grand Lodge of England, and informed that body "that the Craft flourished there in full vigour; that they adhered to their Rules [of] Decency and *Regularity* so strictly and invariably, that neither the envious, malicious, or inquisitive could find the least ground to exercise their Talents" (Grand Lodge Minutes—1723-1813—June 18, 1752).

[3] 1771, and again 1778. [4] 1769-70.

[5] *Ante*, p. 424. It is somewhat curious, that in their published works neither the "journeyman *printer*,"[1] nor the "journeyman *painter*"[2]—Preston and Dermott—the former an *Ancient* before he became a *Modern*, and the latter a *Modern* before he became an *Ancient*—using these terms in a popular though erroneous signification—refers the one to the other.

[6] James Jones, who had been chosen Grand Secretary, March 5, 1777, was re-elected on December 27.

[1] *Ante*, p. 426. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 436

to be the same." At the same meeting gold medals were voted both to the new and to the retiring Deputy.[1]

D.G.M. Dickey gave notice—March 4, 1778—"that on the first Wednesday in June next, he wou'd proceed to dispose of the warrants, laying at this time dormant, for the support of the Fund of Charity;" and in the June following it was resolved "that the Senior No. have the preference by paying to the Charity £1, 1s. 0d."[2]

On March 3, 1779, Charles Bearblock, P.M., No. 4, was elected Grand Secretary; and on the motion of "P. Deputy G. M. Dermott," it was resolved "that every lodge within the Bills of Mortality, in future do pay to the fund of Charity Ten Shillings and sixpence for every new made member."

On October 18, 1781, Lodge No. 213,[3] in the Royal Artillery, was constituted at New York by the Rev. W. Walter, who, according to the customary practice, was empowered to act as Deputy Grand Master for three hours only, together with the Masters and Wardens of Nos. 169, 210, 212, 134 (Scotland), and 359 (Ireland).

On February 6, 1782, William Dickey was unanimously chosen President of the "Grand Committee," the Dukes of Atholl and Leinster having respectively declined, the former to retain, and the latter to accept, the position of Grand Master if elected.

After an interregnum of a year and a quarter—March 6, 1783—the Earl of Antrim was elected to the chair, Laurence Dermott was appointed Deputy, and Robert Leslie was chosen Grand Secretary in the place of Charles Bearblock, "discharged from that office."

At a Grand Committee, held March 29, 1784—William Dickey in the chair—a letter was read from the Deputy G.M., complaining of an irregular and incorrect circular issued by the Grand Secretary, and also of his having usurped the power of the Grand Master and Deputy, "more particularly in a *dispensing power for congregating and forming* a new Lodge." After much discussion, it having been recommended "that every matter heard before the Committee should be lost in oblivion," Dermott and Leslie "were called in and gave their assent thereto."

In the following September the D.G.M. "informed the Lodge that he would not act, nor advise or suffer the Grand Master to act, with the present Grand Secretary, who he declared incapable of his office, and if again re-elected, he would request leave of the G.M. to resign his office." Leslie expressed surprise at the use of language as "unmasonic" as it was "unmanly," especially after the Deputy had agreed to bury all differences in oblivion, and charged the latter with having "descended to the grossest personal scurrility, unbecoming a Man, Mason, or Gentleman." The Grand Secretary was re-elected, but afterwards "begged leave to decline any contest for the office," and, persisting in his resignation, a new election was ordered to take place in March, but on December 1, it was carried by a unanimous vote, that the thanks of the Grand Lodge be conveyed to Bro. Leslie, G.S.

On the St John's day following, a letter was read from Dermott, objecting to the proceedings of the last Grand Lodge, and particularly of its having "attempted to rescind the confirmed acts of a Grand Lodge [held] in due form." In support of this contention a great many

[1] Dermott availed himself of this respite from administrative labour to bring out a *third* edition of his "Ahiman Rezon" (1778).

[2] Rescinded September 2, 1778.

[3] Purchased the ninth place on the list for £5, 5s. in 1787. Became No. 17 at the Union, and is now the Albion Lodge, Quebec.

authorities were cited, and among them, strange to say, "Doct[r] Anderson's Constitutions, page 162, pub. 1738!" The missive was read aloud more than once, and after a solemn pause, a vote of censure was *unanimously passed* on the writer, "the contents of the said letter, and the conduct of the D.G.M.," appearing to the Grand Lodge "arbitrary, if not altogether illegal."

The behaviour of Leslie at this juncture cannot be too highly commended. A new generation had sprung up, which was ill disposed to brook the petulance of the deputy. Nothing but the forbearance of the Grand Secretary prevented an open rupture, in which case Dermott must have gone to the wall; but in a noble letter to the Earl of Antrim, written September 10, 1784, Leslie thus expresses himself: "I again beg your Lordship's pardon, when I hint that a continuance of your former deputy may be most agreeable to the Grand Lodge, and that the want of his assistance would be irreparable."

On January 31, 1785, "a letter [was] read from the Grand Master, appointing Lau. Dermott, Esq., his deputy, and wishing that any difference between the R.W.D[eputy] and Sec[y] Leslie might be buried in oblivion—the said letter was read twice, and the R.W.D. put the same into his pocket without any motion being made thereon by the Lodge." The vote of censure passed at the previous meeting was removed. Dermott returned thanks, declined taking upon himself the office of D.G.M., and repeated that "he would not work with Sec[y] Leslie, upon which the Grand Lodge got into confusion and disorder for some time."

The following entry in the minutes of the "Steward's Lodge" tends to prove that, about this time, the bonds of discipline were much relaxed: June 15, 1785.—"B[r] Weatherhead Master of No. 5 was fin'd one shilling for swearing, and he also chaling'd the Master of No. 3 to turn out to fight him with sword and pistol, and us'd the W[ll] G. J. Warden [Feakings] in a Redicules manner, which oblig'd him to close the Lodge before the Business was compleated."

In the following March, Leslie made way for John M'Cormick, but was again elected Grand Secretary, December 1, 1790, an office which he filled until the Union; and a gold medal was voted to him December 1, 1813, "for his long and faith[ful] services as Grand Secretary for more than thirty years."

Lord Antrim was installed as Grand Master, June 7, 1785, and at the same meeting invested Laurence Dermott as his Deputy. In the following September the sum of one guinea was fixed as the amount to be paid when "Modern Masons" were made "Antient." From this it may be estimated that the latter were more than holding their own in the rivalry which existed, an inference still further sustained by the language of a communication addressed by the Grand Secretary to the Grand Master, March 20, 1786, informing him "that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which had been under the government of the Moderns for upwards of twenty years, had offered for a warrant under the Antients, also that the said Grand Lodge consisted of none under the degree of an Ensign, and who had refused to act longer under the authority of the Moderns, "tho' the Duke of Cumberland is said to be their Grand Master."

At a Grand Lodge, held December 27, 1787, James Perry, J.G.W., who was invested as Deputy Grand Master, moved, "that the thanks of the G.L. be given to R.W. Lau: Dermott, Esq., P. Dep. G.M., who after forty-seven years zealously and successfully devoted to the service of the Craft, had now retired from the Eminent station which he held, and to whose masonic knowledge and abilities, inflexible adherence to the Antient Laws of the Fraternity, and Impartial administration of office, the Fraternity are so much indebted." The motion was carried without a dissentient vote; and it was further resolved, "that a committee be formed,

consisting of the Grand Officers, to consider the best means of conferring some signal mark of the approbation of the Grand Lodge on the said M^r^ Deputy Dermott," and to report accordingly.

Laurence Dermott attended Grand Lodge in the following June, and was also present at Communications held on June 4, 1788, March 4,[1] and June 3, 1789. After the last date the minutes are altogether silent with regard to his name, and even his death is unrecorded.

When Dermott resigned the office of Grand Secretary (1770) there were 167 lodges on the roll; at the close of 1789 there were 258, showing an increase of 91. But within the same period, about 46—as nearly as I can trace them—were constituted, or revived at vacant numbers, thus making a grand total of 137 new lodges.

The expansion of the rival organisation, between the same dates, was as follows: 119 lodges were added to its roll after 1770 and before 1780; and 125 during the ten years ending 1789, forming a total increase of 244. But the real position of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge is not disclosed by these figures. In the Colonies, and wherever there were British garrisons, the new system was slowly but surely undermining the old one. Forty-nine military lodges had been constituted by the Seceders down to the close of 1789,[2] and the influence they exercised in disseminating the principles of which Dermott was the exponent, will be treated with some fulness hereafter. In this place it will be sufficient to say, that to the presence of so many army lodges in North America was mainly due the form which Masonry assumed when the various States became independent of the mother country.[3] The actual number of lodges working under what was styled the "Ancient Sanction" at the period under examination cannot be very easily determined. For example, on October 24, 1782, there were four lodges[4] at work in Halifax, N.S., "under Dispensation from the warranted lodges, Nos. 155 and 211," in that town.[5] Many local warrants were granted subsequently by the Provincial Grand Lodge,[6] but as none of these were exchanged for charters from London until 1829, it would now be difficult to trace the dates they originally bore, but that at least seventeen lodges were constituted under this jurisdiction, and probably more, before the year 1790, there is evidence to show.[7] Unfortunately the "Atholl" records do not give the lodges in existence under provincial establishments, and the earliest printed list was not published until 1804. In that year, however, we find that the province of Gibraltar comprised 9 lodges, Jamaica 15, Quebec 11, Niagara 12, and Halifax 29.

The Grand Lodge of England, previous to the death of Dermott, demanded no fees from

[1] There were present, *inter alios*, at this meeting, James Perry, D.G.M., in the chair; Laurence Dermott, P. Dep. G.M.; Thomas Harper, S.G.W.; and James Agar, J.G.W.,—all of whom were voted, at different times, gold medals by the Society. In 1813 the Duke of Kent selected three past masters of No. 1—viz., Thomas Harper, D.G.M., James Perry, and James Agar, *past* D.G.M.'s—to assist him, on behalf of the "Ancients," in preparing the Articles of Union.

[2] Sixty-seven were chartered subsequently, making a total of 116.

[3] See *post*, "Military Lodges," and "Freemasonry in America."

[4] The "Union, St George's, Virgin, and Thistle" Lodges. The three last named were held in the Nova Scotia Volunteers, Royal Artillery, and 82d Foot respectively, and are not included in the forty-nine military lodges noticed above, or in the sixty-seven mentioned in note 2.

[5] J. Fletcher Brennan, History of Freemasonry in the Maritime Provinces of British America, 1875, p. 375.

[6] Re-warranted at its old number (65) June 2, 1784.

[7] April 15, 1789.—"John Boggs, of No. 17 Ancient York Lodge, Nova Scotia, relieved as a Sojourner with 1 guinea" (Steward's Lodge Minutes).

Nova Scotia. The Provincial body was virtually an independent organisation, paying tribute to none, and exacting the respect due to any independent Grand Lodge of Freemasons.[1]

In other parts of the world, Provincial Grand Lodges under the "Ancients" also warranted a large number of subsidiary lodges, but these, in the absence of lists, it is now, for the most part, impossible to identify. One of these bodies, however, before severing its connection with England—September 25, 1786—had no less than forty-six lodges on its roll,[2] all of which, up to that date, must be regarded as having been remote pendicles of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions."

James Perry continued to serve as Deputy until December 27, 1790, when he was succeeded by James Agar, and on the same day Robert Leslie was invested as Grand Secretary in the place of John M'Cormick—awarded a pension of a shilling a day during the remainder of his natural life "for his ffaithful services to the Craft."[3]

On the death of the Earl (and Marquess) of Antrim in 1791, John, fourth Duke of Atholl, was again elected Grand Master, and installed January 20, 1792. In this year—March 7—it was Resolved and Ordered—"That a general uniformity of the practice and ceremonies of the Ancient Craft may be preserved and handed down unchanged to posterity, the Lodges in London and Westminster shall be required to nominate a Brother from each Lodge, who must be a Master or Past Master, and otherwise well-skilled in the Craft, to be put in Nomination at the Grand Chapter, in October of each year, to be elected one of the nine Excellent Masters; who are allowed to visit the Lodges; and should occasion require, they are to report thereon to the Grand Chapter, or the R. W. Deputy Grand Master, who will act as he shall deem necessary."

At the following meeting, held June 6, the minutes of the preceding one were confirmed, and also those of the Royal Arch Chapter relating "to the appointment of nine Excellent Masters to assist the Grand Officers for the current year."[4]

In the ensuing September, in order "to accelerate the business of Grand Lodge," it was unanimously ordered "that the Grand Master or his Deputy do grant such warrants as are vacant to Lodges making application for the same, giving the preference or choice to the Senior Lodges: And that the sum of Five Guineas, to be paid into the Fund of Charity, shall be the established fees for taking out such Senior warrant."

On March 4, 1794, it was ordered—that Country, Foreign, and Military Lodges (where no

[1] Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 402. In reply to a letter from Adam Fife, first Master of the "Virgin" Lodge, Laurence Dermott wrote, Aug. 7, 1787: "Pecuniary Submission is not the aim of the Mother Grand Lodge. To cultivate and establish the True System of Ancient Masonry, Unity, and Brotherly Love is the only point in view" (*Ibid.*, p. 424).

[2] Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, pt. i., p. 62; and pt. iii., Appendix, p. 9.

[3] The remuneration of the Secretary was not large at this time, as the following minutes show: June 3, 1790.—"A Motion was made to Raise the G. Secretary's Sallary, and by the shew of hands it was carried to allow him 10 G[uineas], added to the *five*, and to receive it Quarterly or half yearly, as he pleased to take it." Dec. 5, 1792.—"Ordered, That the sum of three shillings be in future paid to the Grand Secretary for a Master Mason's Grand Lodge Certificate; he paying the expense of parchment and printing the same."

[4] Nov. 18, 1801.—"A Motion was made and seconded that the nine Excellent Masters for the time being should have a Medal emblematic of their office, which should be given up, when they were out of office, for their successors, which was agreed to, subject to the opinion of Grand Lodge" (Steward's Lodge Minutes). June 1, 1803.—"Ordered, That to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the Grand Lodge, each member shall sign his name and rank in his Lodge, in a book provided for that purpose, in the outer porch. And the Excellent Masters for the time being shall be required, in rotation, to attend early, and carry the same into effect" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

Grand Lodge was held) should pay five, and London Lodges ten shillings and sixpence to the Grand Fund of Charity upon the registry of every new-made Mason, exclusive (under both scales) of the Grand Secretary's fee, of a shilling.[1] The Metropolitan Lodges were also required to pay a further sum of one shilling per quarter for every contributing member.

James Agar was succeeded by William Dickey, who, December 27, 1794, again undertook the responsible duties of Deputy Grand Master, a position for which he was more eminently qualified than any other living man.

Until the December meeting of 1797, there is nothing of moment to record; but on that occasion "it was moved by Bro. Moreton of No. 63, and seconded by Bro. M^cGillevery of No. 3, That a committee be appointed by this R. W. Grand Lodge, to meet one that may be appointed by the Grand Lodge of Modern Masons, and with them to effect a Union." But, alas, the time for a reconciliation had not yet arrived, and it will therefore occasion no surprise that "the previous Question was thereupon Moved and Carried almost unanimously."

The negotiations which preceded the fusion of the two Societies are very fully entered in the Atholl records, but the story of the Union will be best presented as a whole, and for this reason I shall postpone its narration until the next chapter.

On July 3, 1798, a meeting took place for the purpose of establishing a Masonic Charity for educating and clothing the sons of indigent Freemasons; a subscription was opened to carry this object into execution; and six children were immediately put upon the establishment. Donations of ten and two hundred guineas were voted by Grand Lodge in 1803 and 1809 respectively to this meritorious institution; and on March 4, 1812, the London Lodges were ordered to pay five shillings, and the other lodges half that sum, at every new initiation, to be added to its funds.

The Duke of Atholl was present at a Grand Lodge held May 6, 1799, when it was deemed essential "to inhibit and totally prevent all Public Masonic Processions, and all private meetings of Masons, or Lodges of Emergency, upon any pretence whatever, and to suppress and suspend all Masonic meetings, except upon the regular stated Lodge meetings and Royal-Arch Chapters, which shall be held open to all Masons to visit, duly qualified as such." It was further resolved, "That when the usual Masonic Business is ended, the Lodge shall then disperse, the Tyler withdraw from the Door, and Formality and Restraint of Admittance shall cease."

Two months later—July 12, 1799—an Act of Parliament was passed—39 Geo. III., cap. 79—which will be referred to in the next chapter; and from that date until the year 1802, no *new* warrants were granted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, which contented itself with reviving and re-issuing those granted and held before the act in question was added to the statute-roll.

At the death of William Dickey, Thomas Harper was selected to fill his place, and received the appointment of Deputy, March 4, 1801. This office he held until the Union, and during the protracted negotiations which preceded that event, was the leading figure on the Atholl side. He served as Senior Grand Warden from 1786 to 1788, was presented with a gold medal, March 3, 1790, and became Deputy Grand Secretary[2] (by appointment of Robert Leslie), December 27,

[1] According to the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, Nov. 20, 1793, the "annual compliment to the Secretary for the year 1793" is set down at fifteen guineas. September 18, 1799, it was increased to thirty, and March 26, 1800, lowered to ten.

[2] Edwards Harper, also of No. 207 Fleet Street, served as Dep. G. Secy. under Leslie, from December 27, 1800.

1793. According to the Grand Chapter Register, he was made a Royal Arch Mason in No. 190,[1] at Charlestown, South Carolina, and the date given is 1770. Here there is evidently a mistake, as the lodge bearing that number was only constituted in 1774; but an earlier one (No. 92) was established at Charlestown, under the same jurisdiction, in 1761, and it is probable that the numbers of the two lodges have been confused. At the period of his nomination as Deputy Grand Master, he was a member of *both* Societies, and had served the stewardship[2] in the older one, by which, as we shall see in the next chapter, he was successively expelled and re-instated during the somewhat tortuous proceedings which have yet to be recounted.

Beyond an addition to the *minimum* fee for installation, which was increased to two and a half guineas on December 4, 1804,[3] there are no entries calling for attention till we reach the year 1806, when the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, under April 16, inform us of a report made to that body by Grand Warden Plummer, to the effect that certain members of Nos. 234 and 264 "had lately taken upon themselves to address the Duke of Kent, and requested His Royal Highness to adopt and take upon himself the office of Grand Master, and to which address [the Duke] had been pleased to return an answer, under the impression that [it] had been written by the order, or under the sanction, of the Grand Lodge." At a subsequent meeting the incriminated parties "were severely reprimanded from the chair," and warned that similar conduct would be more severely dealt with in the future.[4]

On March 4, 1807, the Deputy Grand Secretary was granted an annual stipend of twenty guineas, and it was ordered, "That in future, no brother be permitted to hold or take upon himself the office of Master of a Lodge, unless he shall be first duly registered in the books of Grand Lodge."

In the following year—March 2—the Resolution passed May 6, 1799, inhibiting all Masonic Processions and Lodges of Emergency, was repealed; and on June 1, salaries of thirty and twenty pounds respectively were voted to the Grand Pursuivant and Grand Tyler.

On September 4, 1811, on the motion of James Perry, it was resolved—"That from and after Saint John's day next, no brother shall be eligible to be elected Master of any Lodge, unless he shall have acted for twelve months as Warden in the said Lodge, and that he shall not be entitled to the privileges of a past Master, *untill he shall have served one whole year in the chair of his Lodge.*"[5]

At the same period, as we shall presently see, the older Grand Lodge was also carrying out changes in its procedure, in view of the impending reconciliation.

The Duke of Atholl presided at a special Grand Lodge, held May 18, 1813, in honour of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, "Provincial Grand Master for Canada." The royal visitor "expressed in the warmest terms his unchangeable affection and attachment to Masonry 'according to the

until the Union. Presented with a gold medal, December 1, 1813. Harper and W. H. White were appointed joint Grand Secretaries to the *United* Grand Lodge of England. The former resigned in October 1838, and enjoyed till his death, in November 1855, a yearly grant of £100.

[1] Afterwards the Grand Lodge of "Ancient York Masons" of South Carolina, and which amalgamated with the Grand Lodge of "Free and Accepted Masons" of the same State in 1817.

[2] *Ante*, p. 339, note 1.

[3] Raised to three guineas, March 4, 1812.

[4] Steward's Lodge Minutes, May 21, 1806.

[5] Finally approved December 4, 1811. A rough memorandum, pinned into the minute-book, and endorsed "G. L. Extraordinary 23 Oct.," gives the same resolution, but in place of the last fourteen words (italicised above), has—"until he shall have served full two months as Master in y^e^ Chair of his Lodge."

Ancient Institution,' and to the Grand Lodge of England, in which those principles were so purely and correctly preserved." He further said, "that upon every occasion he should be happy to co-operate with them in exerting themselves for the preservation of the Rights and Principles of the Craft, and that, however desirable a Union might be with the *other fraternity of Masons*,[1] it could only be desirable if accomplished on the basis of the Ancient Institution, and with the maintenance of all the rights of the Ancient Craft."

The Duke of Atholl resigned in favour of the Duke of Kent, November 8, 1813. The latter was installed as Grand Master, December 1, and on the St John's day following, the Freemasons of England were re-united in a single Society.

It is improbable, that, at the commencement of the Schism, the Lodges of the Seceders differed in any other respect from those on the regular establishment, than in acknowledging no common superior. With Dermott, however, came a change, and it will next become our task, to ascertain upon what sources of authority he must have relied, when compiling the "Book of Constitutions," or, in other words, the laws and regulations of the "Ancients."

The minutes of March 2, 1757, have been already referred to.[2] These also inform us that, on the date in question, Laurence Dermott produced a certificate, under the seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, signed by "Edward Spratt, Grand Secretary." The latter was appointed Deputy Grand Secretary, December 27, 1742, succeeded to the higher office, June 24, 1743, and brought out a "Book of Constitutions for the use of the Lodges in Ireland," in 1751. The compiler styles himself "only a faithful Editor and Transcriber of the Work of Dr Anderson," which appeared when "Lord Mountjoy," afterwards "Earl of Blessington,"[3] was Grand Master of Ireland, who appointed a select committee of the Grand Lodge, over which he presided, to compare the customs and regulations in use there, with those of the English brethren, and found "no essential differences," except in those rules of the latter relating to the "Steward's Lodge," which were therefore omitted.

The "Charges, General Regulations," and "the manner of constituting a Lodge," were copied by Spratt from Dr Anderson's Constitutions of 1738. Dermott appears to have done precisely the same thing in his "Ahiman Rezon,"[4] if, indeed, he did not copy at second hand from Spratt. Both compilers give the "Old" and "New" Regulations, in parallel columns, in the same manner as they are shown by Anderson, but instead of taking the former from the edition of 1723, they reproduce the garbled and inaccurate version of 1738.[5] Regulations XXIII. to XXXI.—relating to the Steward's Lodge, and to Feasts—also XXXVII. and XXXVIII., are omitted in the Irish and the "Ancient" codes; XXXIII. and XXXIV. are compressed into one Law (XXIV.); and the No. XXXIX. of Anderson is represented by the No. XXVII. of Dermott and Spratt. The "Old" Regulations of the two latter terminate with this number. But they add a "New" one—XXVIII.—which is identical with the XL. of

[1] This is a somewhat curious expression, considering that Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of Kent), when appointed Prov. G.M. of *Lower* Canada by the Duke of Atholl—March 7, 1792—held a similar office under the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of "the other fraternity." Prince Edward was accorded the rank of Past Grand Master—under the older Masonic system—February 10, 1790, and in the same year became Prov. G.M. of Gibraltar, an office he retained until 1800.

[2] *Ante*, p. 441.

[3] In another part of the book (p. 147) described as "Viscount Montjoy, and Earl of Blessingtown."

[4] *Ante*, p. 437.

[5] *Cf. ante*, pp. 291, 400.

Dr Anderson, and contains the ten articles or rules passed on the motion of D.G.M. Ward, in 1736.[1] "Old" and "New" Regulation XXXIX. in the Constitutions of 1738, are substantially reproduced in O.R. and N.R. XXVII. of "Ahiman Rezon," 1756. According to both codes, the "Old Land Marks" to which the Section refers, are to "be carefully preserved;" but Spratt and Dermott omit the injunction in the *Old* Regulation, requiring proposed alterations in the laws to be submitted "to the Perusal of the yongest Enter'd Prentice," and the statement in the *New* one (XXXIX.),—that the Grand Lodge can make "NEW REGULATIONS without the consent of *All the Brethren*, at the Grand Annual Feast." In other respects, the "Old" Regulations, as given in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, are simply copied from Anderson or Spratt. The "New" Regulations, however, of the former, are not quoted by Dermott with the same fulness, but as an example of the source of authority, whence the laws of the "Ancients" were derived, it may be interesting to state, that the compiler of their "Constitutions," adopted in its entirety Anderson's "New" Regulation VIII., consisting of a series of laws, passed by the original Grand Lodge of England in 1723, 1724, and 1735 respectively.[2] Here Dermott simply walked in the footsteps of Spratt, who had done precisely the same thing in 1751, and the former also followed the latter, in curtailing the number of "Old" Regulations to XXVII., and of "New" Regulations to XXVIII.

Indeed, in one respect only, which may be deemed material or otherwise, according to the fancies of individual readers, are the Irish and the "Ancient" Grand Secretaries at variance. In the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge," we learn from Anderson and Spratt that the Grand Master is to say certain words and use "some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Occasion, but not proper to be written." Dermott puts the same words into the mouth of the Grand Master, but requires them to be said "*after* some other *Ceremonies*[3] and Expressions that cannot be written."

The "Royal Arch" is alluded to in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, but "that part of Masonry," as it is there termed, will be examined with some fulness when my observations on the "Constitutions" of the "Ancients" are brought to a close. With regard to the first edition, I shall merely add that it made its way into favour without any direct official sanction. The brethren for whose use it was designed were styled the "Ancient York Masons in England;" and the publication itself was dedicated to the Earl of Blessington, with the object, no doubt, of gaining the consent of that peer to figure as the first "noble Grand Master" of the Seceders —a scheme which was eminently successful, and reflects the greatest credit upon the sagacity of the Grand Secretary.

Lord Blessington attended no meetings of the Grand Lodge, but it is not a little singular that Dermott secured the services as titular Grand Master, for the Schismatics, of the very nobleman under whose presidency the Grand Lodge of Ireland conformed to the laws and regulations enacted by the "Regular" or "Original" Grand Lodge of England.

A second edition of "Ahiman Rezon" appeared in 1764, and extends to 224 pages, of which all but 96 are devoted to poetry and songs. It contains a "Philacteria" for persons desiring to become Free-Masons, and also a description of "Modern Masonry," extracts from

[1] *Ante*, p. 391, note 2.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 385, note 2; 376, 377, 379, note 2; and 394, note 3.

[3] Twenty-two years later, Dermott observes, that the Ancients and Moderns "differ exceedingly in makings, *ceremonies*, knowledge, masonical language, and *installations*" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

which have been already given.[1] In the latter, Dermott introduces a catechetical method of arguing, and holds that Freemasonry, as practised in the Antient (but not in the Modern) Lodges, is universal; that a Modern Mason may with safety communicate all his secrets to an Antient Mason, but not *vice versâ*; that "a person made in the modern manner, and not after the antient custom of the craft, has no right to be called free and accepted—his being unqualified to appear in a *master's lodge*,[2] according to the universal system of Masonry," rendering "the appellation improper;" and that a Modern cannot be initiated or introduced "into a Royal Arch Lodge 'the very essence of Masonry', without going through the Antient Ceremonies."[3] He also lays down that the number of Antient Masons, compared with the Moderns, is as ninety-nine to one. But there is one question and answer, which, as they are omitted in all subsequent editions, I shall transcribe. The writer asks, "What Art or Science has been introduced and practised in London without receiving the least improvement?" To this the reply is—"Freemasonry."

In this edition we first meet with disparaging allusions to the older Society; but in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, these increase in volume, and are often couched in most offensive terms. For example, a note to "Charge" III., which forbids the initiation of women or eunuchs, has, "This is still the law of Ancient Masons, though disregarded by our Brethren (I mean our Sisters, the Modern Masons."[4] Also in another place it is urged by Dermott that the *premier* Grand Lodge, not having been established by the Masters and Wardens of *five* Lodges, was "defective in form and capacity;" whilst, on the other hand, he contends that "the Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons received the old system without adulteration!" But Dermott certainly finds weak spots in the harness of his adversaries, when he inveighs against a statement in the "Freemasons' Calendar," and another by Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary to the older Institution. The former alludes to the Ancient York Constitutions having been "entirely dropped at the revival in 1717;"[5] and the latter, made in reply to an Irish Mason who was an applicant for relief, informs him, "Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, or *Ancient*; so that you have no right to partake of our Charity." "Such," remarks Dermott, was the character given them by their own Grand Secretary about fourteen years ago;[6] how much they have changed for better or worse is no business of mine."[7]

Many regulations originally taken from Anderson or Spratt are omitted in the third edition of "Ahiman Rezon," *e.g.*, "New" Regulations III. and IV.; whilst this is counterbalanced by

[1] *Ante*, pp. 26, 433.

[2] Hughan observes: "There was apparently a difference between the 'Regular' and the 'Atholl' Masons, which has come down to us in the ceremony of the Third Degree, thereby explaining the use of two sets of words of similar import or meaning, and the preference for the *combination* rather than the *omission* of either of these peculiar and brief sentences" (*op. cit.*, p. 59).

[3] Apart from the reasons mentioned in the last note, it is quite clear that, in order to attain the Royal Arch, the candidate would have to "go through a *ceremony*"—viz., that of installation or "passing the chair," which was unrecognised in any way by the Original Grand Lodge of England until 1811. *Cf. ante*, p. 358.

[4] "The Moderns," Dermott continues, "some years ago admitted Signor Singsong, the eunuch, T-nd-ci, at one of their Lodges in the Strand. And upon a late tryal at Westminster, it appeared that they admitted a woman called Madam D'E[on]" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

[5] *Ante*, pp. 398, 424.

[6] The occurrence is related in the Grand Lodge Minutes under December 5, 1759.

[7] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.

the insertion of new laws passed by the Seceders, such, for example, as the privilege of voting accorded to Past Masters (N.R. XII.), and the right of the Grand Master to make Masons at sight (O.R. XIII.).

A fourth edition of the work appeared in 1787, and a committee of Grand Officers, with the nine Excellent Masters, was appointed, on March 4, 1795, to assist the Deputy Grand Master in bringing out a fifth, which was published in 1800, under the editorial supervision of Thomas Harper, upon whom also devolved the task of seeing the subsequent editions of 1801, 1807, and 1813 through the press.

"The Royal Arch," says Laurence Dermott, "I firmly believe to be the root, heart, and marrow of Masonry." This opinion is expressed in his "Ahiman Rezon" of 1756, and doubtless did much to popularise the degree. The publication in question was not then one of authority, though it soon became so; but we should do well to recollect that not until 1771 [1] can the Royal Arch be said to have formed an integral part of the system of Masonry practised by the Seceders. It was wrought, no doubt, in the so-called "Ancient" Lodges from a much earlier period, but only as a side or bye degree; and we must not emulate the credulity of those who in former years regarded the utterances of Dermott as standing upon a similar footing with the *Responsa Prudentum* of the Civil Law. In the list of subscribers prefixed to the work, seven names have the letters "A. M." appended. This, Kloss reads as signifying "Arch Mason," [2] and he therefore concludes that in 1756 the degree was very restricted in its scope. Here, however, the great Masonic critic has made too hasty a deduction from the evidence before him. The seven subscribers were all actual or Past Grand officers, and in every case their Masonic rank was placed opposite their names. Thus—"Edward Vaughan, G.M., A.M." (*Grand Master, Ancient Masons*), and so on. That Jeremiah Coleman, whose name also appears on the list, but without the letters "A.M.," was certainly an Arch Mason, and doubtless many others, is to be inferred from the following notification which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* for 1756 : [3]

"To the Brethren of the Most Antient and Honourable, Free and Accepted Antient York Masons—this is to give notice that your company is desired, viz., such as are concerned in E[xcellent] G[rand], commonly called R[oyal] A[rch], at Bro. Sargent's, the Prince of Wales' Head, in Caple-Street, near Wellclose Square, this day, at six in the evening, to accommodate P. L. R. S. as your forefathers were. By the order of P. T. Z. L. J. A.,[4] President. Jer. Coleman, Sec'y."

Kloss attributes the introduction of *new* degrees into Britain, to the influence of the French Masons, though he is careful to point out that the innovators in each country hood-winked their compatriots by speaking of the novelties as foreign importations. There is little doubt, however, that the degrees of Installed Master, and of the Royal Arch, had their inception in the "Scots" degrees, which sprang up in all parts of France about 1740. "Scots Masonry"

[1] *Ante*, p. 445. [2] Geschichte der Freimaurerei in England, Irland, and Schottland, 1847, p. 383.

[3] This I have been unable to verify. It appeared in a series of extracts taken from the above journal, and given in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, February 18, 1865, which were afterwards reprinted (without the slightest acknowledgment) in the *Freemason*, September 26, 1884.

[4] After the last verse of Song No. XXXVIII. in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, the expression occurs, "*To the Memory of* P. H. Z. L. *and* J. A." These letters were doubtless the correct ones. *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 65; and Freemason, October 4, 1884.

will form the subject of a future dissertation;[1] and in this place it will be sufficient to observe that the minute books of two Lodges[2] prove that it had taken root in this country some years at least before the period of time which I have ventured to assign as that of the commencement of the Schism. The records of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, supply information of an analogous if not identical character. These inform us that on July 1, 1746, it was "Enacted at a Grand Lodge, That no brother Mason should be admitted into the dignity of a Highrodiam" for less than 2s. 6d., or into that of "Domaskin or Forin" for less than 5s. "Highrodiam" is very suggestive of "Harodim," of which it may have been a corruption; but the word "Domaskin" I cannot venture to explain. The two degrees or steps were, I think, some form of "Scots Masonry"—a conclusion to which I am led by the "N.B." which follows the entry given above. This reads: "The *English Masters* to pay for entering into the said *Mastership* 2s. 6d. per majority."[3]

It is a curious circumstance, that the only knowledge we possess concerning the Royal Arch before 1752[4] arises from an incidental allusion in a work of 1744, and an entry in the records of the Ancients, informing us that Dermott became a member of that degree in 1746. The former occurs in Dassigny's "Serious and Impartial Enquiry,"[5] of which the passages relating to the subject will be given in the Appendix. Their meaning is not free from obscurity, but we are justified in inferring that a few years before 1744 some person in Dublin pretended to have been made "Master of the Royal Arch" at York, and thereby deluded many worthy people; that "*at length*" a "Brother who *had some small space before*[6] attained that excellent part of Masonry in *London*, plainly proved that his doctrine was false;" and also, that the degree was restricted to brethren who had passed the chair.

But this only proves that a side or bye degree, as yet unrecognised by the governing bodies at York and the three capitals, had found its way from London to Dublin, and we cannot be sure, from the language employed, whether in 1744, more than a single person at the latter city, was in possession of it.

I conceive that the word "Arch" must have been first used in the sense of "Chief," or, "of the first class," as *Archangel*, *Archbishop*, in which signification, we meet with the same expression in connection with associations outside the pale of the order.[7]

An "Arch-Mason," therefore, was one who had received a degree or step beyond the recognised and legitimate *three*. Out of this was ultimately evolved the degree of Installed Master, a ceremony unknown, in the older system, until the second decade of the present century, and of which I can trace no sign among the "Ancients," until the growing practice of conferring the "Arch" upon brethren not legally qualified to receive it, brought about a

[1] *Post*, Masonry in France.

[2] "Jan. 8, 1746.—Bros. Thomas Naish and John Burge were this day made Scotch Masters, and paid for making 2s. 6d. each" (Minutes of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41). "Oct. 19, 1746.—At this lodge were made Scotts Masons, five brethren of the lodge" (Goldney, *op. cit.*, quoting the Minutes of the Sarum Lodge). *Cf. ante*, p. 399. Five members of present No. 41 were subsequently made "Scotch Masons," Nov. 27, 1754.

[3] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 73, 75. [4] *Ante*, p. 439. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] I cannot quite agree with Hughan (*op. cit.*, p. 49) that these words necessarily imply that the brother who received the Royal Arch degree in *London* did so *before* the date of the imposture.

[7] In the *Annual Register*, 1761, p. 51, there is a reference to "the almost innumerable clubs and societies which distinguish themselves, some by *Arch*, and others by very significant expressions."

constructive passing through the chair, which, by qualifying candidates not otherwise eligible, naturally entailed the introduction of a ceremony,[1] ***additional*** to the simple forms known to Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers.

A lodge under the title of "Royal Arch," Glasgow, was erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland on August 6, 1755. But though from this it may be inferred that the innovation had penetrated into North Britain, the charter only empowered the members to "admit and receive apprentices, pass fellow-crafts, and raise master masons."[2] In the same way, a knowledge of the degree by the masons of Philadelphia, in 1758, may be presumed from the fact that a lodge constituted there in that year by the "Ancients" bore a similar appellation.[3] Next in point of date, and apart from any records of the Seceders, supreme or subsidiary, we find the Royal Arch well established at York, 1762;[4] London, 1765; in Lancashire, 1767;[5] at Boston (U.S.A.), 1769; and in Ireland, 1772.[6]

The Royal Arch minutes of the "Ancients" commence November 5, 1783, and recite certain resolutions passed in the Grand *Lodge*, December 4, 1771,[7] and in the Grand *Chapter*, January 3, 1772. To the latter there is a preamble to the effect that some persons had "lately pretended to teach Masonical Mysteries, Superiour to, or necessary to be added to the Mystery of the Royal Arch;" wherefore it was resolved: "That it is the clear opinion of this Grand Chapter that Royal Arch Masonry is (in itself) so stupendiously Excellent that it Is, truely, what the Roman Masons of Old said, 'Ut Nihil possit cogitare: Nothing cou'd be imagined more.' Therefore to attempt an amendment or add to the Mysteries of the Holy Royal Arch, wou'd be a profanation of that which every good man (especially a free-mason) wou'd and ought to preserve pure and undefiled."

Inasmuch as at this period, the "original" Grand Lodge of England was coquetting with the myriads of degrees which were then in existence on the Continent,[8] it is almost demonstrably clear, that had not Dermott drawn the line at the Royal Arch, the older Society would have eventually followed him, in adopting any number of foreign novelties, with the same complaisance which was shown in 1811 and 1813.[9]

The Grand Chapter on the same occasion—January 3, 1772—took into consideration the matter referred to it in December 1771,[10] and decided that those brethren who had "been introduced [into Royal Arch Masonry] contrary to Antient Custom should be remade[11] gratis upon a recommendation from their respective Lodges."

[1] According to Kloss, the degree of Installed Master is (or was) identical, in nearly every respect, with one of the grades of "Scots Masonry" known on the Continent (*op. cit.*, p. 424).

[2] D. M. Lyon, in a letter dated March 13, 1885.

[3] C. E. Meyer, History of the Jerusalem Chapter, No. 3, Philadelphia.

[4] *Ante*, p. 430.

[5] History of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton, by G. P. Brockbank and James Newton, 1882, p. 19.

[6] Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 104. According to the Grand Chapter Register (Ancients) of "Excellent Masters in the degree of the Royal Arch," Dermott was "admitted" in No. 26, Dublin, in 1746; and two others in No. 361, Ireland (1767), and in the Thistle Lodge, Scotland (1768), respectively.

[7] *Ante*, p. 445.

[8] De Vignolles, Provincial Grand Master for foreign lodges, under this body wrote—Dec. 28, 1770—to the Master of the Lodge "Charles" at Brunswick, stating that Grand Lodge did not deny that there must be and were exalted degrees, though which were to be admitted or rejected, was still in suspense. But in the interim the Grand Master permitted all lodges to form private Chapters of the "high" degrees, as they might see fit (Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 427).

[9] *Ante*, pp. 358, 429.

[10] *Ante*, p. 445.

[11] From this, we may perhaps conclude, that brethren were also re-made, in the ordinary degrees, rather in vindication of a principle, than because there was any actual necessity for it?

At the meeting held November 5, 1783, it was resolved "that this Chapter do perfectly coincide with the foregoing resolution, and that masters and pastm^s. (*Bonâ fide*) only ought to be admitted Masters of the Royal Arch." It was also further agreed that the names of all Royal Arch Masons should be recorded in a book to be called "Seper Enholah Rabbim, *i.e.*, the Register of Excellent Masters;" that the Grand Lodge should meet at least twice in the year, and on one of those occasions, in conjunction with the Grand Officers select a certain number of "Excellent Masters," which was not to exceed nine persons, who were to examine all persons undertaking to perform any of the ceremonies relative to the Royal Arch, the installation of Grand Officers, or to Processions. These brethren, who were indifferently styled the nine Excellent Masters or Worthies,[1] subsequently had their functions enlarged, as we have already seen.[2]

Royal Arch certificates were issued by the "Ancients" in 1791, and the degree is accorded great prominence in the editions of "Ahiman Rezon," published in 1800 and later years. Nevertheless, I am strongly of opinion, that it was not fully appreciated by the "Ancients," until the novelty was invested with so much importance by the "Moderns"—as in this connection I may venture to style them, without being guilty of an anachronism—and who decorated and embellished the degree with many fanciful alterations and additions of their own creation.[3]

The earliest Royal Arch minutes are among the York Records; and next in point of date are those of the body which ultimately became the Grand Chapter, tolerated, if not actually recognised, by the earlier Grand Lodge of England. The latter commence June 12, 1765, at which date the fee for "passing the Arch" was five guineas. In the following year, Lord Blaney, Grand Master, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, of the older "Grand Lodge of England," became members, and also "Grand Master" and "Scribe" respectively of the "fourth degree." On March 11, 1768, Edward Gibbon, the historian, was proposed by Dunkerley and Rowland Holt, "and unanimously approved of;" but there is no record of his exaltation or admission. In 1769 warrants of Constitution were issued, and in the next year the title of "Grand and Royal Chapter" was assumed. In 1773 the use of a distinctive apron was forbidden, until the "Companions" were allowed to wear such "in the Grand Lodge, and in All private Freemason's Lodges."[4] The Duke of Cumberland was elected "perpetual patron" in 1785. In 1796 the "Grand Chapter" became the "Grand Lodge of Royal Arch." The Earl of Moira was exalted in 1803, and the Duke of Sussex became a member in 1810. But the degree was not formally recognised by the Society over which these brethren in turn presided, until the Union, and when a complaint was presented from one Robert Sampson who had been expelled from Royal Arch Masonry—December 29, 1791—"for declaring his intention of exalting Master Masons for 5s. each." It was resolved—November 21, 1792—"that the Grand Lodge of England has nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons."[5]

[1] Sept 20, 1802. "B^r Chaplin proposed, that B^r Bollom should be returned to the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, as one of the Nine Worthys for the year" (Minutes of No. 194, *now* the Middlesex Lodge, No. 143).

[2] *Ante*, p. 451.

[3] See, however, Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[4] The following opinion was expressed by Laurence Dermott, May 15, 1772:—"Royal *Arch-Masons* must not, in any place, except in the Royal Arch Lodge, be distinguished by any garment or badge different from what belongs to them as officers of the *Grand*, or their own private Lodge" (Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, p. cxii.).

[5] A further complaint by Sampson, arising out of the same matter, was heard by the "Committee of Charity," February 1, 1793, and "dismissed, as frivolous and vexatious."

On March 18, 1817, the two Grand Chapters followed the example of the Grand Lodges with which they were severally connected, and amalgamated, under the title of the "*United* Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of England."

The Royal Arch degree was originally conferred in the *lodge*, both by "Ancients" and "Moderns"—expressions which, having regard to the dates whereon this "Innovation in the Body of MASONRY"[1] was made by these two bodies respectively, may here be employed in their ordinary or popular signification. *Chapters* were first brought into use by the latter, and the earliest of which a record has been preserved was well established in 1765. This, as previously stated, developed into a "Grand Body," and issued warrants of constitution to subordinate chapters, after which the degree gradually ceased to be worked surreptitiously, by lodges under the older system. The York brethren also met as a *Chapter* from April 29, 1768.[2] Of this practice I have found but one early example among the Ancients; it occurs in the records of No. 174 *Lodge, now* the Royal Gloucester *Chapter*, No. 130, and is of value in more ways than one. First of all, it establishes the fact that the Royal Arch was not always worked in the "Ancient" Lodges, for No. 174 was constituted *April* 22, 1772, and did not become acquainted with the degree until October 7, 1783, on which date (we next learn) a brother of No. 74 under the Irish Registry, attached to the second battalion of the 1st (or Royal) Regiment, assisted by three other "Arch Masons, held a Chapter for the purpose of Raising several Brethren to this Sublime Degree, in order to their holding a Chapter in Southampton."[3]

Under both Grand Lodges, the practice of "passing brethren through the chair," or, in other words, of conferring upon them the *degree* (without serving the *office*) of "Installed Master," which had crept into the ritual of the "Ancients," was very common.[4] In Nos. 37 and 42 it lasted until 1846 and 1850 respectively.

Undue stress has been laid upon the custom which prevailed under the two Grand Lodges of England, of requiring brethren, who had already graduated under one system, to go through the ceremonies a second time under the other. The fees for registration may have been at the bottom of the whole affair, and in each case, as the admission of brethren from the rival camp in the capacity of *visitors*[5]—until a comparatively late period—plainly indicates, a re-making was more a protest against the *regularity* than the *validity* of the degree to which the postulant had been previously admitted. Lodges and Masons who went over to the enemy were said to have "apostatized" by the body with whom they were formerly in communion, and all kinds of terms, of which "translated"[6] is perhaps the most singular and expressive, are used in the records of lodges to describe the status of a brother who was "healed" or re-made. But the

[1] *Ante*, p. 373.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

[3] At a Chapter of Emergency, held Feb. 12, 1796, it was proposed to make a brother an "excellent and super-excellent Royal Arch Mason." *Cf.* History of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, Bolton (J. Newton), p. 37.

[4] Numerous examples of the custom are given in the following Lodge Histories: "Anchor and Hope," Bolton, No. 37 (G. P. Brockbank and James Newton); "Relief," Bury, No. 42 (E. A. Evans); "British Union," Ipswich, No. 114 (Emra Holmes); and under the "Ancients," "Enoch," London, No. 11 (Freemason's Chronicle, vol. iv., p. 323); and "St John's," Bolton, No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank).

[5] Oct. 19, 1764.—"Visiting Bretheren [*inter alios*], Broth. Jackson of No. 115 of the Modren Constutation" (Minutes of No. 86 "Ancients," *now* "Union Waterloo," No. 13). *Cf. ante*, p. 444, note 2.

[6] The cost of "translation" was a guinea and a half (G. W. Speth, History of the Lodge of Unity, No. 183, p. 22). The same amount was charged for re-making in an "Ancient" Lodge, present No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank, History of St John's Lodge, Bolton, p. 21).

practice of re-making appears to have been dispensed with, in cases where an entire lodge shifted its allegiance, or where a warrant of constitution was granted by either Grand Lodge to petitioners who had graduated under its rival.[1] Thus, the minutes of No. 86, two months before it was chartered by the "Ancients," inform us that it was agreed to "make no new Masons for the feuther, till such time as we can procure a New Warrant, as the one we now act under is Illeagel, Being Modderant[2] Constitution." The warrant was granted in due course, but there is no mention of "re-makings" until a much later period, when the entries become very instructive. For example, in the year 1774, two brethren were "re-made," both of whom had been "made" in Scotland—in the "Union and Crown"[3] and in the "Kilwinning" Lodges respectively.

Inasmuch as the "Ancients" were then on the best possible terms with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, over which the Duke of Atholl—also their own Grand Master—at that time presided, the process of legitimation here resorted to was wholly uncalled for and unnecessary.[4] But the entries tend to prove, that brethren on passing from one Masonic jurisdiction to another, were re-made, not because there were essential differences between the ceremonial observances peculiar to each system, but rather as a disciplinary requirement, and from motives of policy.

Notwithstanding the bitter feud between the rival Grand Lodges of England, the lodges on the two rolls worked together, on the whole, with greater love and harmony than might have been expected. Sometimes in a so-called "Ancient" Lodge the "Business" was "Modern,"[5] and oftener still, lodges under the *older* system, followed the method of working in vogue among the "Ancients."[6]

Of a divided allegiance there are a few examples. Thus, the present Royal Gloucester Lodge, Southampton, No. 130, was warranted by the "Ancients" in 1772, and by the older Society twenty years later. Sometimes the members met in one capacity, and sometimes in the other. Often it was resolved to abandon one of the "Constitutions;" but which was to be "dropped," the members could never finally decide, though each in turn was temporarily renounced on a variety of occasions. At the Union, however, the lodge wisely clung to its original charter, thus obtaining a higher position on the roll.[7]

The members of both Societies constantly walked together in processions, and their common attendance at church on these and similar occasions is very frequently recorded.[8] A

[1] The warrant of St John's Lodge, Leicester, *now* No. 279, was granted in 1790, by the Original Grand Lodge of England, to some of the principal officers and members of No. 91 "Ancients," and the previous warrant remained for a long time in the hands of Bro. Horton, who was Master both of the "old" and the "new" lodge, but was eventually delivered up to some of the brethren who still desired to work under it (W. Kelly, Freemasonry in Leicestershire, p. 24).

[2] The use of this term, under the circumstances, calls for no remark, but its constant appearance in the minutes of lodges under the older sanction is, as already observed (*ante*, p. 435), very extraordinary. The following is a curious example of the almost universal custom: Nov. 1, 1803.—"Bro. Rolf proposed Wm. Laysonby French to be *modernised* into masonry, at one guinea expense" (Emra Holmes, Minutes of the British Union Lodge, No. 114, Ipswich—Masonic Magazine, vol. iv., p. 533).

[3] Instituted at Glasgow, Dec. 23, 1766, *now* No. 103.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 440, 447.

[5] Minutes of No. 86, *now* Union Waterloo, No. 13.

[6] According to the Minutes of a lodge under the *older* Society, two brothers were "Raised the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry" in 1791, and three were "Raised Master Masons Antient" in 1792 (E. A. Evans, History of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury, 1883, p. 39).

[7] J. R. Stebbing, History of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130 (Southampton Times, April 27, 1872).

[8] See Histories of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, p. 27 (G. P. Brockbank and James Newton); St John's

singular instance of their acting in concert is afforded by a Masonic address presented to Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—January 9, 1794, on his approaching departure from Canada. At the foot are two signatures, one to the left, the other to the right of the page—the former being that of "William Grant, D.G.M. of Modern Masons," and the latter that of "Thomas Ainslie, D.G.M. of Ancient Masons." A paragraph in the address runs—"We have a confident hope that, under the conciliating influence of your Royal Highness, the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in his Majesty's dominions will soon be united;" to which the Prince replied—"You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that the much-wished-for Union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."[1]

The first officers of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions" were the Grand Master, Deputy, Wardens, and Secretary, all of whom, except the Deputy, were elected year by year. The appointment of this officer was one of the prerogatives of the Grand Master, but in practice some experienced brother was recommended for the office, and the approval of the Grand Master followed as a matter of course. A new office, that of Treasurer, was created in 1754, and in 1768 William Dickey was *elected* Deputy Grand Secretary. A Grand Pursuivant and also a Grand Tyler were *appointed* in 1771. In the following year there was a Grand Chaplain and a Sword-bearer "*pro tempore*," but the latter office, though apparently revived in 1788, did not become a permanent one until 1791. A Deputy Grand Chaplain was among the officers for 1809.

The Steward's Lodge, or Committee of Charity, was invested with full power to hear complaints of a Masonic nature, and to punish delinquents according to the laws of the Craft. Its chief function, however, was to deal with petitions for relief, and the following are examples of the various grounds on which such applications were rejected:

January 17, 1781. From a certified Mason of No. 153, Ireland—"he having resided in London upwards of three years, and never Inquired after a Lodge or visited."

June 16, 1784. From James Barker of No. 81. "It appearing to the Steward's Lodge, his being lame and otherwise disfigured at the time of being made, he ought not to be relieved."

August 20, 1788. From Robert Brown—on the ground of his "haveing no other certificate" than that of a Knight Templar, which had been granted him by "the Carrickfergus True Blue Lodge, No. 253, under the Registry of Ireland."

November 19, 1788.—From an applicant—"not appearing to have any concern in Masonry from the time he was made."

August 15, 1804.—"Resolved, That T. Sculthorpe, being a person not perfect in body, but deformed, and much below the common stature of man, was a very improper person to become, and is now unfit to continue, a Member of this most ancient and honourable Fraternity—and consequently not entitled to the advantages or privileges of Masonry in any degree whatever."[2]

Lodge, No. 221, p. 23 (G. P. Brockbank); the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, p. 20 (James Newton); and of Freemasonry in Leicestershire and Rutland (W. Kelly, 1870).

[1] In the Freemason's Magazine, vol. iii., 1794, p. 13, from which I quote, both the extracts given above are shown in italics.

[2] Confirmed at the September meeting of Grand Lodge, by which body, in the previous June, a Master of a Lodge had been reprimanded for having initiated a cripple.

April 17, 1805.—From a member of the Union Lodge at Elbing—"A Modern? not able to make himself known as an Antient Mason."

Sometimes very interesting points of Masonic Law were discussed or determined at the meetings of this body, *e.g.*,—

April 16, 1777.—Dermott stated, that "although the Grand Master had full power and authority to make (in his presence, or cause to be made) Masons, when and where he pleased, yet he could not oblidge any Lodge to admit the persons (so made) as members, without the unanimous consent of such Lodge, and if the Grand Master made use of his privelidge in making of Masons, he ought to have made a sufficient number of them to form a Lodge and grant them a warrant, by which means they wou'd be intitled to Registry, otherwise not."[1]

December 18, 1811.—A memorial was read from No. 225, complaining that one of their members had been refused admittance by No. 245, "on the ground of his being a Quaker, when, tho' regularly admitted on his *solemn affirmative*, the officers of No. 245 contended was a violation of the principles of the Constitution." The stewards were of opinion "that there did not appear any censure to either of the Lodges in what had been done, but upon a question so novel and peculiar, recommended that the final disposal of the matter be postponed till next Steward's Lodge." The subject is not again mentioned in these records, but the minutes of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130, inform us, that in a letter dated April 13, 1796, the Grand Secretary of the "Ancients" had communicated to that body the decision of Grand Lodge, that a Quaker was ineligible for initiation.[2]

It has been shown that the laws and customs of the "Ancient" Masons were based on Irish originals. The former, Dermott simply appropriated from Spratt, and the latter he appears to have gradually introduced into the ritual of the Seceders. But the author of "Ahiman Rezon" was by no means content to follow in the footsteps of any guide, and boldly struck out a path of his own, which has become the well beaten track traversed by the Freemasons of England. The epithet of "Moderns" which he bestowed on the brethren, under whose laws and customs he had been admitted into Masonry in his native country, was singularly out of place, and had the "journeyman printer" been as well skilled in polemical exercises as the "journeyman painter," the former might have completely turned the tables on the latter. As it was, however, whilst Preston's slip respecting the "dropped forms"[3] served as a never-failing text for the denunciations of the Seceders,[4] Dermott's more serious blunders and misstatements have not, up to the present day, been fully refuted. Some of his errors in history and chronology have been already noticed,[5] but it has yet to be pointed out, that by adopting the Regulations—Old and New—of the *premier* Grand Lodge of England, and at the same time denying the legality of that body, he placed himself on the horns of a dilemma.

This, however, he appears to have entirely overlooked, and in the first edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[6] observes with regard to the New Regulations,[7] "they have been wrote at different Times, *by Order of the whole Community*," an admission which it would have taxed

[1] This ruling, slightly amplified, was afterwards inserted by Dermott as a note to "Old Regulation XIII.," in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, and the latter has served as the foundation of authority, upon which a strange doctrine called "Making Masons at Sight" has been erected.

[2] This ruling is now obsolete.

[3] *Ante*, p. 456.

[4] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 127.

[5] *Ante*, pp. 36, 287, 456.

[6] P. 87.

[7] *Cf. ante*, pp. 454, 455.

his resources to explain, had the slip been harped upon with the same wearisome iteration as in the somewhat parallel case of William Preston.

The extent to which Dermott added to, or improved upon, the ceremonies of the Craft, can only form the subject of conjecture, though the balance of probability inclines strongly in one direction.

Whatever customs or ceremonies Dermott had acquired a knowledge of in his Lodge, No. 26, Dublin, we may take for granted that he assisted in passing on—very much as they were taught to him—in this country. The by-laws of the Lodge in question were adopted as a standard for the guidance of the "Ancient" Lodges before Dermott had been two months installed as Grand Secretary. From this source (or from Scotland) must have been derived the office of "deacon,"[1] which was unknown to the older Grand Lodge of England until the Union.

The degree of Installed Master, as well as that of the Royal Arch, may have been wrought in the Dublin Lodges before Dermott severed his connection with the Irish capital. But neither of them derived at that time any countenance from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by which body, indeed, if we may believe a writer in the *Freemason's Quarterly Review*,[2] the proposal of their Grand Master, the Earl of Donoughmore, in 1813, to acknowledge the Royal Arch degree, met with such little favour, that they passed a vote of censure upon him, and were with difficulty restrained from expelling him from Masonry altogether.

It is abundantly clear, however, that during the pendency of the Schism no other degrees were recognised by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland, than the simple *three*, authorised by the earliest of Grand Bodies.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 441. Deacons are first named in the Minutes of the Seceders on July 13, 1753. [2] 1844, p. 420.

CHAPTER XX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1761-1813.

IT is now essential to return to the proceedings of the earlier or original Grand Lodge of England, the narrative of which was interrupted at p. 397, in order that the records of two contemporary bodies might be placed under examination.

We left off at the year 1760, but before proceeding to relate the further events of importance which occurred during the presidency of Lord Aberdour, some remarks of a general character will be offered.

The first lodge to adopt a distinctive title, apart from the sign of the tavern where it met, was the "University" Lodge, No. 74, in 1730. This was followed by the "Grenadiers" Lodge, No. 189, in 1739; after which, the constitution in the latter year of the "Parham," the "Court-House," the "Bakers," and the "Basseterre" Lodges, in the West Indies, led to the usage becoming a more general one. Inasmuch, however, as the "signs of the houses" where the lodges met were shown in the Engraved Lists, these, in some instances at least, must doubtless have been substituted for distinctive titles, in cases even where the latter existed.[1] This view is borne out by the list for 1760, wherein, out of 245 lodges, one *English* lodge only —the last on the roll—No. 245, the Temple Lodge, Bristol, appears with what may be termed in strictness a distinctive name. Nos. 1 and 70 are indeed styled respectively the "West India and American" and the "Steward's" Lodges, but in each case the sign of the tavern is shown, and these designations appear to have merely meant that the former lodge was frequented by one class of persons, and the latter by another. The same remark will hold good as regards the "Scott's Masons' Lodge," No. 115,[2] which, according to the Engraved List for 1734, met at the Devil, Temple Bar, in that year.

But although only a single *English* lodge has a *name* affixed to it in the list for 1760, no less than twelve lodges in the West Indies, as well as four in Germany, and the same number in Holland, appear with distinctive titles in the same publication.[3] The majority of the West

[1] Thus the "Grenadiers" and the "Absalom" Lodges, Nos. 110 and 119, are only described in 1760 as meeting at the "King's Arms and Tun, Hyde Park Corner," and the "Bunch of Grapes, Decker St., Hamburgh," respectively.

[2] Described in a MS. list of Dr Rawlinson for the year 1733 (*circa*) as "a Scotch Masons' Lodge," which designation is withheld in the Engraved List for 1736, where the following entry appears opposite the No. 115: "Daniel's Coffee House, Temple Bar." Extinct in 1737.

[3] The titles of Nos. 113 ("La Parfaite Union des Étrangers") and 119 ("Absalom") are omitted in this list. The former was constituted February 2, 1739, at Lausanne, in the Canton of Berne.

Indian lodges bore saintly appellatives. Those in Germany were the "Union of Angels," Frankfort (1742);[1] the "St George," Hamburgh (1743); the "St Michael's," Mecklenburg (1754); and the "Grand Lodge Frederick," Hanover (1755). In Holland there were the lodges of "Orange," Rotterdam, and of "Charity, Peace, and Regularity," at Amsterdam. Other lodges, for example, "Solomon's Lodge," Charles Town, South Carolina (1735), and "Providence Lodge," in Rhode Island (1757), bore distinctive titles before 1760, but in these and many similar cases the later lists are misleading, as both the lodges named were only given places corresponding with their actual seniority, some years after the publication of the list under examination, the former being assigned No. 74, and the latter No. 224, which were filled in the first instance by lodges at Bristol and Santa Croix respectively.

In 1767, the lodge of which the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, was a member,[2] assumed a distinctive title in lieu of the "sign of the house"—the Sun and Punch Bowl—whereby it had previously been described, and the practice soon became very general. The happy designation bestowed on the "New Lodge at the Horn,"[3] may have helped to set the fashion, but at any rate, the "Old Lodge at the Horn" became the "Old Horn Lodge" in 1768. In the same year original No. 3 took the title of the "Lodge of Fortitude," and in 1770 the senior English lodge assumed the now time-honoured designation of the "Lodge of Antiquity."

The lodges were re-numbered in 1740, 1756, 1770, 1781, and 1792, and as the same process was resorted to at the Union (1813), and again in 1832 and 1863, much confusion has been the result, especially when it has been sought to identify lodges of the past century with those still existing in our own. Some of the difficulties of this task have been removed, but the immethodical way in which vacant numbers were allotted during the intervals between the general re-numberings, will always render it a somewhat puzzling undertaking to trace the fortunes of those lodges of bygone days, which are undistinguished from the others, save by numbers and the names of the taverns where they assembled.

The positions on the roll during the numeration of 1756-69 of the lodges at Charlestown and Rhode Island have been already noticed. The former found a place on the roll in the first instance as No. 251, and is described in the Engraved List for 1761 as "Solomon's Lodge, Charles Town, S. Carolina, 1735." Immediately above it, strange to say, at the Nos. 247-250, are four other South Carolina lodges, stated to have been constituted, the two earliest in 1743 and 1755, and the two latest in 1756 respectively. In the list for the following year, however, a vacant niche was available at the No. 74, and "Solomon's" lodge was accordingly shifted there from its lower position, the lodge immediately below it being described as "No. 75, Savannah, In the Province of Georgia, 1735."[4] In the same way the Nos. 141-143 on the list of 1756 were filled by Minorca lodges up to the year 1766, but in 1768 they were assigned to lodges in Boston and Marblehead (Mass.), and in Newhaven (Connecticut) respectively. At the next change of numbers (1770) the four remaining lodges in South Carolina, misplaced in

[1] Constituted, according to the official list, June 17, 1742, but the actual warrant (which is in the *French language*, and will be printed in the Appendix) bears date February 8, 1743. It is there styled, "fille de notre bonne Loge de l'Union de Londres," and the "Mother Lodge" referred to was apparently No. 87 on the 1740 list, which then met at the "*Union* Coffee House," in the Haymarket. Lodge "Absalom," at Hamburgh, was of still earlier origin—viz., 1740. It first appeared in the Engraved Lists (as No. 119) in 1756, but dropped out at the re-numbering in 1770, and again found a place on the roll, as No. 506, in 1787.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 341, note 3, and *post*, p. 471.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 344.

[4] Also styled "Solomon's Lodge" in later lists. *Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, April 9, 1881.

the official list, were lifted to positions on the roll tallying with their respective seniority. "St John's Lodge," New York, which was first entered in the Engraved List of 1762, was on the same occasion placed—according to the date of its constitution—among the lodges of 1757.

Certificates signed by the Grand Secretary were first issued in 1755, in which year, it may be stated, the practice of "smoaking tobacco" in Grand Lodge during the transaction of business was forbidden, the D.G.M. (Manningham) observing, "that it was not only highly disagreeable to the many not used to it, But it was also an Indecency that should never be suffered in any solemn assembly."

Lodges, more particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century,[1] were, in many instances, formed long before they were constituted. The latter ceremony was of a very simple character. Usually it was performed by the Deputy Grand Master in person, and a record of the circumstance, duly attested by the signatures of the grand or acting grand officers, forms, not uncommonly, the first entry in a minute-book. The officers were elected quarterly or half-yearly, the former practice being the more frequent of the two. But one method was substituted for the other, with very little formality, as the following entries attest:

March 1, 1762.—"Agreed that every quart^{r}. it be a ballotten for a new Master and Wardens."

December 20, 1762.—"This night it was agreed that Election-night should be every six months."[2]

The installation of officers was devoid of the ceremonial observances peculiar to the "Seceders," and though the novelties of one system ultimately penetrated into the other, they were not considered orthodox or regular by brethren of the "Older School" until the somewhat "unconditional surrender" of their Grand Lodge which preceded the Union. In what is now the "Friendship Lodge," No. 6, we learn from the minutes that, March, 16, 1758, "it being Election Night, the Sen^{r}. Ward^{n}. took the Chair; the Jun^{r} Ward^{n} [the] S.W.; y^{e} Secretary [the] J^{r}. W^{n}.; and B^{r}. J. Anderson was Elected Secretary." In the "Moira," No. 92, on March 6, 1760, "B^{r} Dodsworth, by desire, accepted of the Master's Jewell."

The services of the "Right Worshipful Master," as the presiding officer was then styled, were frequently retained throughout several elections,[3] whilst in case of illness, or inability to attend the meetings, they were as summarily dispensed with. Thus, in a London lodge, on February 2, 1744, the Master having "declared on the box," being sick, another brother was forthwith elected in his room.[4]

Wine and tobacco were often supplied in the lodge-room. In one of the country lodges it took several bottles to audit the Treasurer's account, and when that was done, and the balance struck and carried out, it was a common practice to add a postscript of "One bottle more," and deduct that from the balance.[5] The following by-law was passed by a London lodge in

[1] As late as 1760 a lodge was *constituted* at Canterbury (No. 253, now extinct), which had *met* since 1756 (J. R. Hall, Freemasonry in Canterbury, 1880, p. 9).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92.

[3] Dec. 19, 1763.—"It being Ellexcion night, B^{r} Garrett whas reallextled has master of this Lodge in Dew forme" (Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92).

[4] Minutes of No. 163, *now* extinct.

[5] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41, p. 25.

1773: "That on account of the great expense incurr'd by allowing wine at supper, and in order to prevent the bad consequences arising therefrom, no liquor shall be paid for out of the Lodge Funds *which is drunk out of the Lodge Room*, except beer or ale drank at supper."

In the "Treasurer's Accounts" of the same lodge, under October 20, 1777, there is an entry recording the payment of one shilling and sixpence for "*Herb Tobacco*" for the Lodge of Instruction, an offshoot of the lodge, established on the motion of "Brother Wm. White"—afterwards Grand Secretary—in 1773.[1]

By some lodges, however, the consumption of liquors during the period of Masonic labour was strictly forbidden; and in the Moira Lodge, *now* No. 92,[2] on February 4, 1765, a "Br Hutchinson paid a fine of 3 pence for drinking in ye Lodge."

Frequently the lodge, besides its normal functions, also discharged those of a benefit society. In such cases there was a limit as to the age of admission, and persons over forty were generally ineligible as candidates. The rules ordinarily guard against an influx of members that might press with undue weight upon the finances. People following certain callings, such as soldiers, sailors, bricklayers, and constables, were in most cases declared incapable of membership; and there was frequently a general proviso that no one whose employment in life was either prejudicial to health or of "a dangerous character," should be proposed for admission. Virtually they were trades-unions, and in one instance a regulation enacts that the "proposed" must not "occupy any business which may interfere or closs [*clash*] with [that of] any member already entered."[3] The following is from the same records:

"December 2, 1742.—A Motion was made, Seconded, and agreed too *N.C.*, that the Box shou'd be shut up from this night for six months from all benefits (Deaths & Burials excepted), unless to such members who, during the aforesaid time, shall produce a person to be made a mason, or a person to be entr'd a member—Which member so producing such shall Immediately become free."

The first two degrees were usually conferred on the same evening, and the third could also be included by dispensation.[4] The fees and dues ordinarily charged in Lodges about the year 1760 were as follows: for initiation and passing, £1, 1s.; raising, 5s.; quarterage, 6s. It was customary for all who were present at a meeting to pay something "for the good of the house." Usually each member paid a shilling; visitors from other Lodges, eighteenpence; and "St John's men,"[5] or brethren unattached, two shillings. Until comparatively late in the century, visits were freely interchanged by the Masons under the rival jurisdictions. If the visitor, though not personally known, could pass a satisfactory examination, this was sufficient; and

[1] Brackstone Baker, History of the Lodge of Emulation, No. 21, 1872, pp. 8, 9. William Preston, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, joined the lodge in 1772.

[2] The following by-law was enacted in 1755: "Any member y^t^ comes into this Lodg Disguis^d^ in Liquor and Swars, fined 6^d^."

[3] Minutes of No. 163, at the Black Posts, Maiden Lane, March 23, 1738.

[4] March 12, 1755.—"By convention, and with y^e^ Dispensation of y^e^ Deputy Grand Master, this Lodge was cal'd upon to make M^r^ Garrett Meyer, a Mason in y^e^ 3 degrees" (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* "Friendship," No. 6).

[5] In the minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92, the presence is recorded of "Br Herbert of St John's of the Universe" (1757), and of other visitors, described as "from the Lodge of Holy St John" (1760) and as "a St John's man" (1764 respectively. *Cf. ante*, p. 384, note 6.

even in cases of defective memory, the administration of an "obligation" generally qualified a stranger for admission.[1] Of this custom two examples will suffice.

December 4, 1758.—"Brother Glover, of St John's Lodg, being an Ancient Meason, having taken his obligation of this Lodg, paid the ujal fine of two shilling and became a member."[2]

October 15, 1762.—"Evald Ribe, M.D., Member of St Edward's Lodge at Stockholm, took the obligation, & was proposed to become a member, & carried N.C."[3]

The usage at this period seems to have been, that "extraneous brethren," as they are commonly termed in the records both of the "Regular" Masons and the Seceders—or, in other words, persons who had been admitted into Masonry under other jurisdictions—were allowed to visit freely in the "Regular" Lodges. They were apparently *re-made*—in the sense of going through the ceremonies a second time—if they so wished, but not otherwise. According to the minutes of the Lodge at the Lebeck's Head, Willlam Dickey was present as a visitor several times before he was "made a modern Mason of,"[4] in conformity, there can be little doubt, with his own desire, as he did not become a member of the Lodge, and therefore no pressure could have been put upon him. Evidently he could, had he liked, have attained membership in No. 246 in the same simple manner as Dr Ribe, in connection with whom, it may be observed, that the first deputation for the office of Provincial Grand Master at Stockholm—under the Grand Lodge, whose history we are considering—was granted by Lord Blayney in 1765; and that no Lodge constituted under it appeared on the English roll until 1769.[5] As the earliest Lodge in Sweden for which a charter was granted by the Seceders was only established in 1773,[6] "St Edward's Lodge, Stockholm," if of British origin, must, therefore, have been an offshoot of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, under a patent from which body a Lodge was erected at Stockholm in 1754.[7]

Lord Aberdour held the office of Grand Master from May 18, 1757, until May 3, 1762, having filled the same position in Scotland from December 1, 1755, until November 30, 1757. In the latter capacity he granted a warrant of constitution to some brethren in Massachusetts, empowering them to meet under the title of St Andrew's Lodge, No. 82. The petitioners were "Ancient" Masons, in the sense of belonging to the body distinguished by that popular title. These, as observed by Findel,[8] "transplanted the dissensions prevailing in England, and formed two opposing camps over the ocean." This Lodge, which was established November 13, 1756, resolved, in December 1768, to keep the Festival of St John the Evangelist, and "That none vulgarly called 'Modern Masons' be admitted to the Feast."[9] It ultimately became the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons,"[10] and amalgamated in 1792 with the "St

[1] "Oct. 16, 1761.—Resolved, that any Br who can work himself in, may be admitted, & in case any doubts arise, to take the obligation. A Member of the Regular Lodges to pay 1s. 6d. for Viziting, and a Member of St John's 2s." (Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92. [3] Minutes of No. 246. [4] *Ante*, p. 444, note 2.

[5] In the Engraved List for 1770, Nos. "1, 2, and 3, Sweden," appear as Nos. 385-387, and are placed among the English Lodges constituted in 1769.

[6] "No. 181," constituted by S. G. W. Christian, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London, July 14, 1773, who installed James Gersdorff as Master, James Norin and Dan[l] Gurtausan as Wardens. The Lodge was to be held at a private room in the city of Stockholm.

Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 134. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

[9] Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1870, pp. 159, 162.

[10] Address of Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts) 1870, p. 19.

John's Grand Lodge" of the same State, as the governing body under the older Grand Lodge of England was then designated.

Precisely as in the mother country, the Masons were divided into two denominations, and even whilst Lord Aberdour was at the head of the Craft in both kingdoms, the "Ancients" in St Andrew's Lodge and the so-called "Moderns" in the other Boston Lodges were at open variance. This is the more remarkable, because about the very time when a difference of procedure between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the original Grand Lodge of England was alleged to exist by the brethren of Massachusetts, a letter was written by Dr Manningham [1] to a correspondent in Holland, informing him, in substance, after having consulted Lord Aberdour and several other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen that were "good Masons," that the Masonic ceremonies were identical under the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the older Grand Lodge of England, both of which knew only three orders, viz., "Masters, Fellow-Crafts, and Apprentices."

Lord Aberdour was succeeded as Grand Master by Earl Ferrers in 1762, and the latter gave place in turn to Lord Blayney on May 8, 1764.

During the administration of this nobleman, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester became members of the Society, and it was ordered by Grand Lodge, that they should each be presented with an apron, lined with blue silk, and that in all future processions they should rank as Past Grand Masters, next to the grand officers for the time being.

In April 1766 a new edition of the "Book of Constitutions" was ordered to be printed under the inspection of a committee.[2]

In the same month, at the Committee of Charity, a complaint was made "that the Lodge at the Old Bell in Bell Savage Yard, Ludgate Hill, had been illegally sold. It appeared from the Respondents that they were Foreigners, and had made (as they apprehended) a fair purchase thereof, and had paid a valuable consideration for the same, and did under that Constitution hold a regular Lodge at the Fountain in Ludgate Hill. It was determined under these circumstances that in Equity they had a Right to the Constitution, and that they should be permitted to hold their Lodge under it, but that for the Future the sale of A Constitution should on no account be held valid, but [it] should immediately be considered as Forfeited."

A further illustration of the practice last referred to is afforded by the minutes of the same tribunal for April 8, 1767, on which date a "Br° Paterson reported that the Constitution of the Lodge No. 3, held at the Sun and Punch Bowl, had been sold or otherwise illegally disposed of, and that the same was purchas'd by a Number [of] Masons, who now meet by virtue thereof, under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House in St. James St. And that Br° French was the person principally concerned, together with the brethren of the Lodge formerly held at the Sun and Punch Bowl."

The decision of the committee was postponed—"but as a mark of high respect to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and the Noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen meeting under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, *and in consideration of their being very young Masons* [it was ordered], that the Constitution No. 3 shall remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further enquiry, that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Constitution,

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 395, 396; and Chap. XII., p. 35.

[2] The alterations proposed to be made by the committee were approved, and five hundred books ordered to be printed, January 28, 1767.

but at the same time resolved, that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatsoever."[1]

A week later, the minutes of the last Committee of Charity were read in Grand Lodge and confirmed, "except that part of them which related to Brother French," by whom an apology was made "in open Quarterly Communication." At this meeting the Duke of Beaufort was elected Grand Master, and in the following year, a vacancy occurring, he appointed French to the office of Grand Secretary.[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held January 20, 1768, two letters were read from the Grand Lodge of France, desiring a friendly correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England, which was cheerfully agreed to.[3]

At the April meeting of the same body, it was carried by a majority, that the practice of brethren appearing armed in Lodges, was an innovation upon the ancient usages and customs of the Society, and it was resolved that "the Grand Master be requested to forbid such practice in future."

In the following October, the Deputy Grand Master who presided, informed the Committee "that the Duke of Beaufort was resolved to have the Society incorporated, and proposed that the brethren present should take into serious consideration the most effectual means to raise a fund for defraying the expense of building a hall."

A week later, the Hon. Charles Dillon, D.G.M., explained in Grand Lodge, the plan he had submitted at the Committee of Charity. Ten resolutions were thereupon passed, which were ordered to be forthwith printed and transmitted to all the lodges on record. By these it was provided, that certain fees should be paid by the Grand Officers annually, by new Lodges at their constitution, by brethren at initiation or joining, and for dispensations. Many further articles or regulations were subsequently added. No. XI.—Nov. 19, 1773—requires each lodge to transmit to the Grand Secretary, a list of its members, with the dates of their admission or initiation; also their ages, together with their titles, professions, or trades; and that five shillings be transmitted for every initiate, and half-a-crown for each joining member as registration fees; and that no person initiated into masonry, after October 28, 1768, shall be entitled to partake of the General Charity, or any other of the privileges of the Grand Lodge, unless his name be duly registered, and the fees paid as above.

Article XII., enacted Feb. 22, 1775, is simply a plan of granting annuities for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, or in other words it merely provides the machinery for a *tontine*.

The following is the XIIIth regulation—"Subscribers of £25 as a loan, without interest, toward paying off the hall debts, to be presented with a medal, to wear as an honourable testimony of their services, *and to be members of the Grand Lodge;*[4] a like medal to be given to every lodge that subscribes, to be worn by the Master; *and every subscribing Lodge is allowed*

[1] According to the same records, the Lodge of Zeal, No. 318, was erased November 17, 1775, having proclaimed its own delinquency, by resisting a pecuniary claim on the ground "of having paid a valuable consideration for the said Lodge, and that none of the old members ever belonged to it since such sale."

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 341, note 3.

[3] Ratified at the ensuing Grand Lodge, held January 28.

[4] William Birch, Master of the Royal Lodge, protested against this clause, as being "subversive of the principles and constitutions of Masonry, by admitting those to have seats and voice in that assembly, where none have been or ought to be, but in their Representative capacity" (Grand Lodge Minutes, Feb. 14, 1783).

to send one other representative to the Grand Lodge, besides the Master and Wardens, until the money be repaid."[1]

A copy of the intended Charter of Incorporation was circulated among the lodges, three of which, including the "Steward's" and the "Royal" Lodge, memorialised Grand Lodge, to discontinue the project, and another, the Caledonian Lodge, actually entered a caveat against it, in the office of the attorney-general.

On April 27, 1769, the question was put, whether the Caledonian Lodge, No. 325, should be erased, "but on Bro. E. G. Muller,[2] Master of the said Lodge, publickly asking pardon in the names of himself and his lodge, the offence was forgiven."

The Deputy Grand Master then stated that 168 lodges had declared in favour of Incorporation, and 43 against it, and "a motion being made whether the Society should be Incorporated or not—it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority."

The design of incorporating the Society by act of parliament was abandoned in 1771, when, in consequence of the opposition it encountered, the Hon. Charles Dillon himself moved that the consideration of the bill should be postponed *sine die*, which was agreed to.

Meanwhile, however, a considerable sum had been subscribed for the purpose of building a hall, and on April 23, 1773, a committee was appointed to assume a general superintendence of the undertaking. It consisted of the Present and Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, the Master of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of such ten other Lodges, within the bills of mortality, as they might nominate at their first meeting. Preston, who was himself a member of this committee,[3] says that "every measure was adopted to enforce the laws for raising a new fund to carry the designs of the Society into execution, and no pains were spared by the committee to complete the purpose of their appointment."

Indeed, the new board soon usurped some of the functions of the Committee of Charity, and, as we shall presently see, a great deal of the ordinary business of the Society was remitted to it for consideration and despatch.

On November 19, 1773, some regulations were made to enforce those passed in October 1768, but these, with others of a kindred character, will be found collected at a previous page.

In the following year—November 25, 1774—the committee reported the purchase of premises in Great Queen Street at a cost of £3150. The foundation stone of a New Hall was laid May 1, 1775, and the building itself was opened May 23, 1776, and dedicated in solemn form to MASONRY, VIRTUE, UNIVERSAL CHARITY, and BENEVOLENCE.

Although the leading occurrence during the presidency of the Duke of Beaufort was the plan of an Incorporation by Royal Charter, there are some of the proceedings under the administration of that nobleman to which it will be necessary to return.

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 388. The portions of the regulation in italics were enacted January 8, 1783, and the remainder on June 21, 1779.

[2] Expelled from Masonry, Feb. 7, 1770, "having brought an action against Bro. Preston, Master of the Ionic Lodge, who assisted in turning him out of the Committee of Charity for his gross misbehaviour there" (Grand Lodge Minutes). The Master, Wardens, and Secretary, of the Caledonian Lodge were likewise expelled, April 26, 1771, "for sending a letter to the P.G.M. of the Austrian Netherlands reflecting upon the Grand Lodge of England in the grossest terms" (*Ibid.*).

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 425.

The increase of foreign Lodges occasioned the appointment of a new office, viz., that of Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges in general, which was bestowed on John Joseph de Vignoles, Esq. The metropolitan Lodges were also placed under the control of a General Inspector or Provincial Grand Master; but the majority of the London Lodges, disapproving the appointment, it was soon after withdrawn.[1]

In 1770 a friendly alliance was entered into by the Grand Lodge of England with the "National Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of Holland and their dependencies." The former undertaking not to constitute Lodges within the jurisdiction of the latter, and the Grand Lodge of Holland promising to "observe the same restriction with respect to the Grand Lodge of England in all parts of the world."

In the same year the Lodges were again renumbered, by closing up the vacancies on the roll, and moving the numbers of the existing Lodges forward.[2]

On April 26, 1771, the following resolutions were moved by "Bro. Derwas of the Steward's Lodge," and "approved of" in the following November. None of them, however, appear to have been carried into effect:

"1. That the law made the 2d of March 173½ giving a privilege to every acting steward at the Grand Feast, of nominating his successor, be abrogated.

"2. That there shall in future be 15 stewards instead of 12.

"3. That these 15 stewards shall be nominated by the Lodges within the Bills of Mortality in rotation, beginning with the senior Lodge; each of such Lodges having power to nominate one person at the annual Grand Feast, to serve that office for the year ensuing.

"4. That if any of the 15 Lodges in turn to nominate a steward shall decline or omit to do so, then the privilege to pass to the next Lodge in rotation."

Similar proposals, for throwing open the privilege of the "Red Apron" to all the metropolitan Lodges in succession, were made at a much later date, and will be narrated at a future page; but the remaining resolutions, affecting the Grand Steward's Lodge or the body of its members, passed by the older Grand Lodge of England, prior to the fusion of the two Societies, will be now briefly summarised.

At a Grand Lodge held February 3, 1779, a representation was made by the Master and other brethren of the Steward's Lodge, that it had been usual of late for brethren who served the office of steward, to neglect all attendance upon the Steward's Lodge afterwards as members; and when summoned and called upon for their subscriptions, to declare that they never considered themselves as members, whereby the fund of that Lodge was greatly injured, their books and accounts left in a very irregular state, and the actual members much disgusted. To obviate these complaints, a resolution was passed in the following terms:

"Whereas it appears from the Book of Constitutions, to have been the invariable usage of the Society, to appoint the officers of the Grand Lodge from such brethren only who have served the office of Grand Steward, Resolved, that in future, no brother be appointed a Grand officer, until he shall have served the office of Steward at a Grand Feast; nor unless he be an actual subscribing member of the Steward's Lodge at the time of his appointment."

On April 18, 1792,[3] it was ordered, "that the Steward's Lodge be placed at the head of the List of Lodges without a Number," and this position it retained at the Union.

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 308.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 467.

[3] It had previously borne the following numbers: 117 (1736), 115 (1740), 70 (1756), 60 (1770), and 47 (1781).

In 1794, the Board of Stewards raised the price of the tickets for the Grand Feast from half a guinea to one guinea, but the alteration being objected to, it was "declared improper" by the Committee of Charity.

Lord Petre was elected Grand Master in 1772, and the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry,"[1] which appeared in that year, was published with his *official* sanction. This was a distinct innovation upon the ordinary usage with regard to Masonic publications, none hitherto, the Books of Constitutions alone excepted, having received the *imprimatur* of the Grand Lodge.[2]

The same patronage was extended to the second edition, which appeared in 1775,[3] in which year the author was appointed Deputy or Assistant Secretary under James Heseltine, with a salary, and his "Illustrations of Masonry," as well as the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1777, and an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions"—brought out under his editorial supervision—were advertised for sale in the printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England for November 13, 1776. Through the same medium Hutchinson's "Spirit of Masonry,"[4] and the oration delivered by Dr Dodd at the dedication of Freemasons' Hall, were also recommended to the fraternity.

The Rev. William Dodd, LL.D., was appointed Grand Chaplain May 1, 1775, on which date the foundation-stone of the new hall was laid with Masonic honours. The dedication of this building gave rise to another new office, that of Grand Architect, which was conferred on Thomas Sandby, by whom the structure was designed. Both these officers were re-appointed at the next Assembly and Feast—June 3, 1776—but in the following April, on a representation that Dr Dodd had been convicted of forgery, and confined in Newgate, he was unanimously expelled the Society.

The next Grand Chaplain was the Rev. Sydney Swinney, D.D., who was appointed by the Duke of Manchester in 1781, after which year the office remained vacant until 1785, when the Rev. A. H. Eccles was selected to fill it, and retained the appointment down to 1802, being succeeded by the Rev. Lucius Coghlan, D.D., who likewise held it for many years, and officiated as Grand Chaplain until after the Union, and was one of the Grand Chaplains, the other being Dr Edward Barry,[5] of the "United" Grand Lodge of England, invested by the Duke of Sussex in 1814.

[1] January 27, 1777.—The Lodge of Fortitude, No. 6, petitioned the Grand Lodge "to discontinue their sanction of Preston's 'Illustrations of Masonry,' as it tended to lay Masonic secrets open to the world—Ordered, that the Master of No. 6 do attend at next Committee of Charity to prove the charge." April 9, 1777.—"Resolved, that the charge as to the said publication was groundless, and undeserving the notice of Grand Lodge" (Minutes, Committee of Charity).

[2] "A Candid Disquisition on the Principles and Practices of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, together with some Strictures on the Origin, Nature, and Design of that Institution," by Wellins Calcott, published in 1769, was dedicated by permission to the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, whose name, followed by those of the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary, head the list of subscribers. In this case, however, there was no formal sanction, nor can the work be said to have been *officially* countenanced by the *Society*.

[3] The sanction was in each case subscribed by the Grand Officers of the year, who on both occasions certify that they have "perused and do recommend the book."

[4] Dr Oliver says: "The work was received with enthusiasm, as the only Masonic publication of real value then in existence. It was the first efficient attempt to explain, in a rational and scientific manner, the true philosophy of the order. Dr Anderson and the writer of the Gloucester sermon [1752] indicated the existence of the mine,—Calcott opened it, and Hutchinson worked it" (Preface to the edition for 1843, p. 23). See, however, Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[5] Grand Chaplain of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, 1791-1813.

Thomas Sandby retained the title of Grand Architect until his death, and is so described in the official records and calendars, although not formally reappointed after 1776. At the Grand Feast in 1799, Robert Brettingham was invested as his successor, and filled the office until the recurrence of the same festival in 1801, when William Tyler, the Architect of the Tavern, having been proposed as a candidate for the office, the Grand Master observed that the office of Grand Architect had been conferred on Brother Sandby only as a mark of personal attachment, he having been the Architect of the Hall, but that it was never intended to be a permanent office in the Society. The Grand Lodge therefore resolved that the office of Grand Architect should be discontinued, but that in compliment to Brothers Brettingham and Tyler, both these gentlemen should be permitted to attend the Grand Lodge, and wear an honorary jewel as a mark of personal respect.

This, in effect, brought them within the provisions of a regulation passed February 14, 1776, permitting *past* as well as *actual* Grand officers to wear distinctive jewels, upon which innovation Preston remarks—"How far the introduction of this new ornament is reconcilable to the original practices of the Society, I will not presume to determine; but it is the opinion of many old masons, that multiplying honorary distinctions, only lessen the value and importance of the real jewels, by which the acting officers of every Lodge are distinguished."[1]

No further offices were created during the administration of Lord Petre, nor is there much to add with respect to this section of Masonic history.

In 1773—April 23—it was Resolved, that no master of a public-house should in future be a member of any Lodge holden in his house.

Three days later, at the annual Feast, the Grand Secretary informed the Grand Lodge of a proposal for establishing a friendly union and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Germany, held at Berlin, under the patronage of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, which met with general approbation.

On November 24, 1775, it was resolved that an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions,"[2] and also a Free-mason's Calendar, should be published, the latter in opposition to an almanac of similar name brought out by the Stationer's Company, and both matters were referred to the Hall Committee.

An Extraordinary Grand Lodge was held April 7, 1777, consisting of the Grand Officers, the Master, Wardens, and assistants of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of seventy-five private Lodges.

The Grand Secretary informed the brethren that the object of the meeting was to take into consideration a report from the Hall Committee, concerning the proper means of discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves *antient masons;* and for supporting the dignity of the Society, by advancing the fees for initiation, and for new constitutions, or the revival of old ones. The report being read, it was resolved—

"That the Persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves *Antient Masons*, by virtue of an Authority from a pretended Grand Lodge in England, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged as Masons[3] by any regular Lodge or Mason under the Consti-

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 315.

[2] Brought out in 1776, compiled and edited by William Preston. *Cf. ante*, pp. 423, 475.

[3] Compare with the regulation passed April 12, 1809, *post*.

tution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their Conventions, to give a Sanction to their Proceedings, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Privileges of the Society; neither shall any Person initiated at these irregular Meetings be admitted into any Lodge without being re-made,[1] and paying the usual Making Fees.

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

It was also resolved, that after May 1 then ensuing, no person should be made a Mason for a less sum than two guineas. That the fee payable at the constitution of a London Lodge should be six, and for a country lodge four, guineas, and that two guineas from each should be appropriated to the Hall Fund. The following resolution, which was duly passed, concluded the business of the evening:

"That all Lodges which have not complied with the Orders and Resolutions of the Grand Lodge in regard to the Regulations for building a Hall, &c., for the Use of the Society, be erazed out of the List, unless they transmit to the Grand Secretary, on or before each Quarterly Communication, an accurate List of all Members made or admitted since October 29, 1768, with the Registering Fee stipulated by the Regulations of that Date;[2] or give some satisfactory Excuse for their Neglect."

The proceedings of this meeting were of a very instructive character. First of all, we learn that the Original Grand Lodge of England had at last realised the vitality of the Schism, as well as the expediency of adopting more decided measures to check the rebellion against authority; next, that in addition to the functions which it was primarily called upon to discharge, a large portion of the ordinary business of the Society was transacted by the Hall Committee; and lastly, that very arbitrary measures were being resorted to in order to coerce the lodges and brethren into raising the requisite funds to balance an increasing expenditure, out of all proportion to the ordinary or normal revenue of Grand Lodge.

The remaining facts, however, that have any bearing on the Schism or its termination, will be given in the story of the Union, and the further proceedings of the Hall Committee I shall also separate from the general narrative, which I here resume.

Lord Petre was succeeded as Grand Master by the Duke of Manchester, who was invested with the ensigns of his office on May 1, 1777; after which the former nobleman returned thanks for the honours he had received in the Society, and assured the brethren of his attachment to its interests. Nor were these mere idle words. The amiable character of Lord Petre, and his zeal as a Mason, may—to use the words of a contemporary—be equalled, but cannot be surpassed. He was a Catholic, but held his religious faith without bigotry, and by his liberality and worth won the esteem of all parties. He was generally regarded as the head of the Catholic body in this country, and therefore his continuing to preside for five years over a branch of the Society against which the thunders of the Vatican had been launched in 1738, and again in 1751,[3] affords conclusive proof that in England, towards the close of the eighteenth

[1] The records of many lodges under the Older Sanction show that, in consequence of this regulation, there was an interruption of their fraternal relations with lodges under the Atholl banner. *Cf. ante*, pp. 461, 470.

[2] *Ante*, p. 472.

[3] According to the present Pope—April 20, 1884—"The first warning of danger was given by Clement XII. in

century, the two Bulls issued by Roman Pontiffs against the Freemasons had been devoid of any practical result.

Lord Petre was present at, and presided over, many meetings of the Society after the termination of his tenure of office. His last attendance appears to have occurred November 24, 1791, when, though the Acting Grand Master, Lord Rawdon, was present, he took the chair as Past Grand Master. He died July 3, 1801, and after his decease it was ascertained that he expended annually £5000 in charitable benefactions.

During the administration of the Duke of Manchester, the tranquillity of the Society was interrupted by some private dissensions. An unfortunate dispute arose among the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the contest was introduced into the Grand Lodge, where it occupied the attention of every committee and communication for twelve months. The result was a schism, which subsisted for the space of ten years, when the two bodies—each claiming to be No. 1—were happily re-united. The particulars of the controversy have been already given,[1] so the subject will not claim our further attention in this place.

The Grand Master, at a Quarterly Communication held February 2, 1780, laid before the brethren a letter in the Persian language, enclosed in an elegant cover of cloth of gold, addressed to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of England, from Omdit ul Omrah Bahaudar, eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot. This Prince had been initiated into Masonry in the Lodge at Trichinopoly, near Madras, and his letter—which acknowledged in graceful terms, a complimentary address forwarded by the Grand Lodge, on the circumstance becoming known in this country—was so appreciated by the brethren, that a translation of it was ordered to be copied on vellum, and, with the original, to be elegantly framed and glazed, and hung up in the Hall at every public meeting of the Society.

At the ensuing Grand Feast, Captain George Smith was appointed Junior Grand Warden, though the Grand Secretary objected, that, being then Provincial Grand Master for Kent, he was disqualified for serving that office. Ultimately the objection was waived, Captain Smith offering to resign the Provincial Grand-Mastership, should the union of both offices in the same person prove incompatible. In the following November, a letter was read from Captain Smith, resigning the office of Junior Grand Warden, but to prevent a similar difficulty occurring, it was resolved "that it is incompatible with the laws of this Society, for any brother to hold more than one office in the Grand Lodge at the same time."

At this Grand Lodge, the Grand Master was empowered, in consequence of the great increase of business, to appoint a Joint Grand Secretary, with equal power and rank in the Society, and William White, Master of the Steward's Lodge, was thereupon appointed to that office.[2]

On February 7, 1781, at the request of the Grand Lodge of Germany, brother John Leonhardi was appointed their representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and it was also

1738, and his Edict was confirmed and renewed by Benedict XIV. (1751). Pius VII. followed in their steps (1821); and Leo XII., in his Apostolic Edict '*Quo Graviora*' (1825), embraced the acts and decrees of the earlier Popes on this subject, and ordered them to be ratified for ever. To the same effect, Pius VII. (1829), Gregory XVI. (1832), and very often Pius IX. (1846, 1865, etc.), have spoken" (Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII.—"De Secta Massonum," translated by Mr E. L. Hawkins).

[1] *Ante*, p. 424, *et seq.*; and see Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 317-324.

[2] The new Grand Secretary was present, and acted as Grand Sword-Bearer, a position which was usually filled by the Master of the Steward's Lodge (if present) in the absence of the actual holder of the office.

resolved, that brother Leonhardi should wear the clothing of a Grand officer, and rank next to Past Grand officers, at all public meetings of the Society.

At the Communication in April 1782, the prospect of establishing a fraternal alliance, still nearer home, was discussed at some length. A report was brought up from the Committee of Charity, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was disposed to enter into a regular correspondence, and after long debate, it was unanimously resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Master, to use every means which in his wisdom he may think proper, for promoting a correspondence and good understanding with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, so far as might be consistent with the laws of the Society.

At the same meeting, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and Earl Ferrers were severally proposed for the office of Grand Master, and on the question being put, the former was elected by a very great majority.

A motion was then made by Brother Dagge, that whenever a Prince of the Blood did the Society the honour to accept the office of Grand Master, he should be at liberty to nominate any peer of the realm to be the Acting Grand Master, which passed unanimously in the affirmative.

The Earl of Effingham was appointed to the new office, and as proxy for the Duke of Cumberland, was installed and invested at the ensuing Feast.

At a Communication, held April 9, 1783, among the minutes of the preceding Committee of Charity, then confirmed, was one, representing that the Grand Secretary, Heseltine, had requested the opinion of the Committee, on an application made to him by Captain George Smith, to procure the sanction of the Grand Lodge for a book he intended to publish, entitled, *The Use and Abuse of Free Masonry;* and that the Committee, after mature consideration, had resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Lodge not to grant any sanction for such intended publication.[1]

Of the work in question, it has been well said, "that it would not at the present day enhance the reputation of its writer, but at the time when it appeared there was a great dearth of Masonic literature—Anderson, Calcott, Hutchinson, and Preston, being the only authors of any repute that had as yet written on the subject of Masonry. There was much historical information contained within its pages, and some few suggestive thoughts on the symbolism and philosophy of the Order."[2] Captain Smith held an appointment in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and was a member of a Lodge at that town, the proceedings of which formed the subject of inquiry at a Grand Lodge held November 19, 1783, when Captain G. Smith and Mr Thomas Brooke were charged with the offence of "making Masons in a clandestine manner in the King's Bench Prison." In a written defence, it was pleaded that "there being several Masons in the Prison, they had assembled as such for the benefit of

[1] Noorthouck observes—"No particular objection being stated against the above-mentioned work, the natural conclusion is, that a sanction was refused on the general principle, that, considering the flourishing state of our Lodges, where *regular* instruction and suitable exercises are ever ready for all brethren who zealously aspire to improve in Masonical Knowledge, new publications are unnecessary on a subject which books cannot teach" (Constitutions, 1784, p. 347, editorial note).

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 720. The following is the full title of the publication: "The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry: a work of the greatest utility to the Brethren of the Society, to Mankind in general, and to the Ladies in Particular, 1783."

instruction, and had also advanced some of them to the 3rd degree. But a doubt arising whether it could be done with propriety, the Royal Military Lodge, No. 371, at Woolwich, adjourned with their Constitution for that purpose to the King's Bench Prison (Captain Smith being Master thereof), being one of those itinerant Lodges which move with the Regiment, the Master of which, wherever he is, having the Constitution of the Lodge, was by Captain Smith judged to have a right to hold a Lodge, make Masons, etc. That this happened previous to Bro Thomas Brooke coming to the prison, but that he afterwards attended their meetings, not thinking it any harm." The two brethren concluded their defence by "begging pardon of the Grand Lodge for any error they had committed," and expressing a hope, "that grace would be granted to them." Whereupon it was resolved: "That it is the opinion of this Grand Lodge, that it is inconsistent with the principles of Masonry, that any Free Mason's Lodge can be regularly held for the purposes of making, passing, or raising Masons in any Prison or Place of confinement."[1] At the next Quarterly Communication—February 11, 1784—the Royal Military Lodge, No. 371, was erased from the list, and in the following November it was ordered that Captain Smith—whose name disappears from the calendar of that year as a Provincial Grand Master—should be summoned before the next Committee of Charity to answer for his complicity in a misdemeanour of a still graver character. The charge was proved to the satisfaction of that tribunal, and at a Quarterly Communication, held February 2, 1785, "Captain John George Smith, late Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, having been charged with uttering an Instrument purporting to be a certificate of the Grand Lodge, recommending two distressed Brethren; and he not appearing, or in any Manner exculpating himself, though personally summoned to appear for that Purpose, was duly expelled the Society."

A new edition of the "Constitutions," which had been sanctioned in 1782, was brought out in 1784, under the direction of the Hall Committee, who secured the services of John Noorthouck,[2] as editor or compiler. The work reflects credit on all who were concerned in its publication, the constant repetition of mere formal business, and of the names of stewards and members present at the stated meetings of the Society, are very properly omitted, whilst it possesses a full index, "without which," as rightly observed by the editor, "no publication beyond the size of a pamphlet, can be deemed compleat."

At the Grand Feast, in this year, James Heseltine, declining a reappointment, William White became sole Grand Secretary. The services of the former were gracefully recognised in 1785 by his appointment as Senior Grand Warden, a position, however, which he resigned six months later, on being unanimously elected to the office of Grand Treasurer, November 23, 1785, vacant by the death of Rowland Berkeley.

The same evening a new office was created, that of Grand Portrait Painter, and conferred on the Rev. William Peters, in acknowledgment of his elegant present of the portrait of Lord Petre, which, it was considered, "opened a Prospect to the Society of having its Hall ornamented with the successive Portraits of the Grand Masters in future."

[1] The following note appears in the *Freemason* for July 2, 1870: "*John Wilkes*—the members of the Lodge held at the Jerusalem Tavern, St John's Gate, attended at the King's Bench Prison, and made Wilkes a Mason, March 3, 1769."

[2] Author of the "New History of London," 1773, and an "Historical and Classical Dictionary," 1776. *Cf. ante*, pp. 421, note 4; 424.

The Grand Portrait Painter ranked after the Grand Architect, and before the Grand Sword-Bearer. The office was regarded as a purely personal one, to be held by Peters, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and though his name is not included in the list of annual appointments declared on the Grand Feast Day, it duly appears among those of the Grand officers of the Society published in successive editions of the "Freemasons' Calendar," from 1787 to 1814.[1] The new Grand officer proved himself to have been in every way worthy of the mark of distinction conferred by the Grand Lodge; and on November 28, 1787, a resolution was passed, conveying the thanks of that body to the Rev. W. Peters, G.P.P., for "his kind Superintendance and great Liberality, in the beautifying and ornamenting of the Hall."

On April 12, 1786, complaint was made of the intolerant spirit of some of the regulations of the Grand Lodge at Berlin, and the Grand Master and the Grand officers were empowered to take such measures as they thought necessary for abrogating or altering the compact between the two Grand Lodges, entered into in 1773. The subject does not appear to have been further discussed at any subsequent communication of Grand Lodge, until November 26, 1788, when it was stated that the Grand Master and Grand officers had found it expedient to dissolve and annul the compact referred to.[2] At the same meeting a provisional agreement, entered into with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfort, was laid before and ratified by Grand Lodge.

In November 1786 Admiral Sir Peter Parker was appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Master, which had become vacant by the death of Rowland Holt.[3] The new Deputy, who was a distinguished naval commander, had previously served as Grand Steward and Grand Warden,[4] and then held the office of Provincial Grand Master for Jamaica. At this Grand Lodge also a motion passed, that "in future the Grand Secretary be allowed a salary of £100 per annum for himself and clerks, exclusive of the usual fees;" and it was resolved unanimously "That the Rank of a Past Senior Grand Warden (with the Right of taking Place immediately next to the present Senior Grand Warden) be granted to Thomas Dunckerley, Esq., Prov. G.M. for Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset, and Southampton, with the City and County of Bristol, and the Isle of Wight, in grateful Testimony of the high Sense the Grand Lodge entertains of his zealous and indefatigable Exertions, for many years, to promote the Honour and Interest of the Society."

The story of Dunckerley's life is not an easy one to relate. According to one set of biographers, his mother was the daughter of a physician;[5] and according to another, she was a servant girl in the family of Sir Robert Walpole.[6] By the former he is said to have been a natural son of King George II.; whilst by the latter he is alleged to have availed himself of the remarkable likeness he bore to the Royal Family, to get it represented to George III. that the previous king was in truth his father. These accounts of his parentage are irreconcilable, and some other difficulties present themselves when we collate the two biographies. Certain facts, however, are free from dispute. Born October 23, 1724, he was apprenticed to a barber, and very shortly afterwards entered the naval service, from which he retired, with the rank of gunner,

[1] The appointment took place too late in the year (1785) to find a place in the edition for 1786.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 476.

[3] Grand Steward, 1768; S.G.W., 1768-70; D.G.M., 1775-86.

[4] In 1772. Both Rowland Holt and Sir Peter Parker served these offices concurrently.

[5] Freemasons' Magazine, vol. i., 1793, p. 378; vol. iv., 1796, p. 96.

[6] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxv., 1795, pt. ii., p. 1052.

about 1764. His mother's apartments at Somerset House—where her husband, his putative father, had been a porter—were continued to him, by order (it is said) of the Duke of Devonshire. On May 7, 1767, a pension of £100 a year was assigned to him by the king, from his privy purse, which was afterwards increased to £800, though with regard to the latter amount the evidence is hardly conclusive.

According to the stream of Masonic writers, who all derive their information from the same fount—the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vols. I. to IV.,[1] published in the last century—Dunckerley was first told of his close relation to George II. in 1760, by a Mrs Pinkney, for many years his mother's neighbour in Somerset House, and to whom the secret had been confided by the latter. He was then on leave of absence from H.M.S. "Vanguard," which had just arrived from Quebec; and it has been asked, with much force, why he made no effort to communicate with any of the Royal Family until after the death of Mrs Pinkney, the sole witness he had to verify his singular story.[2] But whatever may be the true explanation of this mystery, he apparently at once rejoined his ship, which forthwith sailed for the Mediterranean. According to his own account, he was appointed gunner of the "Vanguard" by Admiral Boscawen, and to the same position in the "Prince" by Lord Anson. The dates he gives as to these appointments are a little confusing; but there can be no doubt that he served in both vessels, and "on board of" each there was a Lodge, as I have already had occasion to relate.[3] As one of these (in the "Prince") ultimately became the "Somerset House Lodge," of which Dunckerley was undoubtedly a member, it is at least a reasonable supposition that he was in some way connected with the other.[4] Indeed, we may go still further, and assume, if we do no more, the strong probability of his having been the originator and founder of the Lodge "on Board H.M.S. 'Canceaux,' at Quebec," No. 224, which, together with five other Lodges in Canada,[5] appears for the first time on the roll, in the Engraved List for 1770, immediately below the "Merchant's Lodge," Quebec, No. 220, constituted in 1762, and next but one to the "Somerset House Lodge," formerly "on Board the 'Prince,'" also dating from 1762.

No other "Sea Lodges" than these three were constituted either before or since. One we know him to have been a member of. Another was held in the "Vanguard," No. 254, constituted January 16, 1760—in which, at the time, he held the positions of gunner and "teacher of the mathematicks"—whilst the third was very possibly an offshoot of the other two. The Lodge, No. 224, is described in the official list as being on board a ship of war "*at Quebec.*" This must have been in some sense a *stationary* vessel, otherwise the words here shown in italics would be meaningless. It may have been a guard-ship, or perhaps bore the flag of the senior naval officer; but whatever function it discharged, we may conclude that the crew afloat, were on intimate terms with the garrison ashore.

Now it is a little curious that one of the *five* Lodges—No. 226—placed on the roll at the same time as No. 224, is there described as "In the 52d Regt. of Foot,[6] *at Quebec.*" Thus at what has been termed "the Gibraltar of America," we find that in 1762 there was both a

[1] Vol. i. contains a biography of Dunckerley by the editor; vol. iv., a narrative in his own handwriting, communicated by his executors; and the intermediate volumes, miscellaneous matters.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, December 7, 1878.

[3] *Ante*, p. 345.

[4] No. 254, *now* 108, the "London Lodge."

[5] Nos. 221-226, all of which, with the exception of No. 223 (Montreal), were held at Quebec.

[6] In the previous year (1761) an Irish Lodge, No. 370, was established in this regiment.

"Sea" and a "Field" Lodge; and it is almost certain that some others of the latter character had accompanied the expedition under General Wolfe (1759). Dunckerley, whilst on the North American station, and indeed throughout the whole period of his service afloat—after his admission into the Craft—was doubtless an occasional visitor at Army Lodges. Most of these were under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which issued no less than fifty-one military warrants between 1732 and 1762 inclusive. The profound knowledge, therefore, of Royal Arch Masonry, which has been traditionally ascribed to Thomas Dunckerley, *may* have been acquired in Irish Lodges, which doubtless worked the degree in his time—though it must be freely confessed that the common belief in the profundity of his masonic learning is altogether destitute of evidence to support it. He was initiated into masonry on January 10, 1754, a date I derive from the Grand Lodge books, and is *said* to have delivered a lecture "on Masonic Light, Truth, and Charity,"[1] at Plymouth in 1757, which is not so well substantiated. But even if we concede that the lecture in question was really given as alleged, it proves very little—merely that Dunckerley was capable of stringing together a quantity of platitudes, and constructing a sort of masonic oration rather below than above the ordinary level of such performances.

The rank of Grand Warden must have been conferred, I think, out of respect to the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master, whose uncle he was very generally supposed to be.

Dunckerley, who died in 1795, was a very worthy member of the Craft; but the loose statements of Dr Oliver that "he was the oracle of the Grand Lodge, and the accredited interpreter of its Constitutions;" also that "his decision was final on all points, both of doctrine and discipline," are simply untrue—which is the more to be regretted, as they have been copied and re-copied by the generality of later writers.

At the next Quarterly Communication, held February 7, 1787, it was resolved that the sum of £150 be paid annually to the Grand Secretary and his clerks, and that all fees should be carried to the account of the Society.

At the same meeting the Grand Master (who presided) stated that the Prince of Wales had been initiated into Masonry at a special Lodge held for that purpose at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, on the previous evening. Whereupon the following resolution was passed by an unanimous vote: "That in testimony of the high sense the Grand Lodge entertains of the Great Honour conferred on the Society by the Initiation of the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness shall be a member of the Grand Lodge, shall take Place next to, and on the Right Hand of, the Grand Master."

A resolution of a similar, though not quite identical character, was passed at the next meeting of Grand Lodge, when it being announced that Prince William Henry—afterwards King William IV.—had been received into Masonry[2] in the Prince George Lodge, No. 86,[3] Plymouth, it was proposed, and carried without a dissentient vote, that an Apron lined with blue silk should be presented to His Royal Highness, and that in all future Processions he should rank as a Past Grand Master of the Society.

[1] Printed by Dr Oliver in his "Masonic Institutes," vol. i., 1847, p. 137.

[2] March 9, 1786.

[3] Originally constituted as No. 203, became No. 134 in 1756, and 106 in 1770. *Not* carried forward at the change of numbers in 1781, but interpolated in the list for 1782 as No. 86—most of the lodges of later date, shown in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for the former year, being pushed down one number in the edition for 1782.

Precisely the same compliment was paid to other sons of King George III., all of whom, with the exception of the Duke of Cambridge, became members of the Craft—the Duke of York, in the Britannic Lodge, No. 29, November 21, 1787; Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, in the "Union Lodge," Geneva;[1] Prince Ernest, afterwards Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover,[2] at the house of the Earl of Moira, May 11, 1796; and Prince Augustus, afterwards Duke of Sussex, in the "Royal York Lodge of Friendship," Berlin, in 1798. Prince William, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, the King's nephew and son-in-law, was also a Freemason, having been initiated in the Britannic Lodge, May 12, 1795. He was accorded the usual privileges voted to brethren of the Blood Royal, April 13, 1796.

On March 25, 1788, "the Royal Freemasons' Charity for Female Children"—now called the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls—was established for maintaining, clothing, and educating the female children and orphans of indigent Brethren. This Charity owes its existence mainly to the benevolent exertions of the Chevalier Bartholomew Ruspini.[3] The number of children to be received was at first limited to fifteen, which had increased to sixty-five in 1821, but the fortunes of this most meritorious Institution will be again referred to in some later observations on the general scope and utility of the three English Masonic Charities. Here, therefore, it will be sufficient to remark, that at a Grand Lodge, held February 10, 1790, an annual subscription of £25 was voted to the Institution; and on a motion by the Grand Treasurer, it was resolved unanimously,

"That the charitable Institution, called THE ROYAL CUMBERLAND FREEMASONS' SCHOOL, established for the Support and Education of the Daughters of indigent Free-Masons, should be announced in the Grand Treasurer's printed Accounts, and also in the Free-Masons' Calendar, and that it be recommended to the Attention of the Society at large, as a Charity highly deserving their Support."

On February 6, 1793, a donation of twenty guineas was voted to the school, and it was again recommended "as an Institution *highly deserving the most effectual Support* of the Lodges and Brethren in general;" also, in almost identical terms, on February 8, 1804.

On May 4, 1789, the annual Feast of the Society was attended by the Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master—the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Prince William Henry, and above five hundred other brethren.

In the following year, at the recurrence of the same Festival, Lord Rawdon—afterwards Earl of Moira, and later, Marquess of Hastings—was appointed Acting Grand Master in the room of the Earl of Effingham, and retained that position under the Prince of Wales, who was elected Grand Master, November 24, 1790.

On April 18, 1792, the Lodges were again ordered to be renumbered, and in the following May, at the Grand Feast, the Prince of Wales was installed Grand Master in the presence of the Duke of York, Lord Rawdon, and a numerous company of brethren.

The first number of the *Freemasons' Magazine* or *General and Complete Library*, appeared in June 1793, and was continued monthly till the close of 1798, when its title was changed.

[1] The circumstance was announced in Grand Lodge, February 10, 1790, but the date of initiation is nowhere named in the records of the same body. *Cf. ante*, p. 454.

[2] *Cf.* G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 7.

[3] G.S.B., 1791-1813, Dentist to the Prince of Wales, and a founder of the Lodge named after His Royal Highness, *present* No. 259.

During a portion of its brief existence, it was published with the sanction of Grand Lodge.

The Prince of Wales again presided at a Grand Feast, held May 13, 1795. The Grand Master was supported by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, and his cousin, Prince William, afterwards Duke of Gloucester. His Royal Highness expressed his warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Society, and concluded with a graceful compliment to the Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, whom he styled "the man of his heart, and the friend he admired," hoping "that he might long live to superintend the government of the Craft, and extend the principles of the Art."[1]

In the expression of these sentiments, the Grand Master constituted himself, as it were, the mouthpiece of the brethren at large, who were overjoyed at the safe return of their respected Acting Grand Master, from a mission of equal hazard and responsibility.

In 1794, when the situation of the British army and that of the allies in Flanders were extremely critical, the Earl of Moira—who, in the previous year, had succeeded to the title, and been promoted to the rank of major-general—was despatched with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, and most fortunately succeeded in effecting a junction with the Duke of York, then nearly surrounded by hostile forces much superior in number. The French general, Pichegru, who was in the vicinity of Bruges with a force much greater than the British, was completely out-generaled.

This was one of the most extraordinary marches of which military history affords an example. After the Earl of Moira had cleared the French armies, and was passing the Austrian corps under Field-Marshal Clarfayt, the latter said to him, "My Lord, you have done what was impossible."

Two works were published in 1797, which, though now seldom read, and never cited in Masonic controversies, produced an immense sensation at the time, and evoked an elaborate defence of the Society from the Earl of Moira. That illustrious brother, however, in 1809, practically admitted the justice of the strictures, which nine years previously he had applied himself to refute, by speaking of "mischievous combinations *on the Continent*, borrowing and prostituting the respectable name of Masonry, and sowing disaffection and sedition through the communities within which they were protected."[2]

The publications to which reference has been made, were written by the Abbé Barruel and Professor Robison, both of them Freemasons, in the same year, and without mutual consultation.

The former writer was the author of "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme" —translated into English by the Hon. Robert Clifford, in 1798—and the latter of "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies."

Both works aim at proving that a secret association had been formed, and for many years carried on, for rooting out all the religious establishments, and overturning all the existing governments of Europe; and that this association had employed, as its chief instruments, the Lodges of Freemasons, who were under the direction of unknown superiors, and whose

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, edit. by Stephen Jones, p. 301.

[2] Speech at Leith, Scotland (Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

emissaries were everywhere busy to complete the scheme.[1] The Abbé had the candour to admit, that the occult Lodges of the Illuminati were unknown in the British Isles, and that the English Freemasons were not implicated in the charges he had made—but the Professor did not think it worth while to except the English Lodges from the reproach of being seditious, until his work reached a second edition, when he admits that "while the Freemasonry of the Continent was perverted to the most profligate and impious purposes, it retained in Britain its original form, simple and unadorned, and the Lodges remained the scenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of charity and beneficence."[2] So that, after all, his charges are not against Freemasonry in its original constitution, but against its corruption in a time of great political excitement.[3] Indeed, to use the well-chosen words in which the author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry" sums up the whole controversy: "The best of doctrines has been corrupted, and the most sacred of all institutions prostituted, to base and unworthy purposes. The genuine Mason, duly considering this, finds a consolation in the midst of reproach and apostasy; and while he despises the one, will endeavour by his own example to refute the other."[4]

On July 12, 1799, an Act of Parliament was passed, "for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices."

By this Statute—39 Geo. III., c. 79—it was enacted that all societies, the members whereof are required to take any oath not authorised by law, shall be deemed unlawful combinations, and their members shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful combination and confederacy, and shall be liable to a penalty of £20.

Societies, however, "held under the Denomination of *Lodges of Freemasons*," were expressly exempted from the operation of the Act,[5] because their meetings "have been in great measure directed to charitable Purposes;" but it is "Provided always, That this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society unless Two of the Members composing the same shall certify upon Oath . . . that such Society or Lodge has before the passing of this Act been usually held under the Denomination of a *Lodge of Freemasons*, and in conformity to the Rules prevailing among the Societies or Lodges of Free Masons in this Kingdom. . . . Provided also, that this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society or Lodge, unless the Name or Denomination thereof, and the usual Place or Places and the Time or Times of its Meetings, and the Names and Descriptions of all and every the Members thereof, be registered with such Clerk of the Peace as aforesaid, within two months after the passing of this Act, and also on or before the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* in every succeeding Year."

The insertion of these clauses was due to the combined efforts of the Duke of Atholl[6] and Lord Moira. Indeed, the latter subsequently affirmed[7] that the exemption in favour of Masonic meetings was admitted into the Act in consequence of his assurance to Mr Pitt "that nothing could be deemed a Lodge which did not sit by precise authorisation from the Grand Lodge, and under its direct superintendence."

But this statement, though emanating from the "Bayard" of the English Craft, is a little misleading. Doubtless the Freemasons were chiefly beholden to the Earl of Moira for the

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 308. [2] P. 522. [3] *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
[4] Edit. 1821, p. 312. [5] §§ 5, 6. [6] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 118. *Cf. ante*, p. 452.
[7] In a letter to the Sheriff-Depute, Edinburgh, dated August 11, 1808 (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

saving clauses of the Act—an obligation most amply acknowledged by the Society at large.[1] But, nevertheless, the letter of the Acting Grand Master, as he then was in both kingdoms, was based on wrong premises, and suggested to the civil authorities a course not in keeping with the principle of the Statute to which it referred.[2] The Bill was much modified in its passage through Committee; but "the Act was ultimately framed so as to embrace as participants in its immunities ALL Lodges of Freemasons complying with its requirements, irrespective of any Grand Lodge control."[3]

On the passing of the Statute, it was assumed that no *new* Lodges could be constituted, and at a Grand Lodge, held November 20, 1799, the common threat of erasure from the list for non-compliance with its arbitrary regulations, was invested with a new terror. The necessity of conforming to the laws was once more laid down, followed by this note of warning:—

"It behoves every Lodge to be particularly careful not to incur a Forfeiture of its Constitution at the present Period, as, in Consequence of the late Act of Parliament, no new Constitution can be granted."

Immediately after the passing of the Act, the Grand Lodge of Scotland consulted the Lord Advocate as to whether they might interpret the Act as applying to *Grand* Lodges, and therefore enabling new *subordinate* Lodges to be constituted. He replied—"It appears to me impossible to maintain . . . that a Lodge of Free Masons, instituted since the 12th of July last, can be entitled to the benefit of the Statute. . . . The interpretation suggested cannot be adopted;" and he concluded by advising them to go to Parliament for powers to establish new Lodges.[4] Ultimately—as we are told by Laurie—the Grand Lodge "agreed, in 1806, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Moira, then Acting Grand Master Elect (of Scotland), to adopt the practice of the Grand Lodge of England, viz., to assign to new Lodges the numbers and charters of Lodges that had become dormant, or had ceased to hold regular meetings."[5]

The practice, however, of the Grand Lodge of England, in this respect, has been slightly misstated. The Grand Master was frequently authorised to assign the warrants of erased Lodges "to other Brethren," but there was always the proviso, "with Numbers subsequent to the last on the List of Lodges."[6]

By a further Statute, 57 Geo. III., c. 19, passed on March 31, 1817, it was enacted that all Societies, the members whereof are required "to take any Oath not required or authorised by Laws, . . . shall be deemed and taken to be unlawful Combinations and Confederacies," and the members thereof "shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful Combination and Confederacy," and shall be punished as provided by 39 Geo. III., c. 79.[7]

But by the next clause of the same Act,[8] all societies "holden under the Denomination of Lodges of Free Masons, in conformity to the Rules prevailing in such Societies of Freemasons," are exempted from the operation of the Act, "provided such Lodges shall comply with the Rules and Regulations contained in the said Act of the Thirty-ninth Year of His present Majesty, relating to such Lodges of Freemasons."

[1] *Cf.* the speech of the Duke of Sussex, January 27, 1813, *post*, p. 490.
[2] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 267.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Laurie, History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 161.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Cf.* Freemasons' Calendar, 1810, p. 34.
[7] § 25.
[8] § 26.

It has been judicially determined,[1] that an association, the members of which are bound by oath not to disclose its secrets, is an unlawful combination and confederacy—unless expressly declared by some statute to be legal—for whatever purpose or object it may be formed; and the administering an oath not to reveal anything done in such association is an offence within the Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, § 1.[2]

At a Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1799, the Baron de Silverhjelm, Minister from the King of Sweden to the Court of Great Britain, presented to the Grand Master in the chair a letter[3] from the National Grand Lodge of Sweden, soliciting a social union and correspondence, which was unanimously acceded to.

At the same meeting, the Earl of Moira, who presided, "acquainted the Grand Lodge that several Brethren had established a *Masonic Benefit Society*, by a small quarterly contribution, through which the members would be entitled to a weekly Allowance in Case of Sickness or Disability of Labour, on a Scale of greater Advantage than attends other Benefit-Societies; representing that the Plan appeared to merit not only the Countenance of Individuals, but of the Grand Lodge, as it would eventually be the Means of preventing many Applications for Relief to the Fund of Charity, whereupon it was

RESOLVED, That the *Masonic Benefit Society* meets with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge, and that notice thereof be inserted in the printed Account of the Grand Lodge."[4]

In the following year—April 9, 1800—a further resolution was passed recommending to the Provincial Grand Masters "to give every Aid and Assistance in their Power, within their respective Provinces, to promote the Object and Intentions of the *Masonic Benefit Society*."

The institution of this Society is included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry" printed in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1801, and is continued in subsequent editions down to the year 1814, and possibly later; but the earliest *post*-Union calendar available for present reference is the edition for 1817, in which there is no mention of the Benefit Society.[5]

On May 15, 1800, the King was fired at from the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, and at a Special Grand Lodge, held June 3, the Earl of Moira informed the brethren that it had been convened for the purpose of considering a suitable address to be presented to His Majesty.

The Acting Grand Master "took occasion, in the course of his Speech, to allude to certain modern Publications holding forth to the World the Society of Masons as a League against constituted Authorities: An Imputation the more secure because the known Conditions of our

[1] In Rex *v.* Lovelass, *per* Baron Williams, who said, "The Preamble of Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, refers to seditious or mutinous societies; but I am of opinion that the enacting part of the statute extends to all societies of an illegal nature; and the second section of the Stat. 39 Geo. III., c. 79, enacts that all societies shall be illegal, the members whereof shall, according to the rules thereof, be required to take an oath or engagement not required by law (C. and P. Reports, vol. vi., p. 599). *Cf.* the remarks of the same judge in Rex *v.* Brodribb (*Ibid.*, p. 570).

[2] It has been contended, that by 31 and 32 Vict., c. 72, the administration of oaths of any kind in Masonic Lodges is forbidden. Part ii. of this Statute is headed "Oaths to be Abolished," and the third paragraph reads: "Where before the passing of this Act, an Oath was required to be taken on, or as a condition of, admission to Membership or Fellowship or participation in the Privileges of any Guild, Body Corporate, Society, or Company, a declaration to the like effect of such oath shall be substituted."

[3] This letter, and the Prince of Wales' reply, are given in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, p. 320, *et seq.*

[4] This was done, and the above extract is taken from the published proceedings of Grand Lodge, transmitted to the private Lodges on record.

[5] The curious reader will find an abstract of its Rules and Orders in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, pp. 319, 320.

Fellowship make it certain that no Answer can be published. It is not to be disputed, that in countries where impolitic Prohibitions restrict the Communication of Sentiment, the Activity of the human mind may, among other Means of baffling the Control, have resorted to the Artifice of borrowing the Denomination of Free-Masons, to cover Meetings for seditious Purposes, just as any other Description might be assumed for the same object: But, in the first place, it is the invaluable Distinction of this free country that such a just Intercourse of Opinions exist, without Restraint, as cannot leave to any Number of Men the Desire of forming or frequenting those disguised Societies where dangerous Dispositions may be imbibed: And, secondly, profligate Doctrines, which may have been nurtured in any such self-established Assemblies, could never have been tolerated for a Moment in any Lodge meeting under regular Authority. We aver that not only such Laxity of Opinion has no Sort of Connexion with the Tenets of Masonry, but is diametrically opposed to the Injunction which we regard as the Foundation-Stone of the Lodge, namely, 'Fear God and Honour the King.' In Confirmation of this solemn Assertion, what can we advance more irrefragible, than that so many of His Majesty's illustrious Family stand in the highest Order of Masonry, are fully instructed in all its Tendencies, and have intimate Knowledge of every Particular in its current Administration under the Grand Lodge of England."

Lord Moira then produced an Address, which was read and unanimously approved, and afterwards personally presented to the King by his son, the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Society.

Another Address, couched in similar terms of loyalty and affection, was voted by the Fraternity under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Atholl, and signed by order of that Grand Lodge—June 24, 1800—by "Wm. Dickey, Deputy Grand Master."

On February 10, 1802, a friendly alliance was resumed with the Lodges in Berlin, and at the Grand Feast—May 12—on the application of four Lodges in Portugal, it was agreed to exchange representatives with the Grand Lodge there, and that the Brethren belonging to each Grand Lodge should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other.

In 1805 the Earl of Moira, who then combined the functions of Acting Grand Master of English Freemasons with those of Commander of the Forces in Scotland, became the happy medium through which his own and the Grand Lodge of the Northern Kingdom were brought into fraternal union. In the same year—November 27—and through the same channel, a correspondence on terms of amity and brotherly communication was arranged with the Grand Lodge of Prussia.

Also at this Grand Lodge, the brethren, to mark their sense of the services rendered to Masonry by the Acting Grand Master, "agreed that the Fraternity should dine together on December 7, it being the birthday of Earl Moira."

This practice continued to be observed by a large number of the metropolitan Lodges, until the departure of that nobleman for India; and a survival of it still exists in the Moira Lodge, No. 92,[1] which holds its annual festival on December 7, when the toast of the evening is, "the memory of Earl Moira, the patron of the Lodge."

On December 31, 1809, the foundation-stone of Covent Garden Theatre was laid by the

[1] Constituted June 17, 1755, and styled, about twenty years later, "The Lodge of Freedom and Ease," a title it discarded in 1803, for its present designation.

Prince of Wales, as Grand Master of England and Scotland.[1] Passing over those events which formed any part of the protracted negotiations that preceded the Union, we are brought down to 1812, on February 12 of which year the Duke of Sussex was appointed Deputy Grand Master, in succession to Sir Peter Parker, Admiral of the Fleet, who died in the previous December. At the ensuing Grand Feast, May 13, the Grand Lodge having resolved that a Grand Organist should be appointed, the Acting Grand Master accordingly nominated Mr Samuel Wesley to that office.

In the course of this year the Earl of Moira was appointed Governor-General of India, and it was considered by the Fraternity as only due to his exalted merit, to entertain him at a farewell banquet before his departure from England, and to present him with a valuable Masonic jewel, as a memorial of their gratitude for his eminent services.

January 27, 1813, was the day appointed, and more than five hundred brethren attended, including six royal dukes.[2] The Duke of Sussex, as Deputy Grand Master, took the chair, being supported on the right by the Earl of Moira, and on the left by the Duke of York.

The speeches were far above the ordinary level of such performances. In happy terms, the chairman characterised the exertions of the earl as having saved the Society from total destruction;[3] whilst in terms still happier, the guest of the evening acknowledged the compliment. The speech is too long for quotation, but I shall cull one extract, which is an excellent sample of the whole.

"The prominent station which I hold here," observed Lord Moira, "concentrates all the rays of the Craft upon my person, as it would upon the person of any other placed in the same elevation; and the illustrious Deputy Grand Master makes an effort to persuade himself that this lunar brilliancy is the genuine irradiation of the sun. My real relation to you may be best explained by an Asiatic apologue.[4] In the baths of the East, perfumed clay is used instead of soap. A poet is introduced, who breaks out into an enthusiastic flow of admiration at the odour of a lump of clay of this sort. 'Alas!' answers the clay, 'I am only a piece of ordinary earth, but I happened to come in contact with the rose, and have borrowed some of its fragrance.' I have borrowed the character of the virtues inherent in this institution; and my best hope is that, however minute be the portion with which I have been thus imbued, at least I am not likely to lose what has been so fortuitously acquired. Gratitude holds a high rank among those virtuès; and if I can be confident of anything, it must be of this, that earnest gratitude towards you cannot depart from my breast but with the last pulse of life."[5]

On Lord Moira's passage to India, the vessel in which he had embarked, calling at the Mauritius—at the head of the Masons of that island, he laid the first stone of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Port Louis.[6]

[1] The Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master and Patron, and the Earl of Moira Acting Grand Master Elect, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, December 2, 1805.

[2] Sussex, D.G.M., York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester.

[3] *Ante*, p. 486.

[4] The Prophecy of Sadi.

[5] An Account of the Proceedings at the Festival of January 27, 1813, taken in Short-Hand by Alexander Fraser, pp. 47, 48.

[6] Daruty, from whom I quote, adds, "La Loge *La Paix*, possède de lui un très beau portrait dû au pinceau du peintre Cazanova qui suivit le noble Lord dans l'Inde pour arriver à remplir sa mission. Ce portrait coûta, dit-on, à cause des frais de voyage qu'il occasionna, quarante mille roupies [*rupees*],—que paya M. A. Maure, alors Vénérable de la Loge *La Paix*" (Recherches sur Le Rite Ecossais Ancien Accepté, 1879, p. 65).

The Earl of Moira remained nine years in India, and brought two wars to a successful termination. On his arrival at Calcutta (to use his own words), "there were made over to him no less than *six* hostile discussions with native powers, each capable of entailing a resort to arms;" and at that time "the independent powers of India were so numerous and strong, as to conceive themselves equal to expel the British;" whilst at the termination of Earl Moira's rule, every native state in that vast region was in either acknowledged, or essential subjugation, to our Government. James Mill, the historian of British India, says, "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings, may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India finally established." In 1823, having in the meantime been created Marquess of Hastings, he returned to England, whence, in the following year, he proceeded to Malta as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and died November 28, 1826, on board H.M.S. "Revenge," at Baiæ Bay, near Naples.

Contemporary records state, that his excessive liberality and unbounded generosity had so impoverished him, that his ample fortune absolutely sank under the benevolence of his nature.

Before leaving Calcutta, he was presented with an address by the Freemasons,[1] and the late Sir James Burnes has placed on record, "how his Lordship, impressed with devotion for the Craft, and love for all the brethren, descended from his high estate as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, and within the halls of his own palace offered the right hand of fellowship, with his parting benediction, to every soldier, individually, who wore an apron; acknowledging,[2] also, his pride, that Masonic principles had influenced him in the exercise of his authority."

Whilst in the East, Lord Moira—created Marquess of Hastings, December 7, 1816—was styled "Acting Grand Master in India."

The Regency of the United Kingdom was conferred by parliament upon the Prince of Wales, in February 1811, who, however, continued to preside over the Fraternity until 1813, when, declining a re-election, the Duke of Sussex was unanimously chosen as his successor—the Prince Regent shortly afterwards accepting the title of Grand Patron of the Society.

The Duke of Sussex was installed at the Grand Feast, held May 12, 1813, and the following brethren were also invested as Grand officers: Lord Dundas, Deputy; John Aldridge and Simon M'Gillivray, Wardens; John Bayford, Treasurer; W. H. White, Secretary;[3] Rev. Lucius Coghlan, Chaplain; Chevalier Ruspini, Sword Bearer; and Samuel Wesley, Organist.[4]

It has been truly said, "that the Duke of Sussex's whole heart was bent on accomplishing that great *desideratum* of Masons, the Union of the Two Fraternities who had been mistermed *Ancient* and *Modern*;[5] and his high station in life certainly carried with it an influence which could not have been found in a humbler individual."[6]

But before proceeding to narrate the share borne by the Duke in the grand achievement

[1] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1836, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 129.

[3] Appointed Grand Secretary jointly with his father, May 10, 1810.

[4] Originally appointed May 13, 1812, when the office was created. *Cf. ante*, p. 490.

[5] Preston observes, "to be explicit without circumlocution, we must, at present, make use of these terms relatively" (Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 367). The same reflection has occurred to all later Masonic writers.

[6] *Ibid.*

of re-uniting the Freemasons of England within a single fraternity, it will be requisite to retrace our steps and turn to the succession of events which culminated in the Masonic Union of December 1813.

Inasmuch, however, as I have already brought down the annals of the *two* societies, to the year of the fusion, some matters of detail connected with the older system—which, if previously introduced, would have interrupted the sequence of the narrative—will be briefly dealt with, before passing away to the story of the Union.

On November 4, 1779, the laws for the contribution of Lodges to the Hall Fund, were ordered to be enforced, and at a Grand Lodge Extraordinary, consisting of the actual and past Grand officers, and the Masters of Lodges, held January 8, 1783, a variety of resolutions were passed imposing further regulations of a most onerous character, which have been already referred to.[1]

"How far," observes Preston, "they are consistent with the original plan of the Masonic institution, must be left to abler judges to determine. In earlier periods of our history, such compulsory regulations were unnecessary."[2]

At a special Grand Lodge, held March 20, 1788, it was resolved to pull down and rebuild Freemason's Tavern, and in order to augment the finances of the Society, it was ordered, that in London and within ten miles thereof, the fee for registry should be half a guinea, instead of five shillings, as stipulated by the regulation of October 28, 1768.[3]

At this meeting also, a very extraordinary resolution was passed, that Lodges omitting for twelve months to comply with the preceding regulation, should not be permitted to send Representatives to, or have any Vote in, the Grand Lodge.

On February 7, 1798, on the ground that debts had accumulated to the amount of £7000, on account of the Hall and Tavern, and that the sum of £250 was payable yearly under the Tontine, it was ordered, that every Lodge do pay, at the Grand Lodge in February, yearly to the account of the Hall Fund, two shillings for every subscribing member, over and besides all other payments directed to be made.

This regulation not being generally complied with, a committee was appointed to consider the best means of giving it due effect, on whose recommendation, it was resolved—November 20, 1799—that it was the duty of Lodges to expel such of their members as neglected to make the prescribed payments, for which the former were accountable to the Grand Lodge, and would be erased from the list for withholding, after February 12, then ensuing.

Country Lodges were afterwards given until November 1800 to pay their arrears, but the additional fee imposed February 7, 1798, was not abolished until the same date in 1810.

According to Preston, "the Lodges readily concurred in the plan of liquidating the debts,"[4] but this was not so. The number of Lodges erased from the list was very great. No less than nine in the metropolitan district were struck off at one swoop on February 12, 1800; and in previous years, from 1768,[5] in which nineteen Lodges were removed from the roll, down to the close of the century, the erasures mount up to a total of two hundred and forty-seven. Some of these, it is true, lapsed in the ordinary way, but the greater number were summarily struck out for not contributing to the Hall Fund. Others were restored; for instance, on

[1] *Ante*, p. 473. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 337. [3] *Ante*, p. 472. [4] Edit. 1821, p. 328.
[5] *Cf.* The Regulation passed on October 28 of that year, *ante*, p. 472.

November 17, 1784, five Lodges were reinstated in their rank—four of which had been deprived of it in the previous April—"having satisfied the G. Lodge with their Intentions of discharging their Arrears."

But in the great majority of cases, the erased Lodges ceased to exist, or went over to the "Ancients," and the sentiments of the Sarum Lodge, No. 37,[1] with regard to the arbitrary measures pursued by the Grand Lodge were, without doubt, shared by many other Lodges of that era, whose records have not yet fallen in the way of an equally competent investigator.

Besides the Lodges that have been incidentally referred to, we find from the official calendars, that warrants of constitution, under the authority of the Original Grand Lodge of England, found their way into North Carolina, 1755; Quebec, 1762; Honduras, 1763; Maryland, 1765; Bordeaux[2] and Normandy, 1766; Grenoble, Canton (China), and Berlin, 1767; Naples, 1768; Sweden, 1769; the Austrian Netherlands, 1770; Leghorn and St Petersburg, 1771; Strasbourg, Venice, Verona, and Turin, 1775; Sicily, 1778; Malta, 1789;[3] and Sumatra, 1796.

"Sea and Field" Lodges, as they are happily termed in "Multa Paucis," were constituted in 1760 and 1755 respectively, the former "on Board His Majesty's ship the Vanguard," and the latter in the 8th or "King's Regiment of Foot."

In the preceding summary, as well as those of a like character given in previous chapters,[4] I have, as a rule, only named the first town in each country where a Lodge was established. It may therefore be convenient to add, that at the date of the Union (1813) the number of Continental Lodges—active or dormant—shown on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England was as follows, viz.: in Germany, 35; Italy, 11; Russia, 8; Holland, 5; Flanders, 4; France and Sweden, 3. At the same period there were 15 Lodges "in Military Corps, *not stationary*."

The foreign "deputations" granted by this Grand Lodge have not been recorded with precision. Most of them, however, will be cited in connection with the countries to which they were issued, and all that I can succeed in tracing will be found tabulated in the Appendix.

Numerous Lodges were established for the association of particular classes of Masons. Thus the Grand Stewards were formed into a Lodge in 1735, and we find Lodges existing in the Army, Navy, and Marines, in 1755, 1761, and 1759 respectively. A "Sea Captain's Lodge" was constituted at Wapping in 1751, and another at Yarmouth in 1759. The former afterwards moved to Fenchurch Street, and a "Mariner's Lodge" was forthwith set up in its place. Lodges composed of "operative Masons" were formed—or received constitutions—in 1764 and 1766.[5]

The "Country Steward's Lodge," No. 540, was constituted July 25, 1789, and on November 25 following, it was resolved in Grand Lodge, "that in consequence of the trouble attending the office of Steward for the Country Feast of the Society, the brethren who have served that office be permitted to wear a suitable jewel pendant to a green collar."

The Country Feast was notified as taking place July 5, in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for

[1] *Ante*, p. 399.

[2] "[No.] 363, English Lodge at Bordeaux, have met since the year 1732, Mar. 8, 1766" (Engraved List, 1769).

[3] No. 539, St John's Lodge of Secrecy and Harmony, constituted March 30, 1789.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 399, 440, 442, 443, 450.

[5] Nos. 335, *now* extinct; and 364, *now* the Bedford Lodge, No. 157. See Chap. II., pp. 77, 106.

1785 and the two following years, and a still earlier notice of it—which escaped my own research—has recently been discovered by Mr H. Sadler, Grand Tyler, in the Grand Lodge minutes for May 4, 1772, where it is recorded "that the Deputy Grand Master acquainted the brethren that the Country Feast was to be held at the long room at Hampstead on the 25th June next."

It appears to have been known as the "Deputy Grand Master's," or "Annual Country Feast of the Society."

On November 25, 1795, the members of No. 540 were granted permission to line their aprons with green silk, or, in other words, to become a "Green-apron-lodge," but the privilege was withdrawn at the next Communication—February 10, 1796—by a majority of five votes, the numbers being 53 to 48.

The Country Stewards renewed their application to Grand Lodge, November 23, 1796, and the vote passed in their favour by a majority of 20, the numbers being 73 for, to 53 against.

The question of the "Green Apron" was again brought up, February 7, 1797—"Upon which Debates arose, but it being found difficult to ascertain the Sense of Grand Lodge by the holding up of Hands, a Division was proposed, but from the confusion, tumult, and irregularity which took place thereon, the Grand Master in the Chair,[1] found himself under the necessity, at a very late hour, of closing the Grand Lodge and Adjourning the whole of the Business."[2]

At the next Communication, held April 12, on the motion of the Earl of Moira, who presided, the resolution passed in the previous November, was annulled by a majority of 95, 54 brethren voting that it should stand, and 149 against, upon which, on a proposal made and seconded by members of the Country Steward's Lodge, it was resolved, that the grant in November 1789, of a green collar and medal, be also rescinded. The latter privilege, however, was restored to the Lodge in the February ensuing.

The Lodge, which became No. 449 in 1792, died out about 1802, and is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1803 as the Lodge of "Faith and Friendship" meeting at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, whither the "Constitution" had evidently found its way from London, in conformity with a usage of which many illustrations might be given.[3] The names of members of Lodges were then registered in two books—one for London, and the other for the country. The last entry—under the No. 449—in the former bears date 1793,[4] and the earliest in the latter, November 4, 1802, when the name appears of "W^m^ Fitzharding, L^d^ Viscount Dursley, Berkley Castle (age 17)." "Ed. Jenner, M.D., Berkly," seems to have joined or been initiated "Dec. 30, 1802."

But perhaps the most remarkable of the different kinds of Lodges, established for class purposes, were those formed for the association of foreign brethren residing in this country. The earliest of these, held at the "Soloman's Temple," Hemmings Row, in 1725, has been

[1] George Porter, S.G.W. *as* G.M.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 392.

[3] *E.g.*, "The Amphibious Lodge," No. 407, is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1804 as being held "at the Marine Barracks, Stonehouse, near Plymouth," and in the next edition (1805), as meeting at "High Town, Yorkshire."

[4] The Grand Tyler, however, has traced the attendance of representatives of the "Country Steward's Lodge" at Grand Lodge, down to April 1799.

already referred to.[1] Next in point of date comes the "French Lodge" at the Swan, Long Acre,[2] No. 20, apparently so styled about 1732. This, which became the "French Swan Lodge" in 1736, was carried forward in the numeration of 1740 as the "French Swan" No. 19, and erased March 25, 1745.

Another French Lodge existed about the same time, No. 98, meeting at the Prince Ugen's [*Eugene's*] Head in 1732, and at the "Duke of Lorraine" in 1734. In 1740 the Lodge met at the "Union Coffee House" in the Haymarket, and was numbered 87. It would seem to have constituted the Lodge "Union of Angels" at Frankfort, in 1743, as the latter is "acknowledged" as "daughter of the Union Lodge of London" in the warrant, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.[3] Curiously enough, by that official document, permission is given for "the masons of one and the other Lodges, to be members respectively of both." No. 87 died out before the change of numbers in 1756.

In 1759 we meet once more, at the No. 122, with the "Swan, the old French Lodge," in Grafton Street, but this title, acquired *after* 1756, was lost by 1764, in which year the Lodge assembled at the "Two Chairmen," Charing Cross. In the Engraved List for 1778, it is described as the Lodge of Unity, a title it still retains as present No. 69.[4]

On January 29, 1765, a French Lodge was constituted at the "Horn," in Doctors Commons, as No. 331, which became No. 270 in 1770, but was extinct before 1778.

In the following year, on June 16, a conference was held at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand, at which it was determined to establish a new Lodge, to be composed of foreign brethren, and to work in the French Language. The first master was J. J. de Vignoles,[5] who, at the next meeting, stated that he had received from the Grand Master a letter complying with their request, except as to the designation of the Lodge. This, Lord Blayney thought, "should be changed from 'L'Immortalité des Fréres,' to 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre' (as a more modest title)," which suggestion was adopted.

The Lodge of Friendship appears to have cultivated a very intimate acquaintance with this French Lodge, for a particular minute of the latter records, under April 20, 1768, that "No. 3 have agreed to receive regularly the brethren of 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre,' on payment of the same nightly dues as their own members, namely, five shillings each; and finally, the brethren of the two Lodges were considered as partaking of the advantages of membership of both."[6] The Lodge was originally numbered 376, became No. 303 in 1770, and was erased April 28, 1775. The establishment of another French Lodge in 1774, the "Lodge des Amis Reunis," No. 475, at the Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, Soho, may have brought about this catastrophe. This, however, did not remain long on the roll, from which it was struck out, February 7, 1777. The next French Lodge, "L'Esperance," No. 434, was constituted in 1768, and met at Gerrard Street, Soho, where, on removal to St James Street in 1785, its place was taken by a new Lodge formed in that year, "L'Egalité," No. 469.

But in order to be clear, I must now invite attention to the Engraved List for 1770, where

[1] *Ante*, p. 376, note 5.

[2] An *English* Lodge, No. 44, was held at the same tavern, erased April 4, 1744.

[3] *Ante*, p. 467, note 1.

[4] The existing records of No. 69 do not extend beyond 1764, at which date it had ceased to be a French Lodge.

[5] *Ante*, p. 474.

[6] Freemason's Quarterly Review, 1845, p. 33.

at the No. 153, we find the "Ancient French Lodge, White Swan, Grafton Street," which thus reappears upon the scene, its members having purchased their "constitution" between 1759 and 1763, in which latter year they met under it at the "Fountain," on Ludgate Hill, the Lodge being then numbered 193.[1]

In 1781 the Lodge became No. 122—a namesake having borne, singularly enough, the exact numerical position in 1759—and in 1792, No. 110. On April 9, 1794, it united with No. 380, "Loge d'Egalité" (constituted 1785), under the title of "Loge des Amis Réunis," and on April 10, 1799, with "L'Esperance," No. 238 (constituted 1768 as No. 434), under that of "Lodge de L'Espérance." It was placed on the Union Roll as No. 134, but died out before 1832.[2]

The experiment of founding a Lodge, to be composed of Germans, and in which the ceremonies should be conducted in their national tongue, has proved a more successful one. The Pilgrim Lodge, *now* No. 238, was established on these lines; on August 25, 1779, and celebrated its centenary October 1, 1879. Not only are the proceedings carried on in the German language, but the method of working is also German. The Lodge possesses a choice library, and is justly renowned for its excellent working and lavish hospitality.

It has been shown that an earnest desire for a Masonic Union was expressed by the Masons of Lower Canada in 1794;[3] also that a proposal to that effect was actually made in the Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl in 1797.[4] The prominent position occupied by the Prince of Wales in the older Society doubtless encouraged this feeling, which must have received a still further impetus from the popularity of his *locum tenens*, the Earl of Moira—a nobleman, in whom, as proved by later events, all parties reposed the fullest confidence. By the Scottish and Irish Masons the Schism in the English Craft was always regarded with pity and indignation;[5] and though a closer intercourse had been maintained by their *Grand Lodges* with one moiety of it, than with the other, this arose from the election of Irish and Scottish noblemen as Grand Masters, by the "Ancients," rather than from any especial predilection on the part of Masons of those nationalities, for that Society.

The first proposal for a Union, made in either of the two Grand Lodges, took place in 1797, and as we have seen, fell to the ground.[6] The next attempt, to heal the Schism, came from the other side, and was equally unsuccessful, though the negotiations which then proceeded, and lasted for a year or two, made it quite clear that the rank and file of the Craft were bent on a thorough reconciliation, which the misdirected efforts of the Masonic authorities had only retarded for a time.

At the Committee of Charity, held April 10, 1801, "a complaint was preferred by Br W. C. Daniel, Master of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57, Wapping, against Thomas Harper of Fleet St., jeweller, Robert Gill, and William Burwood, for encouraging irregular meetings and infringing on the privileges of the Ancient Grand Lodge of all England, assembling under the authority of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales."

The inquiry was adjourned in the first instance until the following November, and again until February 5, 1802, when, on the representation of the Grand Treasurer, "that having

[1] *Ante*, p. 471.

[2] The "Lodge of St George de l'Observance," No. 49, erased April 9, 1794, may have been French. But its then title was assumed *after* April 24, 1776, on which date it was reinstated "as the Lodge, No. 68, at the Globe in Litchfield St.," having been erased for the first time in the previous April.

[3] *Ante*, p. 463. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 452. [5] Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 117. [6] *Ante*, p. 452.

recently conversed with Br Harper and James Agar, Esq., it had been suggested that a Union of the two Societies upon liberal and constitutional grounds might take place," the complaint was "dismissed."

In order to pave the way for the intended Union, a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Moira, on accepting his nomination as a member, declared that he should consider the day on which a coalition was formed as one of the most fortunate in his life.

It is alleged that although pledged to use his influence to effect a union, Harper covertly exerted himself to prevent it, being afraid of losing the power he possessed, and the profit he derived from the sale of articles belonging to his trade. It is further said that, on two occasions in 1802, when proposals were made in the "Atholl" Grand Lodge with reference to a fusion of the two Societies, he "violently" closed the proceedings of the meeting.[1] The records of the Seceders leave these points undecided, but they prove at least that a very inflammatory address, eminently calculated to stir up strife, and to defeat any attempt to promote a reconciliation, was read and approved in Grand Lodge—December 1, 1801—and "ordered to be circulated throughout the whole of the Ancient Craft."[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held November 19, 1802, the Earl of Moira in the chair, it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary do write to Mr Thomas Harper, and acquaint him that he is to consider himself as standing under a peculiar engagement towards the Grand Lodge;" also, that his "non-attendance at this Committee appears an indecorous neglect. In consequence of which an explanation is required from him before Wednesday next, such as may determine the procedure which the Grand Lodge shall at that meeting adopt."

Harper's reply was read in Grand Lodge, November 24, in which, after expressing surprise that "the very frivolous charge brought against him" had been renewed, he states—"That I was an Ancient Mason has long been known to many, to Mr Heseltine particularly, as also to yourself [W. White], having frequently referred persons to me in that capacity. I stated the fact to Mr Heseltine at the Committee of Charity previous to my taking upon myself the office of Grand Steward, and it was then publicly declared by him to be no impediment." Untoward circumstances, he continues, had precluded his attendance on November 19, and, in conclusion, he remarks, "that feeling the rectitude of his conduct during a period of thirty-five years devoted to Masonry, without having in any instance impinged upon its laws, should the Grand Lodge be disposed to revive the charge against him, he would bow with the utmost deference to the decision."

The "consideration of what censure should pass against Mr Harper" was deferred until February 9, 1803, when, by a unanimous vote, he was expelled the Society, and it was ordered that the laws should be strictly enforced against all who might countenance or attend the Lodges or meetings of persons calling themselves Antient Masons.

This, for a time, put an end to the project of a union, as in the following month—March 3—a manifesto was drawn up by the Atholl Grand Lodge, which was ordered "to be forthwith printed (signed by the Secretary), and circulated throughout the whole extent of its Masonic communion and connection."

[1] An Address to the Duke of Atholl on the Subject of an Union with the Regular Masons of England, 1804. The author is supposed to have been W. C. Daniel, of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57. *Cf. ante*, p. 452.

[2] Printed in "Ahiman Rezon," 1807, pp. 121-125.

Here we meet—happily for the last time—with the familiar allusion to the "variations in the established form;" but though the address fills nearly six pages of "Ahiman Rezon," there is nothing else in it worth noticing, except the concluding paragraph, which enjoins that no one is to be received into a Lodge or treated as a brother "who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the Ancient Constitutions."[1]

Negotiations for a union were not resumed until 1809, when it became apparent to all candid minds that the breach would soon be repaired which had so long separated the two Societies. In the interim, however, the position of the elder Grand Lodge had been strengthened by fraternal alliances entered into with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, the former of which was ruled by the same Grand and Acting Grand Master, whilst the latter had pledged itself in 1808 not to countenance or receive as a Brother any person standing under the interdict of the Grand Lodge of England for Masonic transgression.

On April 12, 1809, a very remarkable step was taken by the senior of the rival bodies, and at a Quarterly Communication held that day it was resolved,

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

This tacit admission of the propriety of the epithets—"Ancients" and "Moderns"—by which the members of the two fraternities had so long been distinguished, fully justified the sanguine forecast of the brethren by whom it was drawn up.

At an (Atholl) Grand Lodge, held September 6, 1809, "Bro Jeremiah Cranfield, P.M., 255"—now the Oak Lodge, No. 190—brought forward a renewed motion (presented, but afterwards withdrawn, in the previous June) that a Committee should be appointed to consider and adopt prompt and effectual measures for accomplishing a Masonic Union. But after a long debate, Harper, "according with his duty as Deputy Grand Master, peremptorily refused to admit the Motion, and afterwards closed and adjourned the Grand Lodge, past 12 o'clock at night."

A committee, however, was appointed to report as to the propriety and practicability of a Union by a vote of the same body, in the following December, whilst on February 7, 1810, the resolution passed in 1803, by the older Grand Lodge, for the expulsion of Thomas Harper, was rescinded.

After two meetings, the "Atholl" Committee made a report to their Grand Lodge, by which body it was resolved—March 7, 1810—"that a Masonic Union on principles equal and honourable to both Grand Lodges, and preserving inviolate the Land Marks of the Ancient Craft, would, in the opinion of this Grand Lodge, be expedient and advantageous to both."

This resolution was enclosed in a letter to the Earl of Moira, who, on April 10, informed the Grand Lodge over which he presided, "That in conference with the Duke of Atholl, they were both fully of opinion, that it would be an event truly desirable, to consolidate under one head the two Societies of Masons that existed in this country. . . . In consequence of the points then discussed, and reciprocally admitted, the result was a resolution in the

[1] Edit. 1807, p. 125, *et seq.*

Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl"—which being read, it was thereupon resolved, "that this Grand Lodge meets with unfeigned cordiality, the desire expressed by the Grand Lodge under his Grace the Duke of Atholl for a Re-Union."

"That the Grand officers for the year, with the additions of the R.W. Masters of the Somerset House, Emulation, Shakespeare, Jerusalem, and Bank of England Lodges, be a committee for negotiating this most desirable arrangement."

The Masters thus nominated were respectively the Earl of Mount Norris, W. H. White (Master, both of the "Emulation" and the "Shakespeare"), James Deans, and James Joyce, all of whom are named in a warrant granted by Lord Moira, October 26, 1809, constituting a "Lodge of Masons, for the purpose of ascertaining and promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Craft."

The proceedings of the Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1810, were communicated to Mr Harper by the Earl of Moira, and in the following July a letter, signed by the D.G.M., was written to the latter from the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons," enclosing sundry resolutions passed by that body on May 1, and requesting his "Lordship to appoint a day and middle Place for the meeting of the two Committees."

The resolutions stipulated : "That the Prince of Wales' Masons were to consent to take the same obligations under which the other three Grand Lodges were bound, and to work in the same forms.

"That Pastmasters should sit in the United Grand Lodge; and that Masonic Benevolence should be distributed monthly.

"Also, the following were appointed members of the 'Atholl' Committee, viz., the Present and Past Grand officers, with Brothers Dewsnap, Cranfield, M'Cann, Heron, and Ronalds."

In reply to this communication, Grand Secretary White was directed to invite the "Atholl" Committee to dine with the Committee of his own Grand Lodge on July 31, at 5 o'clock, "for the purpose of conferring on the subject of the said Letter and Resolution," and the former body, though it "was not the Answer they expected," nevertheless, "to expedite the business," accepted the invitation to dine, but "earnestly requested that the other Committee would meet them at three o'clock on the same day, *previous to dinner*, for the purpose of conferring together."

The Committees duly met, but owing to the absence of the Earl of Moira, nothing definite could be arranged with regard to the resolutions of May 1. Ultimately, however, all difficulties were overcome, though the question of admitting Past Masters into the United Grand Lodge was only settled by a compromise, the privilege being restricted to all who had attained that rank, but to one Past Master only for each Lodge after the Union.

On the important point of ritual the Committee of the Grand Lodge under the Prince Regent, gave a distinct assurance that it was desired "to put an end to diversity and establish the one true system. They [the older Society] have exerted themselves to act by the ancient forms, and had formed a Lodge of Promulgation, whereat they had the assistance of several ancient Masons. But, in short, were ready to concur in any plan for investigating and ascertaining the genuine course, and when demonstrated, to walk in it."

The members of the "Lodge of Promulgation" were, in the first instance, only empowered

to meet until December 31, 1810, but this period was afterwards extended to the end of February 1811. The minutes begin November 21, 1809, when James Earnshaw, J.G.W., was elected W.M., and appointed James Deans and W. H. White as his Wardens. The Lodge being empowered "to associate with them, from time to time, discreet and intelligent Brethren," then proceeded to elect as members, thirteen Grand officers, two Past Masters of the Grand Steward's Lodge, the Master (Duke of Sussex), and the S.W. (Charles Bonnor), of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the Masters of eight other London Lodges.[1]

According to the warrant of the Lodge, it was constituted for the purpose of promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Society, and instructing the Craft in all such matters as might be necessary to be known by them, in consequence of, and in obedience to, the Resolution passed by Grand Lodge, April 12, 1809.

The members proceeded, in the first instance, to consider "the principal points of variation between the Ancient and the Modern practice in the several degrees of the Order," but their labours ultimately assumed a much wider scope. Thus, on December 29, 1809, "A particular explanation of the Ancient practice of a respectable community of the Craft, who have never entertained the Modern practice, was minutely set forth by the Secretary (Bonnor), so far as relates to the ceremonies of constituting a Board of Trial, with the entire series of proceedings in raisiug a candidate from the 2d to the 3d Degree. Whereupon, certain deviations from the practice so explained were pointed out, agreeable to the proceedings of the Athol Lodges, which deviations were ably descanted upon and discussed. Bro H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex was pleased to contribute to the accumulation of information, by a luminous exposition of the practice adhered to by our Masonic Brethren at Berlin."

The ceremonies were "settled" with great care and deliberation, after which they were rehearsed in the presence of the Masters of the London Lodges, who were duly summoned to attend. At an early stage it was resolved, "that Deacons (being proved, on due investigation, to be not only Ancient, but useful and necessary officers) be recommended."

As the word "Ancient" is used throughout in a double sense, both as relating to the practice of the Seceders, and the immemorial usage of the entire Craft, it is not easy, in all cases, to determine from the minutes of the Lodge, the precise extent to which the Society under the Prince Regent, borrowed from that under the Duke of Atholl. In substance, however, the method of working among the "Ancients"—to use the hackneyed phrase—was adopted by the "Moderns."

This was virtually a return to the old practice, and it will be sufficient to remark, that with the exception of the opportunities selected under the two systems for the communication of secrets, there appears to have been no real difference between the procedure (or ceremonial) of the rival fraternities.[2]

On October 19, 1810, it was resolved, "that it appears to this Lodge, that the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges, is one of the two Land Marks of the Craft, and ought to be observed."

At the next meeting—November 16—the Grand Treasurer and four others, "being

[1] *Present* Nos. 8, 18, 23, 28, 92, 96, and 108. The Lodge of Sincerity (extinct), *then* No. 66, was also represented.

[2] This point is well illustrated by Dalcho (Orations, p. 84); Hughan (Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, pp. 56, 57); and in the "Address to the Duke of Atholl," *passim*. *Cf. ante*, p. 497, note 1.

Installed Masters, retired to an adjoining chamber, formed a Board of Installed Masters according to the Ancient constitution of the order, and forthwith installed Br° Jas. Earnshaw, R.W.M.," and the Masters of ten other lodges.

On December 28, 1810, "the Masters of Lodges were informed that they would, at the two next meetings, be summoned for the purpose of being regularly Installed as Rulers of the Craft," and accordingly one-half of the Masters of London Lodges were installed on the 18th, and the other half on the 25th, January.

In the following month, at a Quarterly Communication held February 6, "the M.W. Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, having signified his directions to the R.W. Master and officers of the Lodge of Promulgation, was Installed according to ancient custom (such members of the Grand Lodge as were not actual Installed Masters having been ordered to withdraw)." At the same meeting the thanks of Grand Lodge were conveyed to the Lodge of Promulgation, and blue aprons were presented to Bros. Deans and Bonnor, "the other leading officers of the Lodge already possessing such aprons as Grand Officers."

A petition was signed by seven, on behalf of twenty-eight Masters of Lodges, praying that the Earl of Moira would renew the Lodge of Promulgation for another year; but on March 5, 1811, the Grand Secretary reported that his lordship conceived it would not be advisable to authorise the further continuance of its labours.

Before, however, passing from the minutes of this lodge, it may be interesting to state, that among them is a report to Lord Moira, suggesting "the propriety of instituting the office or degree of a Masonic Professor of the Art and Mystery of Speculative Masonry, to be conferred by diploma on some skilled Craftsman of distinguished acquirements, with power to avail himself occasionally of the assistance of other skilled Craftsmen, and to be empowered to instruct publicly or privately." The assistant professors, it was recommended, should be distinguished by a medal, ribbon, or a sash. The reply of the Acting Grand Master—if he made one—is not recorded.

The Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of one Fraternity, and the Duke of Kent, Grand Master of the other, were installed and invested on May 13 and December 1, 1813, respectively. On the former occasion the Duke of Kent acted as Deputy Grand Master, and on the latter, the Duke of Sussex was made an *Ancient Mason* (in a room adjoining) in order to take part in the proceedings.

The Articles of Union were signed and sealed on November 25, 1813, by the Duke of Sussex; W. R. Wright, Provincial Grand Master in the Ionian Isles; Arthur Tegart and James Deans, Past Grand Wardens—on the one part; and by the Duke of Kent; Thomas Harper, Deputy Grand Master; James Perry and James Agar, Past Deputy Grand Masters—on the other part.

These are in number XXI. Article II., the most important of them all, has been already quoted.[1] Article V. enjoins that the two Grand Masters shall appoint each nine Master Masons or Past Masters of their respective Fraternities, with warrant and instructions to either hold a lodge, to be entitled the LODGE OF RECONCILIATION, or to visit the several lodges for the purpose of obligating, instructing, and perfecting the members. The remainder will be found in the Appendix.

[1] *Ante*, p. 429.

On St John's Day, December 27, 1813, the brethren of the several lodges who had been previously re-obligated and certified by the Lodge of Reconciliation were arranged on the two sides of Freemason's Hall, in such order that the two Fraternities were completely intermixed. The two Grand Masters seated themselves, in two equal chairs, on each side of the throne. The Act of Union was then read—and accepted, ratified, and confirmed, by the Assembly.

One Grand Lodge was then constituted. The Duke of Kent then stated that the great view with which he had taken upon himself the important office of Grand Master of the Ancient Fraternity, as declared at the time, was to facilitate the important object of the Union, which had been that day so happily consummated. He therefore proposed His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to be Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of England for the year ensuing. This being put to the vote, was carried unanimously, and the Duke of Sussex received the homage of the Fraternity.

M'Farlane & Erskine, Printers, Edinburgh.