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Andrew D. D. D.

—:‡: Ars ‡:—
Quatuor Coronatorum

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



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., P.A.G.D.C.,
and W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.

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ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

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

No. 2076.

VOLUME XXXIII.

FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1920.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., I.P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres. B.G.P., as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; Canon J. W. Horsley, P.G.Ch., Chaplain; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, J.D.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. F. Whyman, Joseph H. Stretton, Dr. H. G. Rosedale, P.G.Ch., H. T. Manwaring, W. N. Blair, Jun., Rev. H. Poole, Lieut.-Col. F. J. Stowe, P.Dep.G.S.B., L. A. Engel, Hervey Bathurst, P.G.Stew., A. S. Green, G. W. Bebbington, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, C. F. Sykes, Walter Dewes, W. C. Terry, P. H. Fox, L. Hemens, Geo. W. Sutton, L. G. Wearing, W. Mason Bradbear, F. C. Bickell, W. A. Tharp, P.G.St.B., Arthur Heiron, J. Procter Watson, F. J. Asbury, Algernon Rose, P.A.G.D.C., J. H. Ganson, G. Inglefield, Maurice Beachcroft, W. Archbald, F. W. Le Tall, Frank A. Williams, Robt. Blake, H. Johnson, Max Infield, W. T. Hawkins, A. Y. Mayell, T. S. Mills, and Fred. S. Terry.

Also the following Visitors:—A. Presland, Unity Lodge No. 1637; A. E. Jarman, Earl of Zetland Lodge No. 1364; E. Jarman, P.M., London Rifle Brigade Lodge No. 1962; Ardon Moss, Ealing Lodge No. 2662; W. Staples Pratti, S.W., Smyth Lodge No. 2284; G. Mumford, Carnarvon Lodge No. 708; W. Crick, Kingsley Lodge No. 2431; John B. Richard, P.M., West Essex Lodge No. 2651; W. J. Kellow, Red Cross Lodge No. 3781; John Fisher, P.A.G.St.B.; R. E. Page, P.M., Yarborough Lodge No. 554; E. Hall West and W. Thacker, St. Paul's Lodge No. 194.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from Bros. T. J. Westropp; E. Conder, P.M.; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C.; John T. Thorp, P.G.D.; S. T. Klein; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D.; R. H. Baxter; Cecil Powell, P.G.D.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D.; William Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; Dr. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D.; and W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C.

One Lodge, one Masonic Association and thirty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered on the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Monday, 29th December, 1919.

Present:—Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett in the Chair, with Bros. Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, Gordon Hills, J. P. Simpson, Sir Alfred Robbins, L. Vibert, R. H. McLeod, Auditor, and W. J. Songhurst, Secretary.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1919.

BRETHREN,

With regret we record the loss, during the year, of three of our members, two by death and one by resignation:—Bro. Lieut.-Col. Sisson Cooper Pratt, a Founder of the Lodge, died on 10th April; Bro. Edward Macbean, a member since 1888, died on 23rd August; and Bro. Henry Fitzpatrick Twiss resigned in October. The election to full membership of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres. B.G.P., raises our total to 30.

The *St. John's Card* dated 27th December, 1918, shows a total membership in the Correspondence Circle of 2,978. Of these, 208 have been removed from the list:—64 by death, 47 by resignation, and 97 for non-payment of dues. On the other hand, 201 have been added on election, and at the end of 1919 the total stands at 2,971, of whom 95 remain on the 'War List.'

Thanks are again tendered to all our Local Secretaries for much good work performed by them. The list in India, which had been looked after most carefully by Bro. L. Vibert for twenty years, has, since his return to England, been placed in the hands of Bro. F. Chatterton, of Madras; while Bro. Vibert himself has undertaken the supervision of the Province of Somerset. The vacancy at Kimberley, caused by the lamented death of Bro. Alfred W. Adams, has been filled by the appointment of Bro. F. G. Richards. In West Lancashire we are sorry to lose the services of Bro. Herbert Woods. The vacancy caused by his retirement is at present unfilled. For the Bradford district of West Yorkshire, Bro. John Robinson has kindly consented to act. In Warwickshire, from which Bro. A. W. Adams retires after twenty-seven years of good work, Bro. F. G. Swinden, Pr.G.Sec., has been good enough to take our interests in his charge.

Bro. Alfred S. Gedge, the very efficient Auditor of the Lodge accounts for twenty-five years, died on 1st April last, to our great regret. The Committee has appointed his partner, Bro. R. H. McLeod, F.C.A., to fill his place.

The accounts which are herewith presented for the year ending 30th November last show a further loss in working. Two parts only of the 1918 Volume of *Transactions* have so far been issued. The concluding part and the *St. John's Card* are practically ready for publication, and the amount held in reserve of £734 18s. 5d. is estimated to leave a balance of profit. The subscriptions for 1919, amounting to £1,052 13s. 4d., appear in the Balance Sheet as a reserve against the issue of the 1919 Volume, and to that sum will be added such further amounts applicable to that year as may be collected during 1920.

The need of further economies has again been carefully considered, and it has been suggested that the long lists of names which appear in the annual *St. John's Cards* might be much reduced. Meanwhile we must once more urge all brethren to pay their subscriptions promptly. Even if we were to write off all amounts due from Brethren on the 'War List,' a sum of about £400 would still be shown outstanding.

For the Committee,

J. E. SHUM TUCKETT,

in the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET 30th NOVEMBER, 1919.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		£ s. d.	<i>Assets.</i>		£ s. d.				
To Life Members' Fund (258 Members) ...	1689	10	6	By Cash at Bank ...	241	8	10		
„ Subscriptions, etc., received in advance ...	170	8	8	„ Investment, £1,300 Consols at 51 per cent. ...	663	0	0		
„ Correspondence Circle, 1918 Balance in hand ...	734	18	5	„ Sundry Debtors for Publications ...	19	1	9		
„ do. 1919 ...	1052	13	4	„ Sundry Publications ...	407	18	1		
„ Sundry Creditors ...	19	8	5	„ Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions in arrear—					
„ Sundry Creditors <i>re</i> Publications ...	48	3	9	1919 Correspondence Circle ...	356	9	6		
„ Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions as per contra, subject to realization ...	699	13	10	1918 ditto ...	145	0	3		
„ Lodge Account—				1917 ditto ...	102	7	6		
Balance 30th Nov., 1918	78	19	4	1916 ditto ...	56	17	2		
Receipts ...	37	5	6	1915 ditto ...	21	11	3		
	116	4	10	Back years ...	17	8	2		
Less Payments	38	17	3						
				699	13	10			
			77	7	7				
				„ Repairs—					
				Balance 30th Nov., 1918	60	0	0		
				Less Amount written off ...	20	0	0		
							40	0	0
				„ Furniture:—					
				Balance 30th Nov., 1918	17	13	0		
				Additions during the year	29	10	0		
					47	3	0		
				Less Depreciation written off ...	47	3	0		
				„ Profit and Loss Account ...	2421	2	0		
					£4492	4	6		
					£4492	4	6		

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for the year ending
30th November 1919.

Dr.				Cr.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Salaries	500	0	0	By Correspondence			
„ Rent, Rates and Taxes	145	14	7	Circle Joining			
„ Lighting and Firing	23	15	2	Fees, 1919	102	19	0
„ Stationery	87	17	9	„ 1919 Subscript'ns	6	6	0
„ Postages	169	9	9	„ 1917 ditto	49	14	2
„ Office Cleaning	33	8	9	„ 1916 ditto	24	4	9
„ Renewals and Repairs	20	0	0	„ 1915 ditto	7	19	0
„ Insurance	13	1	9	„ Back ditto	6	13	6
„ Telephone, etc.	9	1	0	<hr/>			197 19 5
„ Carriage and Sundries	16	14	1	„ Back Transactions	25	3	0
„ Local Secretaries' Expenses	1	19	7	„ Lodge Publications	15	4	7
„ Library Account	66	18	9	„ Various Publications	57	14	1
„ Furniture written off	47	3	0	„ Interest on Con-			
„ Depreciation on Investments	117	0	0	sols	22	15	0
				„ Discounts	20	4	0
				<hr/>			42 19 0
	<hr/>			„ Life Memberships Lapsed	31	10	0
	£1252	4	2	„ Balance carried forward	881	14	1
				<hr/>			£1252 4 2
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account	1539	7	11	By Balance carried forward	2421	2	0
„ Balance brought forward	881	14	1				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£2421	2	0		£2421	2	0

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library; Museum, Furniture, or the Stock of Publications (together valued for Insurance at £2,500), and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith.

ROBERT H. McLEOD, F.C.A.,

Chartered Accountant,

3, Great James Street,

Bedford Row, W.C.

22nd December, 1919.

SOME FRESH MATERIAL FOR CLASSIFYING THE 'OLD CHARGES.'

BY BRO. H. G. ROSEDALE, D.D., P.G.Chap.



AMONGST the efforts which have been made to impress German ideals upon the Grand Lodge of England, there stand out prominently those of Dr. Begemann, a well known Mason of Berlin, who, by dint of that curious devotion to minutiae so characteristic of all German students, made the Masonic world believe that the practical ideas of our own eminent Bro. Gould with respect to the Ancient Charges (of purely British origin) ought to be ignored, in order forsooth to make way for the

Doctor's own complex, useless, and, I venture to say, false system of classification, a classification of purely German manufacture based on the weakest of all arguments, coincidences of sound.¹

To-day thoughtful students of Masonic lore are awakening to the fact that Dr. Begemann's classification of the Old Charges is neither useful nor correct. This opens a wide door, and there lies before the Masonic world a road of liberty along which they may pass to an intelligent classification of the Old Charges, based upon historic facts and demonstrating the purely British influences which have made Masonry what it is.

Let us, however, be just. While it is true that Dr. Begemann was first a German and afterwards a Masonic scholar, while it is true that we have allowed ourselves to accept his dicta without argument, still we owe something to him. He is a student of no mean ability, and his industry in verbal classification, of a purely mechanical kind, is enormous. Further, though everyone who knows his Josephus must have been fully aware of the source of the Hiramic Letters found in the later Charges, yet it is entirely due to his research that we have become acquainted with the fact that the quotations found in the Charges were taken either from the 1655 or 1670 editions of Josephus as is proved by the use of the word Macedonians instead of Sidonians. We are further indebted to Dr. Begemann for emphasizing the general view that the *Inigo Jones* document is of a date posterior to 1655, and for many other matters well known to Masonic students. When, however, we come to classification, we must reconsider the whole question and fall back somewhat upon Bro. Gould's classification, which, as Dr. Begemann himself acknowledges, "is good for Historical ends," and those are the only ends which are of importance and utility. If I may venture to offer a suggestion to future German writers, I would say:

Remember that the Englishmen who wrote and copied these Charges were not, like the modern Germans, the slaves of minute detail. They wanted to express a thought and they did so in the language that seemed to them the most expressive. They were for the most part not learned, and the copyists, being often unable to read the Manuscript from which they were copying, inserted words that seemed to them most likely to give sense. In other words the British Mason was indifferent to that exactness in detail and minuteness of expression which so delight the Teutonic Mason.

¹ It is known now that Dr. Begemann has produced a new classification more in accord with history. This must, of course, be carefully criticized; but, so far, students have depended on the classification which appears in Hughan's *Old Charges* and which Dr. Begemann seems to have relinquished.

Those who know the mania for the view of philology so prevalent amongst German Professors will not be astonished to learn that the opportunity of practising a little of their system upon the Ancient Charges was too tempting for the German student to resist. The result, however, has not been good for English Masons who, largely owing to their modesty, have been led to desist from research in that part of the historical arena.

The profound respect that every student of Masonry must have for our late Bro. Hughan has made it more difficult to impugn results which that great authority seemed to accept. Yet those who study his works with care cannot help feeling that, though his courtesy and humility led him to refrain from every attempt to oppose the scheme laid down by Dr. Begemann, he never seems to have accepted it fully. Certainly he has done much by his original research to make the re-consideration of the Charges far easier than would have been the case had he not devoted himself to the details of each Charge instead of attempting to classify.

Without pretending for a moment to have compared all the Charges, I have carefully tabulated the peculiarities of some fifty, and, as a result, find it very difficult to concur in Dr. Begemann's classification which has hitherto so unquestionably been taken as final.

To the ordinary student who is not obsessed with the desire to impress the reader with his philological superiority, the similarity of the great bulk of the MSS. is obvious. In fact, in some cases the differences between the MSS. in Dr. Begemann's different sub-divisions are greater than those between his groups.

I take two MSS. of a small group at random, so as to eliminate all chance of special pleading, and by comparing the differences it will at once become obvious that whilst they might be, as doubtless they all are, different versions of the one form transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to another, and in consequence slightly altered, they could not under any circumstances be considered as copies. Let us take two MSS. belonging to the *Dowland* Branch of the Grand Lodge group, a thoroughly orthodox and well-known category:—

HUGHAN MS.

Introduction _____

The Might of the Father of Heaven with wisdom of the glorious son through the grace and goodness of the Holy Ghost that is three persons in one Godhead be with us *now* in our beginning & give us grace *so* to govern ourselves here in our life living that we may come to His _____ Bliss that never shall have ending.

Good Brethren & Fellows our purpose is to tell how *and in what manner* this worthy craft of Masonry was begun and also how it was *found* by worthy Kings & Princes _____

we will declare the *charge* that belongeth to every true Mason to keep for in good faith if *they* take good heed thereto it is worthy to be well kept as being a *worthy craft & curious science* _____

3^d is *Dialectike* & that teacheth a man to _____

_____ and to _____ discern truth from falsehood The 5th is Geometry that teacheth a man to *mett* and measure of *earth* & all other things The 6th is called Musick & teacheth a man *y^e craft of song* & the *tuning of the voice of tongue*. _____ as Organ Harp

DOWLAND.

Missing.

be
(omitted)

this
eternal

(omitted)

founded

charges

you

science & curious craft

a well worthy

Dialect
speak truly &

write truly

know and

mete

height

y^e perfect measure of song
the voices of tongue with Instruments

& trump & the 7th is called Astronomy which teacheth a man to know the course of the Sun the Moon & Stars. These be the seven liberal sciences which 7 be all founded by one science viz^t Geometry And this a man may prove that the Science of all work is founded by Geometry for Geometry teacheth a man Mette and Measure Ponderation & weight of all manner of things on the Earth for there is no man that worketh any craft but he worketh by some Mett or Measure & no man that buyeth or selleth but he buyeth or selleth by some Measure or some weight all of which is Geometry.

Now how this worthy science was _____ begun I shall tell you. Before Noah's flood there was a man called Lamech as it is written in the Bible in the 4th chapter of Genesis _____

_____ these 4 children founded the beginning of all the Craft & Soiences in the world for the eldest son Jabal founded the Craft of Geometry & he parted flocks of Sheep & Lands in the field & first rough house of Stone & Tree as is noted in the chapter above said (verse 21) And his brother Juball found out the Craft of Musick & Tongue Harp & Organ & the said brother Jubalkaine found _____ Smiths Craft of Gold Silver Copper Iron & Steel & the Daughter found the Craft of Weaving & these children knew _____ that God would take Vengeance for sin either by fire or water wherefore they wrote their Sciences they found in 2. pillars of stone that they might be found after Noah's flood & one _____ stone was _____ Marble for that would not burn with any fire & the other Stone _____ was Latern & _____ would not drown in the waters

Our intent is to tell you truly how & in what manner these stones were found _____ whereupon these Sciences were written _____

The great Hermaines that was Cubb his Son which Cubb was Cham his Son & Ham Noah's Son. This said Hermaines was afterwards called Hermes the father of the wise men. He found one of the 2 pillars & _____ the Sciences written thereon & he taught it to other men

and so on throughout the entire MS.

trumpets

the which Sciences take their foundation of Geometry for Geometry teacheth a man Mete Measure & Weight of all manner of things here on Earth; for there is no man that worketh by any Science or Craft but that he worketh by some Mete or Measure or weight & this is Geometry. And Merchants & all Craftsmen the other 6 Sciences use especially the Ploughmen tillers of the Earth for all manner of grains seeds vines Plumb trees, planters of fruit for neither Grammar Arithmetic nor Astronomy nor none of the other Sciences can find Men Mete Measure without Geometry wherefore methinks that the Science Geometry is most worthy from whence the other proceeds;

(omitted) first

(omitted)

(omitted)

wrought	Lambs	timber
		(omitted)
		Science
as (omitted)		
3 ^a	Tubal	out
		well
writt these		(omitted)
	the	pillar of
	called	
could not be burned		
stone whereof the other pillar was made		
was called Latern		it could
any		

out that

on

The Great Hermes that was the Son of Cush who was the Son of Sem who was the son of Noah same Hermen

(omitted)

found

Lest, however, it may seem that I am taking any exceptional text, the reader may very easily convince himself by taking the following table drawn up by Dr. Begemann and published by Bro. William Watson in his pamphlet on the Beaumont MSS., all these three MSS., the *Buchanan*, *Atcheson-Haven* and *Beaumont MSS.*, having been written within a few years of each other if not in the same year¹.—

BUCHANAN.

Good Brethren and Fellows, our purpose is to tell you *how and in what manner* this worthy Craft of Masonry was *begun* and afterwards *how it was upholden and maintained* by many worthy Kings and Princes and other worthy men, and also to them that be here we shall declare the Charges that belongeth to every free Mason to keep, for it is a science that is worthy to be kept for a worthy craft and virtuous science, for it is one of the seven liberal sciences.

BEAUMONT.

Good Brethren and Fellows, our purpose is to tell you *in what sort and manner* this worthy Craft of Masonry was *first founded* and afterwards *mentained and upholden* by many Kings, Princes and other worshipful men, and also to them that be here we shall declare the Charges which belongeth to every true Mason to keep, for it is a science that is worthy to be kept for a worthy craft and virtuous science, for it is one of the seven liberal sciences.

ATCHESON-HAVEN.

Good Brethren and Fellows, my purpose is to tell you *in what sort and manner* this worthy Craft of Masonry was *first founded*, and afterwards *how it was maintained and upholden* by worthy Kings and Princes and many other worshipful men, and also to them that are here we will declare then the Charges that belongs to every true Mason to keep for it is a worthy craft and a virtuous science, it being one of the seven liberal sciences.

In another group the *Newcastle* and the *York MSS.* vary considerably. Turning to the small *Lansdowne* family it will at once be noticed that two out of three MSS. omit the name of Euclid, whilst the third, the *Lansdowne*, mentions it, and, further, the *Antiquity* and *Probity MSS.* digress on the important matter of wages, for the *Probity* alone mentions the sum of elevenpence per week and elevenpence for drink, which cannot have been copied from either the *Lansdowne* or the *Antiquity*. The *Stanley* and *Clapham* vary in many particulars, whilst to return to the *Buchanan* and the *Beaumont*, not only do they record different amounts of pay, but also it may be observed that the *Beaumont* alludes to the Oath, which does not appear in the earlier document, the *Buchanan*.

These differences, and many of even greater importance, might be multiplied till they filled a volume; but it is needless to do so, since any really critical student will quickly come to the conclusion that Dr. Begemann, in making his selection, was far more guided by coincidences of expression, due either to locality or period, than to the all-important matters of history or purpose.

True, he has not altogether evaded the outstanding landmark of the wages paid in the time of St. Alban, but even here he has sometimes been drawn away by some other less important detail. In dealing with what may be called the 'Hermetic group,' the facts are so obvious, that he has not been able in this case to confuse the issue, though I frankly acknowledge that, reading his article in *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., many times, it leaves me with a most confused idea of what he is endeavouring to demonstrate.

One has only to attempt to classify the MSS. to realise that they naturally resolve themselves into historical groups, each the result of some social, political or religious movement.

Unfortunately, we cannot go back beyond the fourteenth century, a period when the Craft was already recognized, even in contemporary documents. If we could, no doubt the whole history of Masonry would be far easier to understand. We must, however, be satisfied to take up the study where documentary evidence begins, and so to avoid all mere speculation, though at this point I would raise a strong protest against those writers who have no historical perspective and who will accept no views as admissible unless they are supported by definite MSS. which eliminate all theory and constitute fact and fact only.

¹ Under Dr. Begemann's amended classification this group, with the *Tew* version, forms a new family antecedent to the 'Standard' form of the MSS.

In viewing the Charges generally we have the *Regius MS.*, which forms a prelude to all the Charges, then follow the *Cooke* group of MSS. and the *William Watson MS.*, which have the impress of their own age, a primitive simplicity in which the operative element is more closely associated with religion than is the case at any later period.

Then comes the great group comprising most of the Documents extant, and, lastly, a not inconsiderable or unimportant class extending from possibly the last half of the seventeenth century to the first half of the eighteenth.

Each of these groups has its own history to tell, and though the various copies show signs of mistakes by copyists and of different ways of expressing the same facts, they are practically uniform within their own group.

When we realize that our forbears in Masonry were for the most part rude men, unskilled in reading, though craftsmen of no mean order, it will at once become evident that in the vast majority of cases the recitation of the traditional history, as well as of the Charges, as in our own time, must have been from memory. I entirely agree with Bro. Vibert that the Traditional History, as given in all the Charges before 1717, is based on an oral tradition, possibly dating back to the tenth century, and reduced to writing probably in the reign of Richard II., of which the shorter form of the *Cooke MS.* may be the earliest extant record so far brought to light. Oral traditions are apt to become changed in the course of time, and one has only to remember the amusing mistakes which are made even now by Masters, to understand how easy it was for those attempting to reduce to writing the words spoken by a typical Mason (say of the sixteenth century), to change their form. This explains at once why the differences, omissions and varieties of text are found. Moreover, those of the same locality would be likely to translate the words of the history into their own colloquialisms, which have given ground for the very imaginative theories of our German critics.

Looked at from a broad standpoint, the *Regius MS.* is that which links Freemasons on to the Monastic past—a story deeply interesting, but too lengthy to be dealt with here. It is, perhaps, more of a religious work than a Masonic one; still, it has some of the common characteristics of the later Charges, such, for instance, as the Story of Euclid in Egypt, the Assembly of Masons, the Story of Athelstan, the Tower of Babylon, the Seven Sciences and some of the Charges to Craftsmen, including the compulsory 50 miles and other smaller matters.

Probably nearly a century later, there followed the *Cooke MS.*—a link with the previous century. Of this the *Supreme Council MS.* and the *Woodford MS.* are copies, whilst the *Heade, Crane No. 2* and the *William Watson MSS.* are near relations. These mark a more or less complete separation from domination by the Church, though they still retain such essentials as the Biblical quotations, the Trinitarian Invocation and the first Charge to be faithful to God and Holy Church, and to avoid heresy. They evidently attempt to co-ordinate the various Lodges scattered over the land, doubtless as the result of the demand by Richard II. for a statement from the Gilds as to how they came to be formed and what their ordinances were.

There can be little doubt that the reign of Henry VII. was one which augured well for the workers of this realm, and from the keen interest which that Monarch took in the internal affairs of his country, as well as from the facts that the period around 1500 not only gives us the *Cooke MS.*, but some also of the missing MSS., and that much of the atmosphere of the traditional History is in sympathy with the fifteenth century tradition, we may surmise that there was a great movement in Masonry about that time: probably the high-water mark in the history of Trade Gilds. The original tradition which had come through monastic sources would then be amplified and developed into a form which we have in the longer *Cooke MS.* and this was reproduced in the *Watson* and other MSS.

That the Reformation period had a great bearing on the history of Freemasonry will be evident to all who know the movements of those times. It meant that the one educated person associated with the Gild, the Priest or Chaplain, who no doubt acted as the Clerk, from that time forward ceased to be an essential

officer. It meant that the old religious practices began to be of less importance, and in their place grew up more materialistic and democratic methods of administration and probably some form of Ritual that was less Ecclesiastical. Many of their earlier possessions had ceased to belong to the Craft Gilds, and their speculative side had to depend on memories of the past. In consequence of the dangers involved in the possession of religious writings, as well as in consequence of the disappearance of the Chaplain, MSS. were rare, and they no doubt were zealously guarded by certain well trusted members of the community, to be brought out only when necessary. The written traditional History, modified by time, became rarer and would have to be learned by the most capable brethren for recitation in Lodge. Hence the lack of MSS. during this period.

Towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the country had settled down to more peaceful conditions. The fear of Roman influence was not so intense, and the need for severe repression of all that revived the hope of its return was gone. The Stuart, King James I., coming from the North, where the old Craft Gilds had been able to survive in their more ancient form, and where the religious side of their work had not ceased (as in this country) to play a large role, would be able to appreciate the value of such an organisation as Masonry in leading and moulding the ideas of the industrial classes, who were beginning to clamour for some recognition, or at least for some measure of justice. James I., like all the Stuart Kings, saw in this an opportunity, and granted a considerable number of Charters to Craft Gilds, an act which must have stimulated the revival of many old ideals and practices, more especially as Roman Catholic influences were slowly and secretly percolating back, not only into Scotland, but into the rest of the British Isles.

Whatever be the actual Masonic cause, it is clear that at least one-half of the known MSS. were written during the latter part of the Stuart period, and that, with the expansion of operative Gild life, the necessity for the reiteration of the traditional history, as well as the codification of the laws to be observed by the Craft, which we still call 'Charges,' would lead the architects, or those presiding over Lodges or Gilds, to make rapid transcripts of the few known copies. It would, most probably, owing to the difficulty of discovering their whereabouts, compel them to transcribe the history from memory, or from the dictation of those who in each generation were, during the period of persecution, the custodians of the unwritten traditions. In a recently-recovered document connected with the Horners' Company, "The Old Orders," to which I have alluded both in my *Old Book of the Horners' Company* and in my *History* of the same Company, we have the analogue of the ancient Charges, varying like our own, according to periods, added to, altered and elaborated, as necessity demanded. This book was kept for the benefit of apprentices and craftsmen, and no doubt hung in the office of the Clerk of the Gild for reference. That in MSS. written from dictation, similar sounds conveying different meanings would lead to differing forms of words is obvious, and this entirely coincides with what even the casual observer will find in the ancient Charges.

No one who reads these curious records with any care can fail to see that many of the differences are due to words with dissimilar meanings being inserted as approximately representing the same sounds. The various forms of Naymus Grecus, Charles Martell, Marshall, Mersell, or Merton are clear evidences of this fact. 'Glorious' Masons instead of 'Curious' Masons and hundreds of other examples of this sort might be adduced. At the same time it is equally evident that some of the MSS. were copies of others, and the peculiar variations can be traced to the ignorance of copyists, such, for instance, as 1 mile for 50 miles—11 pence a week for two shillings a week—Menon for Namon—Man finches for Noonfinches or Non findings, and a multitude of similar words.

So much for the second group of MSS. We now come to comparatively modern times. In spite of our late Bro. Gould's gibe that Bro. Speth, one of our greatest Masonic scholars, had "expressed his faith in that most unhistorical of statements that Freemasons were partisans of the Stuarts and the 'Third Degree'"

was the outcome of a Jacobite plot,"¹ I can see nothing to make anyone who is acquainted with the history of the period around 1700 deny that during the whole of the seventeenth century the efforts of Rome to re-entrench herself in this country account largely for the growth of Freemasonry at this time, not only as a trade, but also as a social movement. There are signs that the revival of the religious guilds in the form and under the name of Masonry or Freemasonry had already begun in the time of James I. With the Civil War the country was divided into two classes: those who wished to bring back the old Stuart regime, including the Romish Church influences, and those who were fighting for a large measure of freedom and individualism.

Masonic bodies were, if we may judge by the Charges, on the side of the King and Church, and, where accessible to foreign influences, would have strong Roman leanings. Certainly the prophecy of Bro. Bacon, speaking of Charles I. as a Martyr, indicates anything but the contrary view. This sort of spirit was good ground in which those who were interested in the Jacobite movement could sow their seed. Both in Scotland and England, whether justifiably or not we cannot say, but certainly in the opinion of the public, Freemasonry in those days stood as an ally of the Jacobite movement. Thus those MSS. which were the cherished possession of the older Lodges and formed the backbone of Ancient Masonry up to the end of the eighteenth century are nearly all of one type, viz., definitely in sympathy with dogmatic Theology.

Beginning with a Trinitarian Invocation, they recount:—

The Seven Sciences all summed up in Geometry.
 The Story of Noah, Jabal, Jubal, Tubal, Tubal Cain and Naamah.
 The Pillar discovered by Hermes after the Flood.
 Nimrod using Masons at Babylon.
 Euclid teaching Geometry to the Egyptians—his Charges.
 Solomon using Masons under Hiram's son to build the Temple.
 Naymus Graecus brings Masonry to France.
 Charles Martell, King of France, adopts Masonry.
 St. Alban adopts Masonry when brought to England for the first time.
 His payment to Masons and the establishment of an Assembly.
 Revival of Masonry under Athelstan and his son Edwin.
 Permission to hold an Assembly once a year.
 Edwin holds an Assembly at York.
 Edwin collects all Masonic MSS. and produces a history of the Craft
 to be recited whenever a Mason was made.
 Method of administering the Oath.
 Ancient Charges—always calling for Loyalty to Mother Church,
 avoidance of Heresy, and ending with
 An Admonition.

That there are innumerable minor differences is not to be wondered at if we understand that they emanated from different parts of the country and were influenced by the ever deceptive memories of individual brethren, and that only by comparing these versions with the original sources—few and comparatively unknown,—could the corrections be made. In spite of all this, the MSS. are extraordinarily similar. The main differences noticeable are due, as will be obvious, to local tradition, or the bad writing and insufficient scholarship on the part of the copyist or reciter, namely:—

In the actual words of the Invocation.
 The pay to Masons under St. Alban.
 The inclusion or exclusion of the Oath from the MS.
 The number of miles necessary to traverse to the Assembly.
 The form of admonition.
 Introduction and additions to the usual scheme.

¹ Gould; *A.Q.C.* i., 78.

Thus through all the ups and downs of Masonry, from very early days to the end of the dispute between the 'Antients' and 'Moderns,' the MSS. with their enshrined oral traditions, remained the great record and treasure of Masonry. Their widely extended use, and the practical agreement of the MSS. on all essentials, may account for the strength with which the 'Antients' maintained their unequal conflict and thus ultimately compelled the 'Moderns' to revert to orthodox practices.

On the restoration of Charles II. to the Throne the members of the Puritan party, consisting largely of the industrial classes, always of free and independent disposition, though for the most part loyal to Church and State, were compelled to seek every means of sheltering themselves from the growing usurpations by the Throne. In my opinion, they adopted Masonry in order to carry on not only their religious practices but their political and social movements with secrecy. The intimate history of the twenty years after the death of Cromwell is most suggestive. That the Parliamentarians were full of zeal for their Puritan cause, and lived in the belief that some day they would regain their position, is evident. It may be seen, even from the writings of Milton, that they did not hesitate to believe this, and encouraged one another in this belief—(see *Milton Tercentenary Lectures R.S.L.*)—though it was unsafe to assert it too openly. They found it necessary to use Allegories for the purpose, and from no source were the allegories more easily drawn than from the Old Testament, with which they were so conversant.

It seems to me that from 1660 till 1690 or later, Masonry for the most part upheld the Stuart dynasty, and to this section the one great memory was the Martyred King; the one theme which stirred them to energy was their hatred of the Government, their one desire to bring back the old regime. To them the story of Hiram as elaborated by the Jesuits of France would appeal. They were largely to be found in the Provincial towns, such as York, Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, etc. Many, too, who originally belonged to the Revolutionists had returned to the fold, yet could not divest themselves of the tendency to make the text of the Old Testament their guide in all things, and to them the traditional history would appeal.

That another class of Masons existed, and this of a different spirit, cannot be disputed. London was the centre of political, commercial, social, and literary life. No wonder, then, that amongst the Craft Gilds of the Metropolis there were to be found some who, surrounded as they were with a strong Puritan atmosphere, had absorbed the allegorical idea, and insinuated it into their Masonry.

Small wonder, too, that in the neighbourhood of London, the stronghold of those antagonistic to the small Stuart groups who saw in the story of Hiram, drawn from Josephus' *History*, 1655, etc., re-published again and again during the second half of the eighteenth century, there should arise a symbolism which would serve a purpose very different from that intended by those of the other school.

Whether a legend represented the Protector and the Puritan Commonwealth, or the slain Monarch of the Jacobites destroyed by the disloyal 'Three Estates,' but interred in the sanctuary of their hearts and cherished with an undying love, neither party could speak openly, but the semi-biblical character who represented all that they held dear, they could openly commemorate, and if 'brought to book' by those who like themselves were well versed in allegorical methods, there still remained the obvious allusion to the death of the founder of the Christian religion, for in those days the traditional history was entirely in accord with Christian symbolism and had not been emasculated. To the Anti-Romanist party, Cromwell could fitly be remembered as the personification of the Commonwealth destroyed whilst building the National Temple, and if attacked they could fall back on the same explanation as the Jacobites.

Thus, no doubt, sprang up the Hiramic legend, formulated by men who were learned in Scriptural allusions as well as in Masonic lore. Who was the real compiler of the tradition we shall never know; but that influential forces were involved is not difficult to deduce from the elaborate attempt to produce the

impression that the Hiram legend was of much earlier origin, shown by the *Inigo Jones MS.*, which, whilst professing to date from the year 1607, in reality cannot be placed earlier than about 1718. Moreover, there are obvious indications of classical scholarship in this and other MSS. of the same group, and to the writer of this paper, strong signs both of Roman and Puritan influences.

The Jacobite Movement gradually fell into ill favour, and by 1717 the movement as a serious political danger was dead. I suggest that four London Lodges which were Puritan,¹ or at least strongly Anti-Roman in character, then saw their opportunity and took it.

Before 1717 in London, the centre of all that counted for anything at that time, Masonry—if not suppressed, at least unpopular—was looked upon as irregular and disloyal, and for this reason, or because of the old age or ill-treatment of 'Grand Master' Sir Christopher Wren, the Lodges had ceased to hold meetings. I do not ignore the fact that it is freely denied that Sir Christopher Wren was a Freemason, and still more strongly asserted that he was not a 'Grand Master.' I do not myself feel justified in making any dogmatic statements on the subject; but from his own diary, from Aubrey's *Nat. History of Wiltshire*, and from *Freemasonry Dissected*, it is difficult to doubt his having been a Mason. From the statements of Laurence Dermott, Aubrey, and several Masonic Text Books of the eighteenth century, little doubt seems to have been felt in those early days as to his high position in the Craft. The chief argument appears to be that the title 'Grand Master' did not exist then. There does not seem any evidence for this statement, but, after all, this is only a question of words, for the office or its equivalent seems to have existed from the earliest times in the person of the President of the Annual or Triennial Assembly.

Referring to the second edition of the *Pocket Companion and History of Freemasonry* dated 1759, reprinted from Anderson's *Constitutions*, we read:—

In 1663 Henry Jermyn Earl of St. Albans, Grand Master, Sir John Denham, Deputy G.M. Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. John Webb Grand Wardens made the following regulations etc

St. Paul's Cathedral the footstone of which was levelled in due form by the King. Grand Master Rivers . . . in the year 1673 designed and conducted by the Deputy Grand Master Wren as Master of Work with his Wardens Edward Strong the elder and younger etc

Upon the death of Grand Master Arlington in the year 1685 the Lodge met and elected Sir Christopher Wren Grand Master who annually whilst carrying out St. Paul's met those Brethren who could attend him to keep up good old usages till the Revolution.

Surely this is strongly in accordance with Aubrey's words that there was to be a "great convention at St. Paul's Church of the Fraternity of the Accepted Masons: when Sir Christopher Wren is to be adopted a brother,"² and Laurence Dermott's clear and definite statements.³

The *History of Masonry* further tells us that King William, who had privately been made a Mason, approved of Sir Christopher Wren as Grand Master.

When Dr. Anderson and his helpers were called upon to re-model the Masonic world they found that four of the London Lodges which, according to Laurence Dermott, were doing all they could to get away from the ancient traditions of Masonry, were in the ascendant. This body had, by dint of showing its aversion to Jacobite principles, attracted to itself men of position and importance. Dr. Anderson naturally would be disposed to throw in his influence with this newer and anti-Jacobite section, and to adopt any Traditional History that would not alienate this body, especially as it coincided with his own training

¹ The term 'Puritan' is not quite satisfactory, because it does not connote the Political aspect. Canon Horsley suggests 'Hanoverian,' but this again fails to connote the religious aspect of the party. The term wanted is one which would express the ideas of some degree of loyalty to the Crown, and of considerable devotion to the Protestant religion.

² Possibly a mistake for 'Grand' Master!

³ *Ahiman Rezon*, 2nd Edition, 1764, pp. xxvii. and xxviii.

as a Presbyterian minister. He would prefer any teaching or practice which, owing to its greater scholarship and the fact that it associated Masonry more extensively with the British Crown, made itself attractive to a day both of classical scholarship and of subservience to Royalty.

Whoever it was that drew up those ancient Charges that incorporate the Hiramic Letters, whether it were some earlier author or Dr. Anderson himself, which is unlikely, or someone else who made use of a slightly earlier text, are interesting questions, but do not alter the fact that between 1723 and 1735 an entirely new series of MSS. made their appearance, which from the scholarship evinced would seem to have emanated from some branch of London Masonry.

Our late Bro. Speth, with that breadth of mind which he, unlike a large number of Masonic students, so obviously possessed, admits that "previous to 1717 there existed an ampler Ritual than some modern Masons were willing to concede," and he adds: "We may further assume that a large influx of gentlemen was in 1713 ready to swamp the old operative element."¹ Surely it was with the decay of Jacobinism and the influx of a certain 'Puritan' element, or at least a Protestant body, that the great changes in the form and ritual of Freemasonry took place. Clear it is that before 1723 there is no reference in the Ritual to Hiram as we know him. The Third Degree would seem to date from that year, or probably 1724, but it evidently roused such opposition amongst Masons that in September 1724 a notice appeared in a journal inviting all "old real Masons" to attend in order "to found a Lodge for regulating the Modern abuses which had crept into the Fraternity." The new Third Degree was not popular,—was communicated only in 'Masters Lodges,'—and for years not regularly taken, at least, so says Gould, and the evidence, so far as I can ascertain, is in his favour.² It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Begemann concurs that the Third Degree was introduced in 1724, and suggests that those ancient Charges which contain what we call the Hiramic Letters were "produced in order to maintain the antiquity of the legend,"³ and though this writer will not allow any Andersonian authorship, there are not a few details of those Charges, not omitting the characteristic introduction of dates so dear to that worthy's heart, which make the student wonder. How the legend and the Third Degree came to be adopted is a subject too long to consider here.

When Dr. Begemann, in 1888, wrote his article on the classification of the Ancient Charges only four of these later versions were known: The *Spencer*, which the publisher states to have been copied from a MS. written 500 years earlier, the *Dodd* and *Cole* (possibly reprints of the *Spencer*), and the doubtful *Inigo Jones MSS.*

Since then at least two other versions have been discovered, and probably several others are in existence. One of these is in the possession of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and is called the *Songhurst MS.* The second, found by Bro. Fisher amongst his father's papers, was handed to the writer, and was the originating cause of this paper. Such a MS. may fitly be called the *Fisher-Rosedale MS.*

Of these the *Songhurst* and the *Fisher-Rosedale* are not only identical, but are written by the same hand and bound in exactly the same binding. These precious little gems are on paper in red morocco binding, beautifully 'tooled' in gold, the design on both books being almost identical. The edges are plain gilt. The former is 6½ ins. by 4 ins., with 74 pages and 15 lines to a page. Sixteen pages of this book are blank. The latter is 6¾ ins. by 3¾ ins., and has 60 pages, of which 8 are blank. There are 18 lines to a page. The writing is that of an artistic scrivener of 1725-1735, clear and somewhat florid. Though I am not able to adduce any actual proof, it does not seem to me at all unlikely that the writer was the same person who devised the *Inigo Jones MS.*

¹ A.Q.C. i., 127.

² A.Q.C. i., 27.

³ Begemann; A.Q.C. i., 154.

From the entire similarity of the two bindings and their close approximation to other manuscript books of the period (notably the *Supreme Council MS.*¹ and the *Woodford MS.*²), I am strongly impressed with the suggestion of our Bro. Songhurst that the little books may have been the usual form of manuscript books purchasable at any good stationers in those days, and that consequently the writing was posterior to the books. That this is more than a guess will be evident to those who are acquainted with the habits of the cultured classes at that time, for the transcription of books had already become popular in polite society by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Writers on Masonic subjects have in the past not hesitated to express the opinion that the *Dodd* reprint was a forgery and that there was no original MS. as stated on the cover of that print. Such a view can no longer be held, for, whether or no the original of the *Dodd MS.* has come to light or not, both the *Songhurst* and *Fisher-Rosedale MSS.* are identical with the *Dodd* reprint and date back a few years prior to 1735, if the handwriting may be taken as evidence.

The discovery of these MSS. adds no small interest to the group of printed Charges, which have hitherto had no documentary support, though quite remarkable, and having, so it appears to the writer, a strong historical background.

Those who have gone carefully into the history of our Craft will not be either shocked or surprised when I say that, after the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1717, a new traditional history was produced and was publicly approved, for it appears in the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723, doubtless as a set off to the one which had been gaining ground in the country. It may be that those Lodges which did not approve of the new Grand Lodge, clung to their own form, and that 'the opposition' elected to adopt the new form of the Old History (original of Inigo Jones), which differed only from the Old Charges in being brought up to date so far as history was concerned. This new form excluded the French origin of Masonry and traced it back to British sources and added the Hiram Letters, which, after all, have but little bearing on the new Third Degree. Possibly both the Revised History and the Third Degree may have incorporated ideas and symbols popular some twenty or thirty years prior to 1725, and what has been previously said points to such a conclusion; but what will be apparent to every critic will be the distinct association existing between the revival of Masonry in 1717 and the new version of the Traditional History, which, as pointed out, appears to be a revised version of a form dating back to the period between 1655 and 1670.

Besides the version of 1726, which we know as the *Spencer* version, there is also the *Inigo Jones*, which I hold to be of about the same date, or even later. We have the *Cole* and *Dodd* prints, not less valuable in a day when printing had largely replaced the scribe, and now at last the *Songhurst* and *Fisher-Rosedale MSS.* appear, both of them authentic MS. versions approximately 200 years old.

The writer of the original of all these versions doubtless had in mind the necessity of getting rid of anachronisms in the earlier works, such, for instance, as St. Alban being posterior to Charles Martell, who lived more than four centuries later, or Naymus Grecus having been at the building of King Solomon's Temple, etc. (Just so in the 1723 edition of the *Constitutions* the officials of the new Grand

¹ In the possession of the Supreme Council 33°, London. A very perfect copy of the *Cooke MS.* Inside the cover is a note in pencil as follows:—"This MS. was advertized in v° Catalogue as a Treatise on Geometry. It is a Treatise on Freemasonry." Then follows a pencilled quotation from Bale. On p. 1, in ink, is "T. Bailey, 1825," and in pencil "Lord Coleraine MS. A Lord Coleraine mentioned in y° Times of October 1st 1825 as living in 1745."

² In possession of Quatuor Coronati Lodge. Has book-plate of William Cowper, Clerk of the Parliaments, and at one time Secretary to Grand Lodge. An inscription in his handwriting reads: "This is a very Ancient Record of Masonry wch was copied for me by W^m Reid Secretary to the Grand Lodge 1728. L^d. Coleraine, G^d. Master. Al. Chocke, Depy. N. Blackerby, J. Highmore, Gd. Wardens." In size it is slightly larger, but the Binding and Colour are very similar to the *Fisher-Rosedale* and *Songhurst MSS.*, though the paper has a different water-mark. The text varies slightly from the *Supreme Council MS.*, owing to omissions and errors, but shews remarkable similarity to the three MSS. mentioned above, namely, the *Supreme Council*, *Fisher-Rosedale*, and *Songhurst MSS.*

Lodge further eliminated many other doubtful statements.) Further, it aimed at the introduction of antiquarian and classical learning into the traditions of Masonry, now associated (at least to some extent) with more elevated social circles. I do not assert it, yet it may be that the writer demonstrates the worldly wisdom of appealing to the sentiments of the more educated and cultured Masons by adopting a tradition which had a secret meaning only to those who were members of his own party.

Of the six versions which mark the introduction of a new era in Freemasonry, it is difficult to say which was the earliest. Though the *Inigo Jones MS.* seems to me to be the latest of the three versions, certain elements show it to have been influenced by an earlier tradition than the remaining five versions. I am, therefore, disposed to place it in a category by itself as marking the transition period, just as the *Cooke* series marks the transition from the Monastic to the Operative series.

The reference to Euclid instead of Hermes, as appears in the other MSS. of this group, would make me suspect that it had not had the supervision of those master minds who fashioned the other copies, and, of course, it is possible that, in consequence of it not being altogether in accord with the ideas of Dr. Anderson and others, the writer of this fine MS. inserted the fictitious date inscribed upon it in order to add to its prestige.

This MS. seems to be quite the latest form of the Traditional History, and I am going to venture a suggestion which seems to me worthy of some consideration.

It may be that the original from which the *Inigo Jones MS.* was copied dates back to the year 1657, and that the date 1607 is merely the substitution of the 5, either by deliberate fraud or because the figure was not easily discernible.

It is clear, from several errors which occur in it and more especially from the use of the term "Italidom," an obvious mistake for "Hallidom," that the MS. was a copy.

Then, again, it is the only MS. which in the second Charge alludes not to the 'King' nor to the 'King of England' or the 'Prince,' but enjoins obedience to the 'Government.' This fact points to the Commonwealth period, and consequently the original cannot have been written after the year 1670, nor, on the other hand, can it be earlier than 1655, since it contains the extract from Josephus with the error which mentions the Macedonians rather than the Sidonians, and as the first edition in which this error occurs is the 1655 edition, we may safely judge that the original MS. dates back to the period 1655-1670. If, as is generally believed, the design accompanying the extant MS. is not an absolute invention, it may be a bad reproduction of a design drawn to commemorate Inigo Jones, the great architect, who had died in 1652. The days of the Commonwealth, the days in which Milton was Latin Secretary, were days of classical erudition, and this would readily account for that correction of ancient history which for the first time comes into prominence in the Ancient Charges of the *Dodd* group, and, if I am not wrong, it was about that period that the word 'Constitutions' appears for the first time with its present meaning.

Supposing for the moment that this view is justified, it is not difficult to conceive that on the revival of Masonry after 1717 this MS. which had come to light would be re-edited in accordance with a truer chronology and the old form of the Charges replaced by a later and more literary form.

I suggest that the re-edited version of the original of the *Inigo Jones MS.* appears in the two newly-discovered versions, and that the *Spencer* and *Dodd* prints were reproductions of these, or of other MSS. of the same sort.

I will venture another suggestion, which may be more open to criticism. The *Cole* engraved version so closely resembles the *Fisher-Rosedale MS.* that I cannot but think that this may have been the origin of those charming little works, which were, so far as one can judge, slightly varied reproductions of the *Fisher-Rosedale* and *Songhurst MSS.* Further, it would surprise most people if they compare the written and even some of the drawn letters of the *Inigo Jones MS.* with the writing and title-pages of the two MS. books under consideration to find such curious resemblances. Will it be too much to ask the members of the

S^t. Alban's time the King of
 England that was a Pagan
 did wall the Town about that
 was called Verulum and
 S^t. Alban was a worthy
 Knight and Steward of the
 Kings Household and had the
 Government of the Realm and
 also of making the Town Walls
 and loved MASONS well
 and cherished them much and
 he made their pay right good
 standing as the Realm did for
 he gave them two Shillings a
 week and three pence to their
 Chear for before that time
 through all the Land a Mas:
 :ON had but a penny a day
 and

50

Also that every Masons
shall truly serve the Lord for
his pay and every Master true-
ly to make an end of his work
be it Task or Journey if he have
his demand and all that he ought
to have.

These Charges that we
have now rehearsed unto
you and all other that
belong to Masons ye
shall keep so help you
God and your Halidom

Amen

50

tell you truly how and in what
manner these Stones were found
whereon these Sciences were
written

The Great Hermes
surnamed Trismagistus
or three times Great being both
Priest and Philosopher in
Egypt he found one of them
and lived in the Year of the
World 2076 in the Reign of
NINUS and some think him
to be Grand Son to Cush
which was Grand Son to
Noah he was the first

that

And Hiram King
 of Tyre sent his Servants unto
 Solomon for he was ever
 a Lover of King David, and
 he sent Solomon Timber
 and Workmen to help forward
 the building of the Temple
 and he sent one that was
 named Hiram Abis
 a Widows Son of the Tribe
 of Naphtali he was a
 Master of Geometry
 and was Master of all his
 Masons, Carvers, Ingravers

and

Q.C. Lodge to ruminat on the possibility of all these three versions, as well as the *Cole* reproductions, being the work of one and the same person at different periods? With regard to the *Dodd* version, we know its date, viz., 1739, while the *Cole* editions were a little earlier, viz., 1728 and 1731. Whether the *Fisher-Rosedale MS.* or the *Songhurst MS.* (neither later than 1725) be the earlier of the two is difficult to say, but from the fact that they are almost identical in every way, except that the *Songhurst* has in three or four places obvious omissions of a few words from the text, one would gather that the *Songhurst* was the later of the two. Certain it is that whoever wrote these MSS. was not only a scribe of considerable ability, but also one who shows great artistic skill.

In conclusion, we may now revise our estimate of the whole realm of 'Ancient Charges' and by thus classifying them under their relative Historical periods see in them that silver thread of Masonic life, which has at all times adapted itself to changing times and changing conditions, running through our National and Political existence. Their value will be enhanced by the fact that they are not only a true record of English History, but also help to elucidate for us much of the hitherto unknown story of Masonic evolution.

APPENDIX A.

Suggested Classification of 'Old Charges' according to their Periods.—

Church Period—Before 1400

Regius

Church and Craft Period—1400-1450

Cooke
Supreme Council
Woodford
Henry Heade
Crane No. 2
William Watson
Plot

Craft Period (Post Reformation)—1550-1717

All MSS. not specifically mentioned
Pre-Revolution—5
Post-Revolution—67

Transition Period—1650-1723

Inigo Jones original

Grand Lodge Period—1717 onward

Fisher-Rosedale
Songhurst
Spencer
Inigo Jones
Cole 1728
Dodd 1739

This does not include missing versions.

APPENDIX B.

Comparison between the 'Standard' form of

Old form of History.

New form of History.

Heading
 Trinitarian Invocation
 Account of the Seven Sciences
 The four children of Naamah
 The two pillars
 Discovered by Hermes
 Nimrod & the "Charge"
 Euclid in Egypt

His "Charges"

Solomon builds first temple
 "Curious Craftsmen" & Chas: Martell

St. Alban—his wages—his "Charges"
 Wars in Britain—Masonry depressed

Athelstan & Edwin—his brother
 Assembly held at York
 Book made from MS.
 Method of Administering the Oath
 Charges 1, 2, 3
 Admonition
 Peroration

Heading
 Trinitarian Invocation
 Account of Seven Sciences
 The four children of Naamah
 Two pillars
 Discovered by Hermes
 Nimrod & his "Charges"

Hermes in Egypt
 His "Charges"
 David cherished Masons
 Solomon & letter to Hiram
 Hyram's letter to Solomon
 Solomon builds first temple
 "Curious Craftsmen" & Chas: Martell
 2nd Temple built
 Temple of Onias
 Herod builds Tower of Straton, etc:
 3rd Temple
 Auriagus' league with Claudius &
 masons build Glastonbury
 Expansions of Masonry, especially
 under Trajan
 St. Alban—his wages—his "Charges"
 Wars in Britain—Masonry depressed
 Ethelbert & Gregory—Augustine
 Churches of Canterbury—Rochester—
 London, Westminster & Cambridge
 Athelstan & Edwin his son
 Assembly at York
 Book made from MS.

Charges 1 & 2
 Admonition
 Peroration

A
 VARIORUM
 EDITION
 OF THE
 SIX LATEST VERSIONS OF THE
 'OLD CHARGES'

KNOWN AS
 THE DODD FAMILY.

1	Fisher-Rosedale MS.	<i>circa.</i> 1725	FR.
2	Songhurst MS.	<i>circa.</i> 1725	S.
3	Inigo-Jones MS.	<i>circa.</i> 1726	J.
	Original MS. probably	<i>circa.</i> 1657	
4	Spencer Print	pub. 1726	Sp.
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Title Pages.

1
THE BEGINNING
and
FIRST FOUNDATION
of the most worthy
CRAFT OF MASONRY
with
The Charges thereunto belonging.²

THE FIRST
FOUNDATION
of the
Craft of Masonry.^{2a}

The Might of the Father of Heaven, and the Wisdom of the glorious Son, through the Grace and Goodness of the Holy Ghost, *they being*³ three Persons *in*⁴ one God, be with us *at our Beginning*,⁵ and give us Grace so to govern us here in our Living, that we may come to his *Bliss*⁶ that never shall have an *End*.⁷ Amen.

Good Brethren and Fellows, our Purpose is to tell you, how, and in what Manner this worthy Craft of Masonry was begun, and afterwards how it was kept *up*⁸ and encouraged by worthy Kings and Princes, and by many other *worshipful*⁹ Men.

And also to those that be here, we will charge by the Charges that *belong*^{9a} to every Free-Mason to keep; for in good Faith, *Free-Masonry is worthy to be kept well*, it¹⁰ is a worthy Craft, and a *curious*¹¹ Science.¹²

*For there be seven Liberal Sciences, of which Seven it is one of them; and*¹³ the Names of the Seven Sciences *be*¹⁴ these:

*The first is*¹⁵ GRAMMAR,¹⁶ and that teacheth a Man to speak and write *truly*.¹⁷

*The second is*¹⁸ RHETORICK, and that teacheth a Man to speak *fair*¹⁹ in soft terms.

*The third is*²⁰ LOGICK, and that teacheth a Man *for*²¹ to discern or *know*²² Truth from Falshood.

*The fourth is*²³ ARITHMETICK, which *teacheth*²⁴ a Man *for*²⁵ to reckon or *count*^{26a} all Manner of Numbers.²⁷

1 J.	FR., S., Sp.	C.
The Ancient Constitution Of the Free And Accepted MASONS 1607	A BOOK OF THE ANCIENT CONSTITUTIONS of the FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS	A BOOK OF THE ANTIEN CONSTITUTIONS of the FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS.
2 J. omits.	2a Dodd only. D is the text used here for comparison.	
3 J. omits.	4 J., S. and.	5 J. omits.
7 J. Ending.	8 J. omits.	9 FR., S., Sp. Worshipfull. J. Worthy.
10 J. if they take Good heed to it, it is worthy to be well kept for Masonry.	9a J. belongeth.	13 J. omits.
11 S. Courious.	12 J. adds: and one of the Liberal Sciences.	17 FR., S., Sp. truly.
14 J. are.	15 J. omits.	16 FR., S., Sp., C. Grammer.
18 J. omits.	19 J. adds: and.	20 J. omits.
21 J. omits.	22 J. omits.	23 J. omits.
25 J., Sp. omit.	26 J. and.	24 S. omits.
	26a C. account.	27 C. adds: &c.

The fifth is²⁸ GEOMETRY, and that teacheth a Man the *Mett and*²⁹ Measure of the Earth, and of all other Things, *the*³⁰ which Science is called MASONRY.

The sixth Science is called³¹ MUSICK, and that teacheth a Man the Craft of Song, Voice, Tongue, and³² which gives a Man Skill of Singing, teaching him the Art of Composition, and playing upon diverse Instruments, as the Organ and Harp, *methodically*.^{32a}

And the seventh Science is called³³ ASTRONOMY, and that³⁴ teacheth a Man for³⁵ to know the Course of the Sun, of the³⁶ Moon, and of the³⁷ Stars.^{38 33}

Note, *I pray you*,³⁹ that these Seven are contained under GEOMETRY; for it^{39a} teacheth a Man⁴⁰ *Mett and Measure*,⁴¹ Ponderation and Weight, for⁴² every Thing in, and upon the whole Earth, for you to know.⁴³ That every Craftsman works by Measure,⁴⁴ *Husbandmen*,⁴⁵ Navigators,⁴⁶ Planters,⁴⁷ and all of them use Geometry; for neither Grammar,⁴⁸ Logick, nor any other of the said Sciences, can subsist without Geometry: Ergo, most worthy and honourable.⁴⁹

You ask me how this Science was invented? My Answer is this: That⁵⁰ before the *General Deluge*⁵¹ which is commonly called Noah's Flood, there was a Man called Lamech, as you may read⁵² in the 4th Chapter of Genesis, who had two Wives, the one was^{52a} called Adah,⁵³ and⁵⁴ the other Zillah.⁵⁵ By Adah⁵³ he begot⁵⁶ two Sons, Jabal and Jubal. By Zillah⁵⁵ he begot⁵⁶ one Son, called Tubal,⁵⁷ and a Daughter called Naamah. These four Children found⁵⁸ the *Beginning*⁵⁹ of all the⁶⁰ Crafts in the World. Jabal found out Geometry, and he divided Flocks and⁶¹ Sheeps⁶²: He first built a House of Stone and Timber.

His Brother Jubal found⁶³ the Art of Musick, he was the Father of all such as handle the Harp and Organ.

Tubal⁶⁴ Cain was the *Instructor*⁶⁵ of every Artificer in Brass and Iron. And the Daughter found out^{65a} the *Craft*⁶⁶ of Weaving.

These Children knew *very*⁶⁷ well, that God would take *Vengeance*^{67a} for Sin, either by Fire or Water, wherefore they wrote their Sciences that they had found⁶⁸ in two Pillars, that they might be found after Noah's Flood.

One of the Pillars was Marble, for that⁶⁹ will not burn with any Fire, and the other⁷⁰ Stone, was called⁷¹ Laternes, for that⁷² will not drown with⁷³ any Water.

Our Intent next is to tell you *truly*,⁷⁴ how, and in what Manner, these Stones were found whereon these Sciences were *written*.⁷⁵

The great Hermes, surnamed⁷⁶ *Trismagistus*⁷⁷ (or three times Great) being both *King*,⁷⁸ Priest and Philosopher, in *Egypt*⁷⁹ he found one of them, and lived

²⁸ J. omits. C. The fifth is Geometry which teacheth the Mensuration of lines Superfices Solids &c. which Science is the Basis of Masonry.

²⁹ J. Mete. Sp. Mett or. ³⁰ J. omits.

³¹ J. omits. C. The sixth science is called Musick which teacheth y^e Proportions Harmony & Discords of Sounds &c. which qualifies a man in the Art.

³² J. omits. ^{32a} C. &c.

³³ J. omits. C. Lastly the seventh Science is called Astronomy which teacheth the Motions of the Luminaries Planets Fix'd Stars &c. & to measure their magnitudes and determine their distances.

³⁴ J. which. ³⁵ J. omits. ^{36 37} J. omits of the. ³⁸ J. starrs.

³⁹ C. omits. ^{39a} C. which. ⁴⁰ J., C., Sp. omit.

⁴¹ C. The Mensuration. ⁴² C. of. ⁴³ C. For T[']is well known.

⁴⁴ J. adds: He that buys or sells is by weight or Measure. C. As also.

⁴⁵ C. the Husbandman. ^{46 47} C. omits and adds: &c. after 'Planters.'

⁴⁸ FR., S. Grammer. ⁴⁹ C. after 'Planters &c.' has: For without Geometry those Arts can no more subsist than Logic can without Grammer.

⁵⁰ C. The first Rise of this Science was. ⁵¹ J., Sp. Generall. FR., S., C. Deludge.

⁵² C. mentioned. ^{52a} J. omits. ⁵³ J. Ada. ⁵⁴ J. omits.

⁵⁵ J. Zilla. ⁵⁶ J. begat. Sp. had. ⁵⁷ S., C. Tubal.

⁵⁸ S., C. add: out. ⁵⁹ J. begining.

⁶⁰ J. omits. ⁶¹ J., FR., S., C., Sp. Of. ⁶² J., Sp., C. sheep.

⁶³ S. adds: out. ⁶⁴ J., Sp., S., C. Tubal. ⁶⁵ J., FR., S., Sp., C. Instructor.

^{65a} Sp. omits. ⁶⁶ J. Art. ⁶⁷ J., FR., S., Sp. C. omit. ^{67a} S. Vengeance.

⁶⁸ FR., S., C. add: out. ⁶⁹ C. which. ⁷⁰ C. adds: Pillar or.

⁷¹ J. omits. ⁷² C. which. ⁷³ S., Sp. in.

⁷⁴ J., FR., S., Sp., C. truly. ⁷⁵ FR., S., written. ⁷⁶ J., FR., S., C. surnamed.

⁷⁷ C. Tresmagistus. ⁷⁸ S., C. omit. ⁷⁹ J. in brackets. C. omits.

in the Year of the World 2076, in the Reign of Ninus; and some think him to be Grandson to Cush, which was Grandson to Noah. He was the first that began to leave⁸⁰ Astrology, to admire the other *Works*⁸¹ of Nature. He prov'd there was but one God, Creator of all Things. He divided the Day into twelve Hours. He is also thought to be the first who divided the Zodiack, into twelve *Signs*.⁸² He was *Counsellor*⁸³ to Osyris King of Egypt, and is said to have invented ordinary Writing, and *Hieroglyphicks*,⁸⁴ the first Laws of the Egyptians, and *diverse*⁸⁵ other⁸⁶ Sciences, and taught them unto other Men.⁸⁷

And at the Building of *Babylon*,⁸⁸ Anno⁸⁹ 1810,⁹⁰ Masonry was *much made of*, and the King of *Babylon*,⁸⁸ the mighty *Nimrod*,⁹¹ was a Mason himself, as *is*⁹² reported by *antient*⁹³ Histories; and when the City of *Nineveh*,⁹⁴ and other Cities of the East, were to be built, *Nimrod* the King of *Babylon*,⁸⁸ sent thither Masons at the Request of the King of *Nineveh*,⁹⁴ his Cousin; and when he *had*^{94a} sent them forth, he gave them a Charge in this Manner.

That they should be true to one another, and love *truly*⁹⁵ together, and that they should serve the Lord *truly*⁹⁵ for their Pay, so that their Master might have Honour, and all that belong unto him; and *several*⁹⁶ other Charges he gave them; and this was the first time that ever any Mason had any Charge of his Craft.

Moreover, when Abraham and Sarah his Wife went into Egypt and there taught the seven Sciences to the Egyptians he had a worthy *Scholar*^{96a} whose Name was *Hermes*,⁹⁷ (*Anno Mundi 2084*⁹⁸) and he learned right well, and became a great Master of the seven Sciences. And in his Days it *befel*,⁹⁹ that the Lords and¹⁰⁰ Estates of the Realm, had so many Sons, and they had no competent Livelyhood to find their Children.

Wherefore they took *Council*¹⁰¹ together with the King of the Land, how they might find their Children honestly, as Gentlemen, but could find no Manner of good Way, and then did they *proclaim*¹⁰² through all the Land, that if there were any Man that could inform them, that he should¹⁰³ be *well*^{103a} rewarded for his *Travel*,¹⁰⁴ and¹⁰⁵ that he should hold *him*¹⁰⁶ well pleased.

After this *Cry*^{106a} was made, then came *this*¹⁰⁷ worthy Clerk *Hermes*¹⁰⁸ and said to the King, and to¹⁰⁹ the Lords.

If *ye*¹¹⁰ will give me your Children to govern, I will teach them one of the seven Sciences, whereby they may live honestly as Gentlemen should, under Condition that *ye*¹¹¹ will grant them, and that I may have Power to rule them, after the Manner that Science ought to be ruled.

And *then*¹¹² the King and the *Council*¹¹³ *granted*¹¹⁴ anon,¹¹⁵ and *sealed*¹¹⁶ his Commission. And then this worthy Clerk *Hermes*¹¹⁷ took to him these Lords Sons, and taught them the Science of Geometry in *Practice*,¹¹⁸ for to work in Stone, all Manner of worthy Work, that belongeth to Building of Churches, Temples, Towers, Castles, and all other Manner of Buildings, and he gave them a Charge in this Manner.

First, That they should be true to the King, and to the Lord that they serve, and to the Fellowship *whereto*¹¹⁹ they are admitted, and that they should

⁸⁰ FR., S., Sp., C. add: off.

⁸² J., FR., S., C. Signes.

⁸⁴ J. Hieroglyphicks.

⁸⁶ J. omits.

in margin.

⁸⁸ J., FR., S., C. Babilon.

⁹⁰ J., Sp. omit date (see ⁸⁷).

⁹¹ C. in very great Esteem Insomuch that the Mighty Nimrod King of Babilon.

⁹² J. its.

C. Ninevie.

^{95a} Sp. unto.

⁹⁸ J. inserts in margin.

⁹⁹ J., FR., S., C. befell.

¹⁰⁰ I. adds: the.

¹⁰³ FR., S., C. add: come unto them and.

¹⁰⁴ J., FR. Travell.

¹⁰⁷ J. the.

¹¹⁰ J. Yea.

¹¹² J. that.

¹¹⁶ J. Seale.

⁸¹ J., FR., S., Sp., C. Wonders.

⁸³ J. omits. S., C. Councillor.

FR., S., C. Hyroglyphicks.

⁸⁵ J., C. Divers.

⁸⁷ Sp. adds: Anno Mundi 1810 here instead of later. J. inserts

⁸⁹ FR. adds: Mun: S., C. add: Mundi.

⁹⁴ J. Nineve. FR., S. Ninivie.

^{94a} S., C. omit. ⁹⁵ J., FR., S., Sp., C. truly.

⁹⁶ J. severall. ^{96a} J. Scholler. ⁹⁷ J. Euclide.

S. omits. C. inserts date after Egyptians.

¹⁰¹ J. Councill. Sp. Councill. ¹⁰² J. Proclaime.

^{103a} S. so. C. adds: that he should.

¹⁰⁶ S., C. himself. ^{106a} S. Cray.

¹⁰⁹ J. omits.

¹¹¹ J. Yea. S., C. You.

¹¹³ J. Councill. Sp. Councill. ¹¹⁴ J. Grant.

¹¹⁵ C. omits.

¹¹⁷ J. Euclide. ¹¹⁸ J., FR., S., Sp. Practick. ¹¹⁹ J. Whereof.

love and be true to one another. And that they should call each other his Fellow, or else Brother, and not his Servant, or Knave, nor no other foul Name. And that they should *truly*¹²⁰ deserve their Pay of¹²¹ the Lord, or the Master of the Work that they serve.

That they should ordain the wisest of them to be¹²² Master of the Work, and neither for Love nor *Lineage*,¹²³ Riches nor Favour, to *set*¹²⁴ another that hath but little Cunning to be Master of the Lord's Work, whereby the Lord should be evil served, and they ashamed. And also that they should call the *Governor*¹²⁵ of the Work Master, in the Time that they work with him.

And many other Charges he gave them, that are too long to tell, and to all these Charges he made them swear a great Oath, that Men used at that Time.

And he ordained for them a reasonable Pay whereby they *might*¹²⁶ live honestly. And also that they should come and assemble together every Year once, to consult how they might work best to serve the Lord for his Profit, and to their own Credit, and to correct within themselves, him that hath trespassed *again*¹²⁷ the Craft.

And thus was the Craft grounded there, and that worthy Clerk *Hermes*¹²⁸ gave it the Name of Geometry, and now its called through all the Land Masonry.

*Anno Mundi 2474, 2 Samuel 5, 6.*¹²⁹

Sithence long Time after when the Children of Israel were come into the Land of the Jebusites, which is now called Jerusalem, King David began the Temple that is called *Templum Domini*,¹³⁰ with us, the Temple of Jerusalem, or,¹³¹ the Temple of the Lord.

The same King David loved Masons, and cherished them, and gave them good Pay; and he gave them the Charges in manner as they were given in Egypt by *Hermes*,¹³² and other Charges more as you shall hear afterwards.¹³³

After the Decease of King David, 1 Kings 7. 13.¹³⁴

Solomon sent to Hiram, King of Tyre, for one who was a cunning Workman (called Hiram Abif) the Son of a Woman of the Line of *Naphtali*,¹³⁵ and of Urias the Israelite, *etc.*¹³⁶

Solomon to Hiram the King.

Know thou, that my Father having a Will to build a Temple to God, hath been withdrawn from the Performance thereof by the continual *Wars*^{136a} and Troubles he hath had, for he never took Rest before he either defeated his Enemies, or made them Tributaries unto him. For mine own Part, I thank God for the Peace¹³⁷ I possess, and for that by the means thereof, I have Opportunity (according to mine own Desire) to build a Temple unto God. For he it is that foretold my Father, that his House should be builded during my *Reign*.¹³⁸ For which Cause I pray you send¹³⁹ someone of your *skilfullest*¹⁴⁰ Men with my Servants to the Wood *Lebanon*,¹⁴¹ to hew down Trees in that Place, for the *Macedonians*¹⁴² are more *skilful*¹⁴³ in hewing and preparing Timber, than our People are, and I will pay the Cleavers of Wood according to your Direction.

Hiram to¹⁴⁴ King Solomon.

Thou hast Cause to thank God, in that he *has*¹⁴⁵ delivered thy Father's Kingdom into thy Hands. To thee, I say, who art a Man, wise, and full of Virtue. For which Cause since no News can come unto me more gracious, nor Office of Love more esteemed than this, I will accomplish all that thou requestest; for after I have caused a great Quantity of *Cedar*¹⁴⁶ and Cyprus Wood to be cut

120 J., FR., S. truly.

123 J. Lynage.

126 J. may.

128 J. Euclide. S. Euclide.

130 J. brackets these words.

133 J. ornamental tail-piece.

135 FR., S. Naphtili.

137 J., FR., S., Sp., C. add: which.

140 FR. skillfullest. S., C. skillfulest.

142 FR., S., C. Macidonians.

144 J. unto.

121 FR., S. off.

124 J., Sp. sett.

127 J., FR., S., Sp., C. against.

C. Euclid.

Sp. Anno Mundi 2474 2 Samuel 4th 6th.

131 J. alias.

134 J., FR., S., Sp., C. 7 chap. 13 verse.

136 FR., S., C. omit.

138 J. Reigne.

143 J. skilfull.

146 J. Cedar.

122 J. adds: the.

125 J., FR., S., Sp. Governour.

129 J. inserts in margin.

132 S., C. omit. J. by Euclide.

136a J. Warrs.

139 J., Sp. add: me.

141 J., FR., S., Sp., C. Libanus.

FR., S., Sp., skillful.

S., C. Cedar.

down, I will send it to ¹⁴⁷ thee ¹⁴⁸ by Sea, by my Servants, whom I will command (and furnish with convenient *Vessels* ¹⁵⁰ of Burthen ¹⁴⁹) to the End they may deliver the same in what Place of thy *Kingdom* ¹⁵¹ it shall best please thee, ¹⁵² that afterwards thy Subjects may transport them to Jerusalem. You shall provide to furnish us with *Corn*, ¹⁵³ whereof we stand in Need because we *inhabit* ¹⁵⁴ an Island.

Solomon, King David's Son, to finish the Temple that his Father had begun, sent for Masons, into *diverse* ¹⁵⁵ Countries, and gathered them together; so that he had Fourscore thousand Workmen, that were Workers of Stone, and were all named Masons; and he *chose* ¹⁵⁶ three Thousand of them to be Masters and *Governors* ¹⁵⁷ of his Work.

And Hiram King of Tyre, sent his Servants unto Solomon, for he was ever a Lover of King David; and he sent Solomon Timber and Workmen to help forward the Building of the Temple. And he sent one that was named Hiram Abif (*I Kings* 7, 14. ¹⁵⁸) a Widow's Son of the *Tribe* ¹⁵⁹ of *Naphtali*. ¹⁶⁰ He was a Master, of ¹⁶¹ all his Masons, Carvers, *Ingravers*, ^{161a} and Workmen, and Casters of Brass, and all other *Metals*, ¹⁶² that were used about the Temple.

King Solomon confirmed both the Charges and Manners that his Father had given to Masons, thus was the worthy *Craft* ¹⁶³ of Masonry confirmed in Jerusalem, and many other kingdoms, and he finished the Temple Anno Mundi 3000. ¹⁶⁴

Curious Craftsmen walked about full wide, in *diverse* ¹⁶⁵ Countries, some to learn more Craft and Cunning, others to teach them that had but little Cunning.

Anno Mundi 3431, ¹⁶⁶ at the Destruction of the first Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, ¹⁶⁷ after it had stood four hundred and thirty years.

The second Temple began in the Reign of *Cyrus*, ¹⁶⁸ seventy Years after the Destruction; it being hindered, it was forty six Years in Building, and was finished in the *Reign of Darius* ¹⁶⁹ Anno Mundi 3522.

In the Reign of *Ptolomy* ¹⁷⁰ and Cleopatra, Anno Mundi 3813, *Onius* ¹⁷¹ built a Jewish Temple in Egypt, in the ^{171a} Place called *Bubastis*, and called ¹⁷² it ¹⁷³ after his own Name.

The Tower of Straton, *alias Caesaria*, ¹⁷⁴ was ¹⁷⁵ built by Herod in *Palestine*, ¹⁷⁶ Anno Mundi 3942, ¹⁷⁷ and many other curious Works of Marble, as the Temple of *Caesar* ¹⁷⁸ Agrippa, to his Memory, in the *Country* ^{178a} called Zenodoras, near to a Place called Panion.

Anno Mundi ^{178b} 3946, he also pulled down the second Temple, that was finished in the *Reign of Darius*, ¹⁷⁹ and appointed one thousand Carriages to draw Stone to the Place, and *chose* ¹⁸⁰ out ten thousand cunning and expert Workmen to hew and mould Stone, and one thousand he *chose* ¹⁸⁰ out and *cloathed*, ¹⁸¹ and made them Masters and Rulers of the Work, and built a new Temple, Anno Mundi 3947, on the Foundation which Solomon had laid, not inferior to the first, and was finished nine Years before the Birth of our *Saviour*, ¹⁸² Anno Mundi ^{182a} 3956.

147 J. omits. 148 C. y^e. 149 S. omits brackets.
 150 J., FR., S., C. vessels. 151 J. Kingdome. 152 J. y^e.
 153 J. Corne. 154 FR., S. inhabite. 155 J., C. divers. 156 S. Chuse.
 157 J., FR., S., Sp., C. Governours. 158 FR., S., C. omit. J. in margin.
 159 J. Line. 160 FR., S., C. Naphtili.
 161 FR., S., Sp., C. add: Geometry and was Master of. J. adds: Geometry and was of. 161a C. Engravers.
 162 J., FR., Sp. Mettalls. S., C. Mettalls. 163 J. Work.
 164 J. MMM. 165 J. divers. 166 J. adds: And.
 167 J., FR. Nebuchadnezzar. S., C. Nebuchadnezer. 168 J., FR., S., C. Syrus.
 169 J. Darius his reign. 170 J. Ptolmie. FR., S., C. Ptolome.
 171 J., FR., S., Sp., C. Onias. 171a S., C. a. 172 FR. Omits. 173 J. Omits.
 174 C. Cesaria. J. brackets both words. 175 J., Sp. omit. Sp. adds: A.M. 3842.
 176 J. Palistine. FR., S., C., Palastine. 177 Sp. 3842. 178 C. Cesar.
 178a S., C. Countrey. 178b J. omits.
 179 J. Darius his reign. 180 S., C. chuse. 181 FR., S., C. clothed.
 182 J. Savior. 182a J. omits.

After the Birth of our Saviour, ¹⁸³(*Aurwriagus* ¹⁸⁴ being King of Britain, ¹⁸⁵ Claudius the *Emperour* ¹⁸⁶ came over with an Army, and he ¹⁸⁷ fearing to be overthrown, made a *League* ¹⁸⁸ with him, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and that he should hold his Kingdom of ¹⁸⁹ Romans, and so the *Emperour* ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ returned, in the Year forty three, ¹⁹² after the Birth of Christ.)

Masons came into England, and built a *good* ^{192a} *Monastery* ¹⁹³ near unto Glassenbury, with many Castles and Towers.

Now ¹⁹⁴ this *sumptuous* ¹⁹⁵ Art of Geometry, was ¹⁹⁶ profest by *Emperours*, ¹⁹⁷ Kings, Popes, Cardinals, and Princes innumerable, who have all of them left us the *permanēt* ¹⁹⁸ Monuments of it in their ¹⁹⁹ *several* ²⁰⁰ Places of their Dominions.

Anno Christi 117. ²⁰¹ Nor will this I presume be denied when well considered, that renowned Example the *Trajan Column*, ²⁰² it being one of the most *superb* ²⁰³ Remains of the *Roman* ²⁰⁴ Magnificence, to be now seen standing, and which has more immortalized the *Emperour* ²⁰⁵ Trajan, than ²⁰⁶ all the Pens of Historians. It was erected to him by the Senate and People of Rome, in Memory of those great Services he had rendered the *Country*, ²⁰⁷ and to the End the Memory of it might remain to all succeeding Ages, and continue so long as the ²⁰⁸ Empire itself.

Anno Christi ²⁰⁹ 300. ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ In *St. Alban's* ²¹² Time, the King of England, that was a Pagan, did wall the Town about, and ^{212a} that was called *Verulam*. ²¹³ And *St. Alban* was a worthy Knight, and Steward of the King's Household, and had ²¹⁴ the Government of the Realm, and also of *making* ²¹⁵ the Town Walls. He ²¹⁶ loved Masons well, and cherished them much, and he made their Pay right good Standing as the Realm ²¹⁷ did; for he gave them two Shillings a ²¹⁸ Week, and three Pence to their Chear; for before that Time, through all the Land, a Mason had but a Penny a Day, and his Meat *until* ²¹⁹ *St. Alban amended* ²²⁰ it.

And he *gave* ²²¹ them a Charter of the King and Council, ²²² for ²²³ to hold a *general Council* ²²⁴ and gave it the name of an Assembly, and was *therein* ²²⁵ himself, and helped to make *Masons* ²²⁶ and gave them Charges, as *ye* ²²⁷ shall *hear* ²²⁸ afterwards.

It happened presently after the *Martyrdom* ²²⁹ of *St. Alban* (who is *truly* ²³⁰ termed England's *Proto-Martyr* ²³¹) that a certain King invaded the Land, and destroyed most of the Natives by Fire and Sword; so ^{231a} that the *Science* ^{231b} of Masonry was much decayed *until* ²³² the Reign of *Ethelbert* (*Anno Dom.* ²³³ 616 ²³⁴) King of Kent, when ²³⁵ *Gregory* the first, *surnamed* ²³⁶ *Magnus*, sent into the Isle of *Britain* ²³⁷ a Monk, with other learned Men, to preach the Christian Faith, for this Nation as yet had not fully received it. This said *Ethelbert* built a Church in *Canterbury* and dedicated it to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and *as* ²³⁸ is supposed, to have built, or restored the Church of *St. Paul's* in *London*. He also built the Church of *St. Andrews* in *Rochester*.

183 J., FR., S., Sp., C. omit brackets.

184 J., FR., S., C. Aururiagus.

185 FR., S., C. England.

186 S., C. Emperour. 187 J., Sp. omit.

188 FR., S., C. Leauge.

189 S., C. off. 190 FR., S., C. Emperour.

191 J. adds: then.

192 J. adds: Anno Christi XLIII.

192a J. goodly.

193 J., FR., S., C.

Monastery. 194 J., Sp., C. omit.

195 J., FR., S., C. sumptious.

196 J., FR., S., Sp., C. it being.

197 S., C. Emperours.

198 J. Permanient. C. Permant.

199 S. the.

200 Sp. severall.

201 J. 'Anno Christi CXVII.' in margin.

FR., S., C. omit.

202 J., FR., S., C. Collum.

204 J. Romans.

205 S., C., Emperour.

206 FR., S., C. then.

207 FR., S., C. Country.

208 J. adds: very.

209 FR. Dom: S., C. Domini.

210 J. CCC.

211 J. adds: And.

212 J. Albanes.

212a FR., S., C. omit.

215 J. omits.

213 J., FR., S., C. Verulum.

214 J. adds: got.

216 FR., S., C. and. 217 J. adds: then.

218 J. per.

219 J., FR., S., C. untill.

220 J. mended.

221 J. got.

222 J. omits.

Sp. Councill. 223 FR. omits.

224 J. Councill yearly.

Sp. Councill.

225 J., FR., S., Sp., C. thereat.

226 J. Mason.

227 J. Yea.

S., C. you.

228 J. have.

229 FR., S. Myrterdom.

230 FR., S., Sp., C. truly.

231 FR., S. Myrter. C. Martyer.

231a J., S., Sp., C. omit.

231b J. Sciences.

232 J., FR., S., Sp. untill.

233 J., FR., S. Domini.

234 J. DXCVI.

235 J., FR., S., Sp., C. omit.

236 J., FR., S., C. surnamed.

237 J. Britaine.

238 J. omits.

Sibert, King of the East-Saxons, by *the Persuasion*²³⁹ of *Ethelbert*,^{239a} King of Kent, having received the Christian Faith, built the *Monastery*²⁴⁰ at Westminster, Anno Dom,²⁴¹ 630. to the Honour of God and St. Peter.

Sigebert, King of the East-Angles, began to erect the University of Cambridge; Anno. Dom.²⁴² 915.²⁴³

*Athelston*²⁴⁴ began his Reign. He was a Man beloved of all Men. He had great Devotion towards the Churches, as appeared in the Building, adorning and endowing of *Monasteries*.²⁴⁵ He built one at Wilton, in the Diocess of Salisbury, and another at Michelney, in Somersetshire; besides these, there were *but*^{245a} few famous *Monasteries*²⁴⁵ in this Realm, but that he adorned the same either with some new *Piece*^{245b} of Building, *Jewels*,²⁴⁶ Books, or Portions of *Land*.^{246a} He greatly enriched the *Church*²⁴⁷ of York.

Edwin,²⁴⁸ Brother to King *Athelston*,²⁴⁹ loved Masons much more than his Brother did, and was a great *Practitioner*²⁵⁰ of Geometry, and he drew *him*²⁵¹ much²⁵² to commune, and talk with Masons, to learn of *them*²⁵³ the Craft; and afterwards,²⁵⁴ for the love²⁵⁵ he had to Masons, and to the Craft, he was made a Mason; and he got of *the King*^{255a} his Brother, a Charter of²⁵⁶ Commission, Anno²⁵⁷ 932.²⁵⁸ to hold *every Year*²⁵⁹ an Assembly, where they would, within the Realm,²⁶⁰ and to correct within themselves Faults and Trespasses that were done *within*²⁶¹ the Craft. And he held an Assembly²⁶² at York, and there he made Masons, and gave them Charges, and taught *them*²⁶³ the *Manners*²⁶⁴ and commanded that Rule to be kept for ever *after*,^{264a} and gave them the Charter and²⁶⁵ Commission to keep, and made an Ordinance, That it should be renewed from King to King.

And when the Assembly was gathered together, he made a Cry, That all old Masons and young, that had any Writing or Understanding of the Charges and Manners that were made before in *this*^{265a} Land, or²⁶⁶ any other, that they should bring and show them. And *when*²⁶⁷ it was proved, there *was*²⁶⁸ found some in French, some in Greek, and^{268a} some in English, and some in other Languages, and²⁷¹ they were all to one Intent and Purpose;²⁶⁹ he made a Book thereof, how the Craft was founded; and he himself *bad*, and²⁷⁰ commanded, That it should be read, and^{271a} told when any Mason *should*²⁷² be made, and for to give him his Charges, and from that Day, *until*²⁷³ this Time, Manners of Masons have been kept in that Form, as well as Men might govern it.

Furthermore, at *diverse*²⁷⁴ *Assemblies*²⁷⁵ certain Charges have been made and ordained, by the best Advice of Masters and Fellows.

Every Man that is a *Master*,²⁷⁶ take right good Heed to these Charges; and if any Man find himself Guilty in any of these Charges, *that*²⁷⁷ he ought to *amend*, and²⁷⁸ pray to God for his Grace;²⁷⁹ and^{279a} especially you that are to be Charged, take *good*²⁸⁰ Heed that *ye*²⁸¹ may keep *these Charges*²⁸² right well, for it is a great *Peril*²⁸³ for a Man to forswear himself upon a Book.

- 239 J. perswasions. FR., S., C. perswasion. SP., C. omit The.
 239a J. Athelbert. 240 J., FR., S., C. Monastery.
 241 J., C. Domini. 242 J. omits. S. Domini. 243 J. DCCCXCV.
 244 J., S., C. Athelstane. FR. Athelstan. 245 J., FR., S., C. Monastries.
 245a J., Sp. omit. 245b S., C. peice.
 246 J., S., Sp., C. Jewells. 246a J. Lands. 247 C. Churches. 248 J. Edwyn.
 249 J., S., C. Athelstane. FR. Athelstan. 250 J. Practizer.
 251 J. himself. 252 J. omits. 253 J. omits. 254 J. afterward.
 255 J. adds: that. 255a J. omits. 256 J., C. and. 257 J., FR., S. Domini. C. omits date. Sp. puts it before 'of commission.'
 258 J. DCCCCXXXII. 259 J. omits. 260 J. adds; once a Year. 261 C. withen.
 262 FR., S., C. himself. J. himselfe. 263 J. omits. Sp. be it Lodge or in Chamber. 264 J. Manner. 265 FR., S. add: the. in Chamber. 264 J. Manner. 264a Sp. omits. 265a J. the.
 266 J. adds: in. 267 J. omits. 268 J. omits. 268a J., S. omit.
 269 J., FR., S., Sp., C. add: and. 270 C. ordered. J. omits: bad, and.
 271 J. omits. 271a J. or. 272 J. should.
 273 J., FR., S., Sp., C. until. 274 J. divers. 275 J. Assemblys.
 276 J., FR., S., Sp., C. Mason. 277 J. omits. 278 FR., S., C. omit.
 279 FR., S., C. add: to amend. 279a J., Sp. omit. ... 280 C. omits.
 281 J. Yea. S., C. You. 282 J. this Charge.
 283 J. perrill. FR., Sp. perill. S. Perrill.

The first Charge is,²⁸⁴ That ye²⁸⁵ shall²⁸⁶ be true Men to God and the²⁸⁷ Holy Church, and²⁸⁸ that ye²⁸⁹ use no Error or Heresy by your Understanding or Discretion, but be ye²⁸⁹ wise discreet Men, or Wisemen in each Thing.²⁹⁰

Also that ye²⁸⁹ shall^{289a} be Liegemen to the King of England,²⁹¹ without Treason, or any other Falshood,^{291a} and that ye know no Treason or Treachery, but you amend privily, if ye²⁸⁹ may, or else warn the King or his Council thereof.^{292 293}

Also ye²⁹⁴ shall²⁹⁵ be true to one another,²⁹⁶ that is to say,²⁹⁷ to every Mason of the Craft of Masonry, that be Masons, allowed, ye^{297a} shall do unto²⁹⁸ them, as ye^{297a} would they should do²⁹⁹ unto you.

Also that ye^{297a} shall³⁰⁰ keep all the Councils³⁰¹ of your Fellows truly,³⁰² be it in Lodge or³⁰³ Chamber, and all other Councils³⁰⁴ that ought to be kept by way of Brotherhood.

Also³⁰⁵ that no Mason shall be a Thief,³⁰⁶ or Thief's Fellow,³⁰⁷ or conceal any such unjust Action, so far³⁰⁸ as he may wit³⁰⁹ or know.

Also ye³¹⁰ shall be true unto each other,³¹¹ and to the Lord or Master that ye³¹⁰ serve,^{311a} and truly³¹² to see unto his Profit^{312a} and³¹³ his Advantage.

Also³¹⁴ ye³¹⁵ shall call Masons³¹⁶ your Fellows³¹⁷ or Brothers,³¹⁸ and none other foul Name.³¹⁹

Also ye^{319a} shall not take your Brother or Fellow's Wife in Villany,³²⁰ nor desire ungodly his Daughter, or³²¹ his Servant, nor put him to any³²² Disworship.³²³

Also³²⁴ that ye³²⁵ pay truly^{326 327} for your meat and Drink, where³²⁹ ye³²⁵ go to³²⁹ Board.³³⁰

And also that ye³²⁵ shall do no Villany,³²⁰ whereby the Craft³³¹ may be slandered.³³²

These be the true³³³ Charges in general,³³⁴ that belong³³⁵ to every true³³⁶ Mason, to keep,³³⁷ both³³⁸ Masters and Fellows.

Rehearse I will other Charges in singular,^{338a} for Masters and Fellows.

First, That no Master³³⁹ or Fellow³⁴⁰ shall take upon him any Lord's Work, nor any other Man's Work, unless he know himself able and sufficient

284 J. adds: This. 285 J. Yea. 287 J. omits. 288 J. Second.
 286 S., C. You. J. omits. 289a Sp. should.
 289 J. Yea. S., C. you. 290 J. reads: Heresy wilful; or run into Innovations, but be yea wise Men and discreet in Everything.
 290 J. reads: Heresy wilful; or run into Innovations, but be yea wise Men and discreet in Everything.
 291 S. Leigeman to the King. C. Leigeman to the King of England.
 291a S., C. Falsehood.
 292 S. omits: 'and that ye' to end of paragraph.
 293 J. reads: Third That yea be not disloyall nor Confederates in treasonable plotts; But if yea hear of any treachery against the Government yea ought to discover it, if yea cannot otherwise prevent it.
 294 S., C. you. 295 J. Fourth that yea. 296 Sp. one to each other.
 297 J. brackets. 297a S., C. you. J. yea. 298 J. to. 299 J. doe.
 300 J. Fifth that yea. 301 J. Councill. Sp., C. Councils.
 302 FR., S., Sp., C. truly. 303 J., FR., S., Sp., C. add: in.
 304 J. Councils. 305 J. Sixth. 306 FR., S., C. Thiefe.
 307 J., Sp. omit. 308 J. adds: forth. 309 FR., S. witt. Sp., C. will.
 310 S., C. you. J. Seventh that every Allowed Mason. 311 Sp. also That ye shall be true each unto other. J. omits. FR., S., C. each unto other.
 311a J. whom he serves. 312 FR., S., Sp., C. truly. J. omits.
 312a Sp. Profit. 313 J. shall serve him faithfully to.
 314 J. Eighth that. 315 J. yea. S., C. you. 318 J. Brother.
 316 J. such Mason. 317 J. Fellow.
 319 J. neither shall you use to him any scurilius Language. C. no instead of none.
 319a S., C. You. 320 FR., S., C. Villiany. 321 C. nor. FR., S., Sp., C. no.
 323 J. Reads: Nineth; that yea shall not desire any unlawfull Communication with vor Fellows Wife nor cast a wanton Eye upon his Daughter with desire to defile her; nor his Maid servant or any wise put him to disworship.
 324 J. Tenth. 325 J., S., C. you. 326 FR., S., S., Sp., C. truly.
 327 J. adds: and honestly. 328 J. wherever. 329 J. omits.
 330 J. adds: that the Craft be not slandered thereby, and omits the next paragraph.
 331 FR., S., Sp., C. Craft. 332 J. omits. 333 J. omits.
 334 J., S., Sp. generall. 335 J. Belongs. 336 J., Sp., free. 337 J. be kept.
 338 J. adds: by. 338a J. Singuler. 339 J. Masters. 340 J. Fellows.

of *Cunning*³⁴¹ to perform the same, so that the Craft have no Slander nor Dis-
 worship thereby, but that the Lord may be well and *truly*³²⁶ served.

Also³⁴² that no Master take no Work, but that he take it *reasonable*,³⁴³
 so that the Lord may be well served *with his own Good*,³⁴⁴ and the Master to
*live*³⁴⁵ honestly, and to pay his Fellows.³⁴⁶

Also³⁴⁷ that no Master or³⁴⁸ Fellow shall³⁴⁹ supplant any other of their
 Work, *that is to say*,³⁵⁰ if he³⁵¹ have³⁵² taken a³⁵³ Work³⁵⁴ in Hand or³⁵⁵
 stand Master of the³⁵⁶ Lord's Work, he shall not³⁵⁷ put him out, except he be
 unable of *Cunning to end*³⁵⁸ the Work.³⁵⁹

Also³⁶⁰ that no Master or³⁶¹ Fellow³⁶² take a³⁶³ *Prentice*³⁶⁴ but for
 the³⁶⁵ *Term*³⁶⁶ of seven Years, and that the *Prentice*,³⁶⁴ be able of Birth *that*
is to say,³⁶⁷ free-born,³⁶⁸ and whole of limbs, as a Man ought to be.

Also³⁶⁹ that no Master nor³⁷⁰ Fellow³⁷¹ take³⁷² Allowance³⁷³ for³⁷⁴ any
 Man³⁷⁵ to be made a *Mason*³⁷⁶ *377* (without the Assent³⁷⁸ and Council³⁷⁹ of
 his Fellows) *and that he be taken*³⁸⁰ for no less *Term*³⁸¹ than five or seven
 Years,^{381a} and that he that is to be made a Mason be able in all manner of
 Degrees; *that is to say*,³⁸² free-born,³⁶⁸ come of good Kindred; true and no Bond-
 man; And also, that he have his right Limbs as a Man ought to have.

Also³⁸³ that no *Mason*³⁸⁴ take any³⁸⁵ *Prentice*,³⁸⁶ unless he have³⁸⁷
 sufficient Occupation to set³⁸⁸ him on, or³⁸⁹ to set three of his Fellows, or two of
 them at the least, on³⁹⁰ Work.

Also,³⁹¹ that no Master or *Fellow*^{391a} shall take any³⁹² Man's Work to
 Task that was³⁹³ went to go to *Journey*.³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵

Also³⁹⁶ that every Master shall³⁹⁷ pay to his Fellow but³⁹⁸ as they deserve,
 so that he be not deceived by false Workmen,

Also³⁹⁹ that no *Mason*⁴⁰⁰ slander another behind his Back, to make him
 lose⁴⁰¹ his good Name or his worldly Goods.⁴⁰²

Also⁴⁰³ that no Fellow within the Lodge or without, misanswer another
ungodly, or reproachfully,⁴⁰⁴ without a⁴⁰⁵ reasonable Cause.

Also⁴⁰⁶ that every *Mason* shall reverence his Elder and put him to
worship.⁴⁰⁷

Also⁴⁰⁸ that no *Mason* shall be a common Player at Hazard or at Dice,
 or at any other unlawful⁴⁰⁹ Plays,⁴¹⁰ whereby the Craft may⁴¹¹ be slandered.

Also⁴¹² that no *Mason* shall use no *Letchery*,⁴¹³ nor be a⁴¹⁴ Pander or
Bawd,⁴¹⁵ whereby the Craft might^{415a} be slandered.

- 341 J. omits. C. skill & ability. 342 J. Second. 343 J. reasonably.
 344 J. omits. 345 J. get sufficiently to live handsomly and.
 346 J. adds: truly their pay as the manner is. 347 J. Third. 348 J., C. nor.
 349 FR., S., Sp., C. add: not. 350 J. brackets. 351 J. another.
 352 S. has. 353 J. omits. 354 J. Worke. 355 FR., S., Sp., C. add: else.
 356 J. for any. 357 J. adds: deale underhand to mischiefe or undermine him to.
 358 J. has performe. 359 C. incapable to finish the same. 360 J. Fourth.
 361 J. nor. 362 J. adds: shall. 363 J. any. FR., S., Sp., C. no.
 364 J. Apprentice. C. Aprentice. 365 J. adds: full.
 366 FR., S., Sp., C. terme. 367 J. brackets. 368 J. borne. 369 J. Fifth.
 370 C. or. 371 Sp. Fellows. 372 FR., S., Sp., C. add: no. J. adds: any.
 373 J. adds: or Bribe. 374 C. from any. FR., S., Sp. omit.
 375 J. of any man that is. S., Sp. omit 'for any man.' 376 FR., S., Sp., C.
 Masons. 377 FR., S., Sp. omit.
 378 J. adds: consent. 379 J. Councell. 380 FR., S., Sp., C. take him.
 381 FR., S., Sp., C. Terme. 381a J. omits this whole passage. FR., S. then.
 382 J. brackets. 383 J. Sixth.
 384 J. Master nor Fellow. 385 J. an. 386 J. Apprentice. C. Aprentice.
 387 J. hath. 388 C. sett. 389 J. at work Nay. 390 J. at. 391 J. Seventh.
 391a Sp. Fellows. C. nor. 392 J., FR., S., Sp., C. no.
 393 J. adds: used or was.
 394 J. journey work. FR. journey. 395 C. desirous to go a Journey.
 396 J. Eighth. 397 J. adds: give. 398 J. according. 399 J. Ninth.
 400 J. Man. 401 FR. loss. J. loose.
 402 J. and thereby also make him suffer in his way of Living.
 403 J. Teneth. 404 J. or give another reproachful Language.
 405 J. some. 406 J. Eleventh. 407 J. in workship. 408 J. Twelfth.
 409 J. or at Cards nor. 410 J. game. 410a S. unlawfull. 411 J. might.
 412 J. Thirteenth. 413 J. be a common Leecher. 414 J. omits. 415 J. Baud.
 415a FR., S., C. may.

Also ⁴¹⁶ that no Fellow go into the ⁴¹⁷ Town in the Night-time, *except he have a Fellow* ⁴¹⁸ with him *that* ⁴¹⁹ may bear him ⁴²⁰ witness that he was in honest Company.⁴²¹

Also ⁴²² that every Master and Fellow shall come to the Assembly if *he* ⁴²³ be within fifty Miles about,⁴²⁴ if he have any Warning; and if he *has* ⁴²⁵ trespassed against the Craft then to ⁴²⁶ abide the Award of the Masters and Fellows.

Also *that every Master and Fellow, that has* ^{426a} *trespassed against the Craft, shall stand to the Award of the Masters and Fellows to make them accorded, if they can; and if they may not accord them, then to go to the Common-Law.*⁴²⁷

Also ⁴²⁸ that no Master or Fellow make any ⁴²⁹ Mould, or ⁴³⁰ Square, or ⁴³¹ Rule to any ⁴³² Leyer nor set a ⁴³² Leyer within the Lodge, or ⁴³³ without, to *hew* or ⁴³³ mould Stones.⁴³⁴

Also ⁴³⁵ that every Mason ⁴³⁶ receive and cherish strange Fellows when they come over the Countries,⁴³⁷ and set them to ⁴³⁸ work, if they will, as the manner is; *That is to say,*⁴³⁹ if they have ⁴⁴⁰ mould Stones in the ⁴⁴¹ Place, or else he shall refresh him with Money unto ⁴⁴² the next Lodge.

Also ⁴⁴³ that every Mason shall *truly* ⁴⁴⁴ serve the Lord for his Pay, and every Master ^{444a} *truly* ⁴⁴⁴ to ⁴⁴⁵ make an End of his Work, be it Task or Journey, if he have his Demand, and all that he ought to have.

These Charges that we have now rehears'd unto you, and all *other* ^{445a} that belong to Masons, *ye* ⁴⁴⁶ shall keep; so help you God and *your* ^{446a} Hallidam.⁴⁴⁷ Amen.^{448 449}

FINIS.⁴⁵⁰

Comments were offered by Bros. J. E. S. Tuckett, Sir Alfred Robbins, Canon Horsley; L. Vibert, R. H. Baxter, W. J. Songhurst, W. B. Hextall, and Algernon Rose.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT said:—

It is with very great pleasure that I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Dr. Rosedale for his decidedly suggestive Paper. But it would ill-become me to offer anything of the nature of criticism, seeing that I can lay claim to no more than a very superficial knowledge of the "Old Charges," my own studies being more particularly concerned with other and later phases of our history. Disclaiming, then, any right to criticise, I would yet urge very strongly that the new system of classification based on historical or historico-political considerations, must be very carefully thought out, and *every* known version of the "Old Charges" assigned to its proper place, before we can attempt to decide to what extent, if any, it differs from, or is superior to, that of Dr. Begemann, which has hitherto remained unchallenged.

- ⁴¹⁶ J. Fourteenth. ⁴¹⁷ J. adds: City or. ⁴¹⁸ J. without he hath some one or other. ⁴¹⁹ J. to. ⁴²⁰ J. omits. ⁴²¹ J. places. ⁴²² J. Fifteenth.
- ⁴²³ J. that. ⁴²⁴ J. adds: him. ⁴²⁵ J. hath. ⁴²⁶ J. omits.
- ^{426a} C. have. S. hath.
- ⁴²⁷ J. reads: and make satisfaction accordingly if they are able; But if not submit to their reasonable Award; Then they shall go to Common Law. J. omits whole of following paragraph.
- ⁴²⁸ J. Sixteenth. ⁴²⁹ FR., S., C. omit. Sp. or.
- ⁴³⁰ FR., S., C. omit. Sp. nor. ⁴³¹ FR., S., Sp., C. nor.
- ⁴³² FR., S., Sp., C. no. ⁴³³ FR., S., Sp., C. nor.
- ⁴³⁴ J. to Mould Stones withall but such as are allowed by the Fraternity.
- ⁴³⁵ J. Seventeenth. ⁴³⁶ J. adds: shall. ⁴³⁷ J. Country. ⁴³⁸ J. at.
- ⁴³⁹ J. brackets. ⁴⁴⁰ J. he hath. ⁴⁴¹ J., FR., S., Sp his. C. Their.
- ⁴⁴² J. to carry him to. ⁴⁴³ J. Eighteenth. ⁴⁴⁴ J., FR., S., Sp., C. truly. ^{445a} C. others.
- ^{444a} J. adds: shall. ⁴⁴⁵ J. omits.
- ⁴⁴⁶ J. Yea. S., C. You. ^{446a} J. the.
- ⁴⁴⁷ J. Itallidom. FR. Halidom. S., Sp. Hallidom. C. Hallidom.
- ⁴⁴⁸ J. omits. ⁴⁴⁹ J. has ornamental tailpiece. ⁴⁵⁰ FR., S., Sp., C. omit.

Dr. Rosedale's reference to Jacobite influences within and upon Freemasonry could not fail to interest one who has been described as a 'Speculative Jacobite.' While not accepting quite everything he has said, I do not hesitate to declare my profound conviction that the Jacobite or Stuart Cause and Masonry were very greatly concerned each in the other. Here we touch upon an alleged Jesuit intrusion into Masonry, so often asserted and as often vehemently denied, of which, however, according to Dr. Rosedale, traces are plainly to be seen in the evolution of the "Old Charges."

One of the features of Dr. Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions* is the appearance of a series of dates assigned to remarkable events in Masonry, amongst them being:—

St. Alban formed the first Lodge in Britain	A.D. 287
K. Athelstan granted a Charter to Freemasons	,, 926
Grand Lodge formed at York under Prince Edwin	,, 926
K. Edward III. revised the Constitutions	,, 1358
Inigo Jones constituted several Lodges	,, 1607
Earl of St. Albans regulated the Lodges	,, 1637
Elias Ashmole, and other gentlemen of distinction, initiated	,, 1646

In order to demonstrate the truth of their contentions, those who, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, brought forward the theory of Jesuit interference in the affairs of Freemasonry, made great play with this chronology. The Brethren may be interested (and possibly amused) to hear how this was done.

According to the Jesuit-Theory:—

Saint Alban, Martyr	=K. Charles I., Saint & Martyr
K. Athelstan	=K. Charles II.
Prince Edwin, <i>Brother</i> of K. Athelstan	=Prince James, Duke of York, <i>Brother</i> of K. Charles II.
The Grand Lodge of York founded by Prince Edwin A.D. 926	=The Jesuit College founded by James, D. of York, at London, A.D. 1682
Inigo Jones, the Architect	=Inigo de Guipuzcoa (Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits)
The first Lodge of F.M. was founded in Britain under Alban, Saint and Martyr, the Friend of Masons, A.D. 287. $2+8+7=17$	=The new Spec ^{ve} . F.M. was founded in Britain under K. Charles I., Saint and Martyr, by Ashmole and other Friends of the King, A.D. 1646. $1+6+4+6=17$
After the Martyrdom of St. Alban Britain was rent by internal dissension and usurpation.	=After the Martyrdom of K. Charles Britain was rent by internal dissension and the Cromwell usurpation.
The beneficent rule of Masonry was interrupted until the accession of K. Athelstan restored Peace	=The progress of Masonry, and with it the Restoration of the Royal and Papal Power, was interrupted until the restora- tion of K. Charles II.
K. Athelstan loved Masonry and Masons, but—	=K. Charles II. was disposed to favour the Papal Cause and Romanists but he could not entirely be tr ^u sted, but
His <i>Brother</i> Prince Edwin loved it and them even more	=His <i>Brother</i> James, D. of York, a Papist, was pledged to the Cause heart and soul
Under K. Athelstan Masons received a Charter, and—	=Under K. Charles II. the Papal Party regained a footing in Britain, and—

Prince Edwin founded the Grand Lodge of York.

A.D. 926. $9+2+6=17$

The Constitutions of Freemasonry were 'Revised' in A.D. 1358

A.D. 1358. $1+3+5+8=17$

=James, D. of York, founded the Jesuit College at London.

A.D. 1682. $1+6+8+2=17$

=The Lodges were first 'Regulated' by the Earl of St. Albans, Grand Master, in A.D. 1637. In this year William Laud, Archbishop, 'almost a Romanist,'¹ persuaded the King to unite the English and Scottish Churches, regarded as 'a first step on the return to Popery.'²

A.D. 1637. $1+6+3+7=17$

=The formation of the premier Grand Lodge was the result of an Anti-Stuart and Protestant movement within Masonry. In consequence the centre of Roman-Jesuit-Masonic Activity moved to the Continent. Stuart-Masonry was 'Revised' by the inception of the Additional or High Degrees in the following year

A.D. 1718. $1+7+1+8=17$

And so on, the point being the re-appearance of the number 17, which was possessed of some mysterious and tremendous hidden Jesuitic meaning—what that was I know not. These arithmetical manipulations are, of course, quite valueless, and the Brethren are earnestly requested to take note that all this represents not my views but those of an anti-Jesuit writer of the year 1788—introduced here in order to lead up to a theory of my own which has to do with the *Inigo Jones MS.* It is remarkable that this particular MS. seems to lend colour to the Jesuit-Theory just outlined to an extent which none other of the MS. *Constitutions* can be said to do. Thus:—

- (1) In it St. Alban is styled the 'Proto-Martyr,' suggesting a reference to the Saint and Martyr Charles, who was the first to suffer in the Jacobite Cause.
- (2) In it Edwin is called the *Brother* of Athelstan, an essential point in the Jesuit-Theory. This is found *only* in the *Inigo-Jones* and its twin the *Spencer MS.*
- (3) In it the History is arranged chronologically with actual dates assigned to 'remarkable' occurrences, but it is true that the dates do not entirely agree with those in the 1738 *Constitutions.*
- (4) It is associated with Inigo Jones the Architect. The Jesuit-Theory maintains that Inigo Jones stands for Inigo de Guipuzcoa, better known as Ignatius Loyola the Founder of the Company of Jesus.
- (5) The date 1607 which appears upon it is that at which Inigo Jones is said to have 'constituted several Lodges' and to have assisted King James I. at the levelling of the 'Footstone' of the New Banquet Hall at Whitehall. But 1607 is also the year of the renewal of Jesuit activity in Britain, when the Guy Fawkes Trouble, culminating in the execution of Father Garnett, was beginning to blow over.³

¹ See *Les Jésuites chassés de la Maçonnerie, et leur Poignard brisé par les Maçons.* And in particular *Mémoires des Quatre Voeux de la Compagnie de S. Ignace, et des Quatre Grades de la Maçonnerie de S. Jean.* Orient de Londres, 1788. The latter part consists of a reprint of Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* (21st ed.).

² The 1788 work does not mention Laud. The quotations are from Collier, and may be found in other Protestant Histories.

³ The reference given is *Jubileum S. Speculum Jesuiticum*, 1643, p. 120, which I have not verified.

- (6) The *Inigo Jones MS.* is the *only* one which gives special prominence to Hiram Abiff and makes any full quotation from the Bible concerning him. According to the Jesuit-Theory the 'Master slain,' the 'Lost Word,' and the 'Sons of the Widow' are references to King Charles I., King Charles II., and Henrietta-Maria, the Queen-Mother.

The superscription of the *Inigo Jones MS.*, 'The Antient Constitution of the Free and Accepted Masons, 1607,' is not necessarily—as some seem to imagine—a claim that that MS. was written in 1607. It is not even a claim that the original from which it was copied was written in 1607. What it does claim is that the 'Antient Constitution' (*i.e.*, the subject matter) dates from 1607, the year when Inigo Jones was busy 'constituting' Lodges.

The *Inigo Jones MS.* is certainly a copy from some earlier document which we may well call the *Original Inigo Jones MS.* Dr. Rosedale has given us convincing reasons for assigning this Original to the very significant period 1655-1660, that is the five or six years immediately preceding the Restoration of King Charles II. Dr. Rosedale suggests that:—

"on the revival of Masonry after 1717 this MS. . . . would be re-edited in accordance with a truer chronology."

But I venture to make the suggestion that the *Inigo Jones MS.*, as we have it, is substantially a True Copy of the *Original Inigo Jones MS.*; and that no re-editing was necessary. This, in the absence of any clear evidence that any re-editing actually took place, appears to be the more natural conclusion. The date '1726 or even later,' which Dr. Rosedale assigns to the *Copy*, implies that the *Original* must have survived the lamentable holocaust of 1720. But did it? We learn from the 1738 *Constitutions*:—

"This year (1720), at some *private* Lodges, several very valuable *Manuscripts* . . . (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

And in William Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*²:—

"An old MS. which was destroyed with many others in 1720, said to have been in the possession of Nicholas Stone, a curious sculptor under Inigo Jones, contains the following particulars:—"

the 'particulars' which follow being an exact quotation of the St. Alban passage as it appears in the *Inigo Jones MS.*

The theory I propose for consideration is that the *Nicholas Stone MS.*, which perished in the flames of 1720, consisted of two parts:—

- (1) The *Original Inigo Jones MS.* written in 1655-1660 *but not by Stone.*
- (2) Notes concerning Masonic affairs in the early half of the seventeenth century. This being the part 'writ by Mr. Nicholas Stone,' who died in 1647.

Again turning to the 1738 *Constitutions*, we read that:—

"The *Grand Lodge* in ample Form on 29 Sept. 1721, . . . 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."¹

An explanation—which is at least a plausible one—of that act of destruction in 1720 is that it was an attempt to conceal from the prying eyes of the Hanoverian Protestant, Dr. Anderson, the *written evidence* of Jacobite and Roman intrigue within Freemasonry. And the real 'Fault' which perturbed the minds of 'His Grace's *Worship* and the (Grand) *Lodge*' was the conviction that such *written*

¹ *Constitutions*, 1738, pp. 99, 111 *et seq.*

² At p. 174 in the 'new' (really the 4th) edition of 1788, and at p. 167 in the '8th' (really the 5th) edition of 1792.

evidence did actually exist. Both Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, it must be noted, were devoted Royalists.

This puts the date of the *Inigo Jones MS.* (the Copy) back from '1726 or even later' to '1720 or even earlier.' Bro. Hughan's opinion is seen in his note in the *Catalogue (1891) of the Worcestershire Masonic Library & Museum*:—

"For reasons mentioned but not to me satisfactory, Dr. Begemann relegates the document to *post* 1723; but I doubt his taking that view, if he actually saw the document."¹

Dr. Begemann argues that the Scribe who made the *Inigo Jones MS.* did so with the 1723 *Constitutions* in front of him,² but it is far more likely that Dr. Anderson, aware of the existence and destruction of the *Nicholas Stone MS.* (i.e., the *Original Inigo Jones MS.* with the accompanying Notes by Nicholas Stone) was at pains to get access to the *Copy*.

That Dr. Anderson succeeded in getting possession of the *Inigo Jones MS.* is indicated by the fact that whereas in the 1723 *Constitutions* he calls Edwin 'the youngest Son' of Athelstan, he has altered this in the 1738 edition to 'Brother,' which, as already mentioned, is a special feature of the *Inigo Jones MS.*³

The statements concerning Inigo Jones in the 1738 *Constitutions* are much more precise and detailed than those in the earlier 1723 book. Dr. Anderson accounts for the added information in the following marginal note:—

"so said Brother Nicholas Stone, his Warden, in a Manuscript burnt 1720."

So that, besides the *Inigo Jones MS.*, Dr. Anderson was evidently in possession of a transcript of the seventeenth century Notes, or at least a summary of them.⁴ William Preston appears to have seen this transcript while writing his *Illustrations of Masonry*,⁵ but what has since then become of it?

If the *Original Inigo Jones MS.* really contained the same peculiarities as have been noted in the *Inigo Jones MS.*—which we do not know to be a fact, but may reasonably regard as likely—a fairly strong case for the theory of Romanist-Masonic intrigue might be made out, and the whole subject of Stuart-Masonry would assume an importance not at present conceded to it by some of our most trusted authorities. And it might go far towards establishing the date of the first appearance of the Legend of the Third Degree.

BRO. LIONEL VIBERT writes as follows:—

Some of my remarks in Lodge had reference to certain mistakes and misprints in this paper which have since been corrected, and there is now no object in reproducing them. I have accordingly recast what I then said.

When Gould was writing his *History*, a classification of the versions of the 'Old Charges' based on textual analysis had been recognized as possible, though it was still to be achieved. But within a very few years the work had been done, and as early as 1886, in *A.Q.C.* i., Begemann and Hughan were already in a position to refer to the classification into 'Families' as an accomplished fact. It was further perfected between that date and the appearance of the second edition of Hughan's *Old Charges*, in 1895. The general lines of that classification are familiar to all. There was a regular historical development of the text, and the versions being all treated as transcripts, it was possible by a patient analysis of the

¹ At p. 27.

² *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 159. There is no justification whatever for Dr. Begemann's denunciation of the *Inigo Jones MS.* as a 'fraud' or 'fabrication.'

³ It is true that Dr. Plot devotes § 87 of p. 317 in his *Staffordshire* (1686) to a discussion of this point, Son or Brother. But the change made by Dr. Anderson is much more naturally explained by a perusal of the *Inigo Jones MS.*, than by reference to Dr. Plot.

⁴ The view expressed here, exonerates Dr. Anderson from the charge of levying upon his 'imagination' for his 'facts.'

⁵ See (in the edition of 1792) pp. 167-9.

The CLASSIFICATION of the OLD CHARGES

A

The Regius Poem

The writer used a text closely allied to B ii; but his articles and points include later enactments.

B ii.

The Book of Charges

This, the second part of the Cooke MS., ll. 648 to end, is an earlier text which the compiler has transcribed.

B i.

The Cooke Narrative

An original work, of (?) XIV Century, compiled from various sources.

This text is preserved in the versions of the PLOT FAMILY.

B I and B II together make

B The Cooke Ms.

Late copies of B; of date 1728

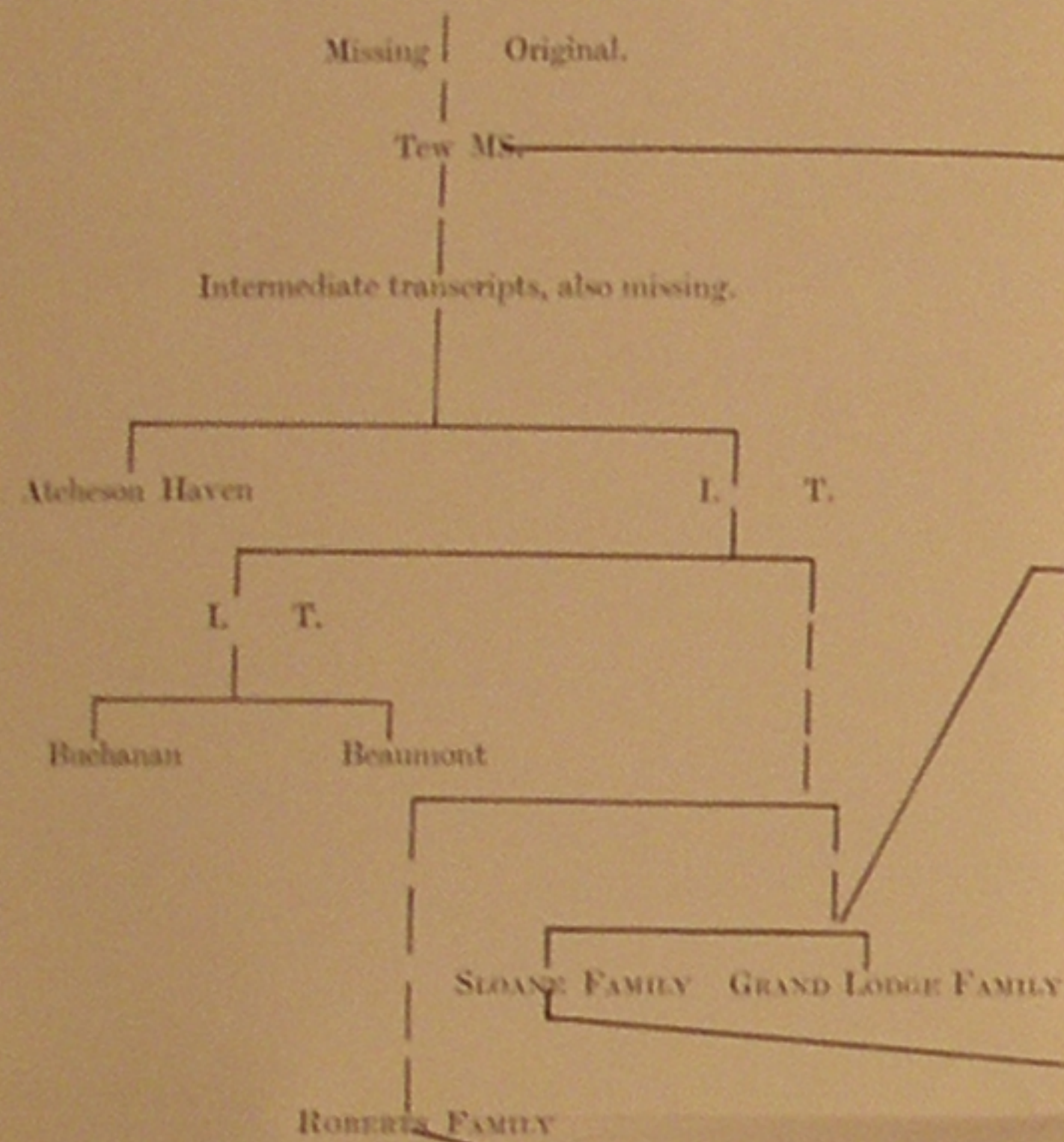
B2 Woodford
B3 Supreme Council

C The Plot Family

C1 Dr. Plot's version (only known to us from his account of it)
C2 William Watson
C3 Crane No. 2
C4 Henry Heade

About 1430 the old "Articles and Points" are replaced by a new system of legislation, viz., Charges, General and Special; which occur in C2 and C4 associated with a Cooke Text; and are found, with modifications and additions, throughout the later Families.

About 1520 the Cooke Narrative is recast, and a text compiled which is the original of the historical portion of all our versions in the later Families. The closest approximation we have to it is the TEW MS., and the descent is as follows:—



T The Tew Family

T1 Tew (E6 of Hughan)
T2 Acheson Haven (D10 " ")
T3 Buchanan (D7 " ")
T4 Beaumont (D88 " ")

N.B.—The Texts of this Family being related, not as collaterals, but by descent, Begemann styles it a Group, not a Family.

D The Grand Lodge Family

BRANCHES

(a) *Grand Lodge*
D1 Grand Lodge, No. 1
D4 Phillips, No. 1
D5 Phillips, No. 2
D8 Kilwinning
D 29 C.A.M.A.
D39 G. W. Bain

(b) *Duncland*
D86 Dowland
D16 Clerke
D22 Hughan
D30 Papworth
D31 Phillips, No. 3
D32 Haddon
D41 Levander

(c) *York*
D3 York, No. 1
D17 York, No. 5
D27 York, No. 2
D37 Newcastle Coll.
D40 Langdale

(d) *Lansdown*
D2 Lansdown
D15 Antiquity
D83 Probity
D42 Foxcroft

(e) *Colne*
D19 Colne, No. 1
D20 Clapham
D28 Colne, No. 2

(f) *Stanley*
D13 Stanley
D14 Carson

(g) *Harris*
D26 Harris, No. 1
D25 Dumfries, No. 5
D34 Harris, No. 2

(h) *Dumfries*
D21 Dumfries, No. 1
D18 York, No. 6
D24 Dumfries, No. 2

(i) *Stirling*
D9 Stirling
D11 Aberdeen

SUNDRY VERSIONS

D6 Wood
D12 Melrose, No. 2
D35 Melrose, No. 3
D23 Dauntsey

E The Sloane Family

BRANCHES

(a) *Thorp*
E16 Thorp
E10 Ahwick
E17 Strachan
E19 Taylor

(b) *Sloane*
E1 Sloane 3848
E2 Sloane 3343
E3 Harleian 2054
E4 Lechmere
E14 Tunnah
E15 Briscoe
E21 Beswick-Royds

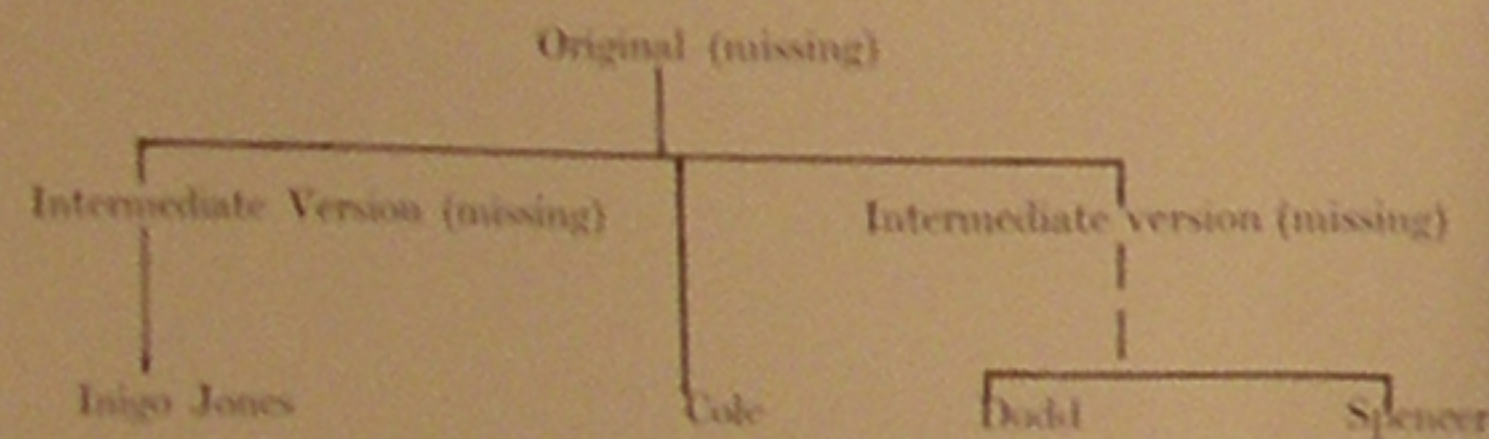
(c) *Hope*
E5 Hope
E8 Waistell
E9 York, No. 4
E18 David Ramsey

(d) *Embleton*
E7 Embleton
E12 Crane, No. 1
E13 Wren

SUNDRY VERSIONS

E11 Scarborough
E20 Thos. Cornick

At a date, not later than 1723, the history was revised, and several passages added by a writer who used the C.A.M.A. MS., or a text all but identical with it, as his foundation. From this writer's original the SPENCER FAMILY is derived, as follows:—



The position in the Family of the two latest discovered texts has still to be determined.

Most of the above is in Gonkl's Concise History; and the arrangement of the branches is as finally given by Begemann, in his Vorgeschichte, Vol. I. The only important variation from the table in Hughan (1895) is the new position of the Tew and allied texts.

G The Spencer Family

G1 Spencer
G2 Inigo Jones
G3 Cole
G4 Dodd
G5 Songhurst
G6 Rosedale

F The Roberts Family

F1 Roberts
F2 Grand Lodge, No. 2
F3 Harleian 1942
F4 Rawlinson
F5 MacNab

H Sundry Forms

H1 Dumfries, No. 4
H2 Gateshead
H3 Thistle

Drawn up by LIONEL VIBERT, "Bibliotheca Lausumum," Bath, 1920.

errors and variant readings of each one, to arrange them in branches within the 'Families,' and to state the general lines of descent. The branches bring together texts so closely related as probably all to derive from one version, at not more than one or two removes.

Three main forms of the narrative were recognised; an early text, the *Cooke*, which gives us the Plot Family; a middle text, which may not inaptly be called the Standard text, though no single version presents it with complete accuracy, and this has come down to us in three Families; and a late text, that of the Spencer Family. In 1895 the true position of the *Tew MS.* and the three others associated with it had not yet been recognised. It was fairly certain that the original Standard text had been constructed with the *Cooke* as its basis at some date about 1520, but a long series of intermediate transcripts was required to arrive at the text as we have it in either of the three Families, the Grand Lodge, Sloane, or Roberts. But subsequent to the publication of Hughan's second edition, Begemann, as the result of further research, made a re-arrangement by which the *Tew* group took a new position, as representing a nearer approximation to the original revised text, and this modification was accepted by Hughan and Gould, and is exhibited in the latter's *Concise History* (1903), at pp. 215 *et seq.* When Begemann published his *History* in 1909, he had found it necessary to make certain small re-arrangements of branches, but otherwise he repeated in all essentials the arrangement he gives in the *Concise History*; but naturally in his own *History*, and in the *Zirkel-Correspondenz*, the whole classification is described in much greater detail. It is unfortunate that Bro. Rosedale has not merely wholly misunderstood Begemann's system, but has also in this paper exhibited how slender is his acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The existence of a special *Tew* Group was absolutely unknown to him when he read the paper originally, and he now writes with regard to it:—

It is known now that Dr. Begemann has produced a new classification more in accord with history. This must of course be carefully criticised; but so far, Students have depended on the classification which appears in Hughan's *Old Charges* and which Dr. Begemann seems to have relinquished.

This is actually written in 1920 about a classification that was available to English readers in 1903, in no less well known a work than Gould's *Concise History*; and apparently Bro. Rosedale has not yet been able to acquaint himself correctly with it. To say that Begemann has relinquished Hughan's classification is wrong.

Bro. Rosedale also asserts that Begemann based his classification on coincidences of sound, and I am afraid this is another statement that cannot be accepted, for Begemann's whole case is that there was one original text in 1520 or thereabouts from which every later version is derived by a series of transcriptions.

Again, Bro. Rosedale alleges that Hughan never seems to have fully accepted Begemann's scheme. Will he refer us to the passages in Hughan's writings on which this allegation is based? How does he reconcile it with Hughan, at *A.Q.C.* vi., 199, note 1? The two students naturally differed over details from time to time, but few will agree that the author of the *Old Charges of British Freemasons* did not believe in the classification given in that work.

Of course, the similarity of the great bulk of the MSS. is obvious. But who has ever denied it? Certainly not Begemann, who insists on one single text as the original of all the families below the Plot. Bro. Rosedale has surely misconceived the whole object of the classification into branches and the reasons underlying it.

Starting, as I believe he does, from erroneous premises, it is not surprising that Bro. Rosedale arrives at the conclusion that Begemann's classification is neither useful nor correct. But he wishes us to understand that in this conclusion he does not stand alone; he says, "thoughtful students are awakening to the fact." Will he name these Brethren, or any of them; and will he refer us to the appropriate passages in their writings?

Bro. Rosedale also writes of Gould's practical ideas being ignored, forsooth, for Begemann's useless and false system. But is it really the case that he has not read the *Concise History*? Is he unaware that Gould invited Begemann to contribute to that work the section on the classification, that the useless and false system is there at length, and that Gould writes about it, on p. 225:—

The diligence and acumen of Dr. Begemann are not, indeed, likely to be seriously impeached, and the highly important results attained by his critical and scientific methods have been welcomed and appreciated by all students in the same branch of research.

It is as true to-day as it was when that was written in 1903 that Begemann's work has yet to be seriously impeached.

And what is it we are asked to substitute for the work of our two great students? A division into three classes, the first comprising the *Regius*, and *Cooke*, and the Plot Family; the next the great central group; and the last the Spencer Family. Instead, then, of a new classification we merely have Begemann over again with the details rubbed out! But I must do Bro. Rosedale the justice to say that I feel sure he is under the impression that he really is offering us something new, and is quite unaware that Begemann and Hughan had got as far as this thirty-five years ago.

With the rest of Bro. Rosedale's paper I can leave others to deal; but I would like to point out that when writers put quotations in inverted commas it is a general understanding that the quotations shall appear *literatim* in all respects. Bro. Rosedale does not seem to think that this rule applies to his work, as will be seen by a comparison of his quotations from Speth, and Begemann, with the originals. Indeed, in the latter he replaces 'fabricated' by 'produced.' Originally, he also misquoted Aubrey. He has now quoted him correctly, but as the passage so corrected is somewhat disastrous to his theory, he hazards a suggestion in a note that when Aubrey wrote 'Brother' he meant 'Grand Master.' At page 92 of Bro. Rosedale's work of reference, *A.Q.C.* i., he will find the entire passage, and will see that his rash suggestion would give the Craft not one Grand Master but some half-a-dozen. It is not thus that theories are proved.

The exact position of the *Songhurst* and *Rosedale MSS.* in the Family has yet to be determined; but, however they may be found to stand in relation to the other four texts, they contain nothing to cause us to modify the views, as to the descent of the Family as a whole, that were put forward in 1886, and confirmed, immediately after, by the discovery of the *Cama* text. It is remarkable that Bro. Rosedale has managed to write at considerable length on the Spencer Family without one single reference to this MS., on which, or on a text all but identical with which, the original of the whole Family was based.

It will, perhaps, be convenient if I take this opportunity of putting at the disposal of the Lodge for reproduction in *A.Q.C.* my table of the Versions, showing the classification as given by Begemann in his *History*. As already explained, the only important difference between this table and that in Hughan is the new position of the Tew Group.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Bro. Dr. Rosedale is to be congratulated heartily on his interesting paper, "Some Fresh Material for Classifying the Old Charges." It is just the kind to gladden the hearts of all students of these ancient documents—and what real student of craft lore can possibly neglect them?

We have now before us at least four different methods of classifying our Old Charges. Firstly, Gould's, which arranged the MSS. from the viewpoint of evidence in a legal inquiry; secondly, Begemann's, which attempted to range the documents in a line of descent through a series of copyings; thirdly, the arrangement according to the inclusion or omission of certain legends, mentioned in Vibert's *Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*; and, fourthly, Dr. Rosedale's historical arrangement.

In my opinion, all these methods are quite good in their way, and there is no need to discard one in favour of another. Indeed, I would be inclined to suggest still further tabulations of the MSS. to show the whole of the variations of such things as proper names and other outstanding features. This would, perhaps, resolve itself more into a question of indexing than of actual classifying, but, all the same, it would be of much use for reference.

Many thoughts rise in one's mind as to the origin of the Third Degree from the suggestions in the present paper, but as these are, for the most part, esoteric, they cannot very well be communicated in writing. The recent correspondence in the *Freemason* on the old Mason-word (dating back to at least 1638), which brought forth the assurance from no less an authority than the Grand Scribe E. of Scotland that the word was by no means lost, has strengthened my belief that the essentials of the Third Degree date considerably further back than the execution of King Charles, and that it was emasculated by the cutting off of the portion we now communicate in the Royal Arch. I am, therefore, not able to accept Dr. Rosedale's theory of Jacobite influence in the creation of the legend. By the way, was the Jacobite movement really dead in 1717 as alleged by our lecturer? The rising of 1745, which met with a very considerable amount of support, is surely sufficient to brush aside such an assertion.

From correspondence I have had from Bro. Hextall, but which it would not be fair for me to quote, I hope he may have something to say now on the question of the origin of the Third Degree.

I can remember Bro. Songhurst pointing out to me some years ago that the style of the MS. bearing his name strongly favoured the theory that the document was an attempt to copy, not merely verbally, but in actual get-up, the engraved plates of the Cole version.

However these things may be, I can only express my pleasure at the value of the present paper and my regret that I cannot be present in Lodge to hear it read and to listen to the comments it is sure to evoke.

Bro. W. J. SONGHURST said:—

I fancy Bro. Rosedale has already realized that it is much *easier* to destroy than to construct. I suggest that he should now consider whether it is *wise* to pull down an edifice before making certain that it is either useless or dangerous, *and* that the proposed new structure will really be better than the old one.

It is quite possible that Dr. Begemann's classification of the Old Charges is bad in method and result; or, as Dr. Rosedale puts it, "neither useful nor correct." On this point I express no opinion, but may mention that for the past thirty years its utility as a basis for comparison has been accepted by all students of the subject. It is, therefore, a pity that after so severe a condemnation Bro. Rosedale does not tell us in what particular points the classification is faulty, nor in what way his own will bring a better result. He says that his new classification would be "based upon historical fact," and he refers to certain events in English history which may have had an influence upon building construction, or upon Trade Guilds, or upon what we call Speculative Masonry; but it is not possible to test his theories, because he has made no attempt to tabulate any of the known copies of the Old Charges under these various historical headings. Somehow I suspect that if Dr. Rosedale had made such a tabulation the grouping would have been found just about the same as that which was evolved by Dr. Begemann. I am led to this view because in the one instance where Dr. Rosedale does identify a particular document—the *Inigo Jones MS.*—as belonging to the Commonwealth period he apparently acquiesces in its retention as a member of

the *Spencer* Family where Dr. Begemann had placed it.¹ Then, too, I am not sure that Dr. Rosedale's *method* of classification differs very much from that of Dr. Begemann. It will be remembered that because of certain peculiarities found in the *Regius MS.*, Dr. Begemann satisfied himself that it was written in a particular part of Gloucestershire; while Dr. Rosedale, noting the scholarship evinced in some documents which he says made their appearance between 1723 and 1735, has come to the conclusion that they probably "emanated from some branch of London Masonry." It would be remarkable if such similar methods of reasoning did not produce the same result.

Without accepting Bro. Rosedale's challenge to "ruminate" upon the possibility that the *Inigo Jones, Cole, Fisher-Rosedale, and Songhurst MSS.* were all by the same hand, I should say it is practically certain that one scribe was responsible for the last two.² It is quite possible that Cole or his engraver had before him either one of these or more probably a *third* example in the same handwriting³; but I see nothing in the *Inigo Jones MS.* which at all suggests the caligraphy of these 'pocket editions.' I am, however, willing to concede the point if Bro. Rosedale considers it is really important. At present I cannot see that it carries us any further.

I have been much puzzled by a number of statements made by Bro. Rosedale, some of which he has amended since the first proof of the paper was printed. Others still remain, and seem to call for explanation. I will only refer to two of them.

Bro. Rosedale says:—

When Dr. Anderson and his helpers were called upon to re-model the Masonic world they found that four of the London Lodges which, according to Laurence Dermott, were doing all they could to get away from the traditions of Masonry, were in the ascendant.

I would like Bro. Rosedale to tell us on what these statements are based. Dermott was born in Ireland in 1720, and was initiated there in 1740; and he came to London in about 1750. He therefore had no personal knowledge of the circumstances attending the proceedings in London in 1717, for he was not then born; and he was not even a Masonic contemporary of Anderson, who died in 1739. Again, when and by whom were "Anderson and his helpers called upon to re-model the Masonic world"? Who were his "helpers"? What is meant by the "Masonic world"? If in any way it is intended to refer to the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717, what evidence is there that Anderson was even a Mason at that time? If it is intended to refer to the digest of the old Gothic Constitutions, what evidence is there (other than his own statement in 1738) that Anderson was called upon to perform this task?

The other matter to which I wish to draw attention is in connexion with Sir Christopher Wren, who Bro. Rosedale has convinced himself, was a speculative as well as an operative Mason. With this conclusion I have no fault to find. I should be sorry to say that it is incorrect; but Bro. Rosedale mentions the evidence on which his opinion is based, and it becomes necessary that this evidence should be examined carefully. First, he gives some extracts from *The Pocket Companion* of 1759, and all we can say of these is that they have been lifted bodily from Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738, than which they have, of course, no greater value. Next we are told of "Laurence Dermott's clear and definite statement," which, although not quoted, must be assumed to have come from the same source. Thirdly, we have a bald reference to Wren's "Diary" without even a suggestion as to what it contains. And, lastly, we are given a *mis-*

¹ The arrangement shewn by Bro. Rosedale in his 'Appendix A' confirms this surmise.

² Facsimiles of some pages of each are reproduced by way of illustration to this paper. Comparison may also be made with the handwriting of Grand Lodge Minutes of about this date. See *Quat. Cor. Antiq.*, vol x. Benjamin Cole officially engraved the Annual Lists of Lodges from 1745 onwards.

³ Bro. Baxter has recollection of a conversation in which I suggested that the writer of the *Songhurst MS.* copied from the Cole engraved text. I am now inclined to think that the process was in the reverse direction.

quotation⁴ from Aubrey. Surely this is not sufficient to enable anyone to form a definite opinion on this very interesting question. It is no use whatever quoting from mere copyists; we must get back to original sources, and of these (outside a somewhat vague newspaper report in 1723) we have only Anderson's work, published in 1738, and Aubrey's tittle-tattle,⁵ written in 1691 but first printed in 1844; and, unfortunately, these two are mutually destructive, for while Anderson makes Wren a member holding high office in 1663, when he was about thirty years old, Aubrey says he was "to be adopted a brother" in 1691, when he was nearly sixty years old. The two statements cannot both be true, if they refer to the same fraternity. There is this to be said in favour of Aubrey, that he jotted down his memorandum during Wren's lifetime, while Anderson waited until he had been dead for fifteen years before claiming him as a member and high official of the Craft. It is quite possible that some further facts may yet be revealed which will settle the point once for all. At present we can scarcely say that it has been decided. Bro. Gould made a very exhaustive study of all the available evidence, and published the result in his *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., pp. 6 *et seq.* I recommend a perusal of these pages to all Brethren who take an interest in this subject.

Bro. W. B. HEXTALL writes:—

The main features in the paper of to-night have received such effective notice that I can make no addition to comments that have been offered: but I should like to offer a word of welcome to an essay that, however hard it may be to agree to some of its suggestions, does good work in again drawing attention to (1) The general subject-matter and evolution of the Old Charges, and (2) The topic of Stuart Masonry and cognate influences which bore upon the framing and practice of Masonic ritual in early speculative days of the Craft. I could, however, wish that more specific references had been given throughout the paper.

On a collateral matter I would also say a word. Surely the Masonic Craft in the British Islands has amply proved its right to be recognized as a factor in national research; and I am bold enough to think the time has come when some competent Brother should be included amongst the members of The Royal Commission on English Historical Manuscripts; and that someone in a high place under whose auspices Freemasons of to-day are privileged to serve might be advantageously approached with that view. Much work of permanent historic and literary value has been done by the Royal Commission named; and when—to quote one instance—nearly forty years ago, in the forgotten purlieus of a ducal mansion, were found "a deed of the time of Henry II. among some farming stock accounts, and gossiping letters from the Court of Elizabeth among bundles of quite modern vouchers,"—it should not be too much to hope that Masonic 'finds' of great value might be the reward of vigilance.

In this connexion, the name of one of our Past Masters, whose gift for systematic investigation, as well as his association with many who could assist, eminently fit him for such a nomination as I suggest, can hardly fail to occur to mind.

⁴ This has since been corrected; but Bro. Rosedale says in a footnote that Aubrey's statement was "Probably a mistake for Grand Master." Even if that were so, Aubrey and Anderson would still contradict each other. Bro. Rosedale adds as a further piece of evidence, *Freemasonry Dissected*, (? *Masonry dissected*), but he does not give a particular reference to page or even to date. I challenge Bro. Rosedale to produce an edition of Prichard, earlier than the date of Anderson's second *Book of Constitutions*, which contains a mention of Wren as a Freemason.

⁵ Leigh Hunt (*The Town*, chap. iii.) says of Aubrey: "He is to be read like a proper gossip, whose accounts we may pretty safely reject or believe as it suits other testimony."

Bro. Dr. ROSEDALE replies as follows:—

To those who have appreciatively criticized my attempt to raise a point which in my opinion deserves much careful examination, I am equally grateful, whether they support my views or otherwise. The issues raised are all well worthy of being dealt with on the part of those better read in the literature of the Craft than I can possibly be with my limited supply of Masonic works, whilst the kindly remarks cannot but offer some encouragement to one whose only object in writing on the subject is to evoke further investigations into matters which seem to him to have been left in an unsatisfactory condition.

My chief critics are Brothers Vibert and Songhurst, both of whom I know are great authorities, consequently I do not propose to contest the fact that the probabilities are entirely in favour of their arguments being of greater weight than my own, but whilst on certain details I may be shown to be in the wrong, I none the less, after carefully considering what they have said, am glad to have raised the matter again, even if it only serves the useful purpose of enabling others to avoid falling into very natural pitfalls.

With regard to Bro. Vibert's remarks, I may frankly acknowledge that I have not seen Dr. Begemann's *new* classification until to-day, but even if, as may be the case, it turns out to be similar or even identical with any sound historical classification, I venture to believe that in its present form it is too complicated and too involved to be of much practical value to the ordinary student, and, without attempting to go into details, I would venture to say that any classification which accepts the extract from Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* as constituting either a separate MS. or justifying the name of a family, seems to me to be building on sand. Secondly, I fail to see the sufficiency of the arguments which are raised in favour of the Tew Family, which is, with some variations, in all probability merely part of the great mass of MSS. which Bro. Vibert calls the Standard type. But most of all do I contest the claim of the *Cama MS.* to be the origin of the Spencer or Post Grand Lodge Group. One has only to set some of the passages side by side to see the *very great* variations—all too great to render it reasonable to suppose them to have more than a fortuitous relationship. I gather that Bro. Vibert, in his whole-hearted desire to support Dr. Begemann's views, requires to find some definite antagonism in Bro. Hughan's writings, and that, failing this, he would claim that there must be total agreement. May I suggest to him that there is such a thing as 'Damning by faint praise'? And that is how I read the matter in view of the natural courtesy which it was that good Brother's wont to exhibit.

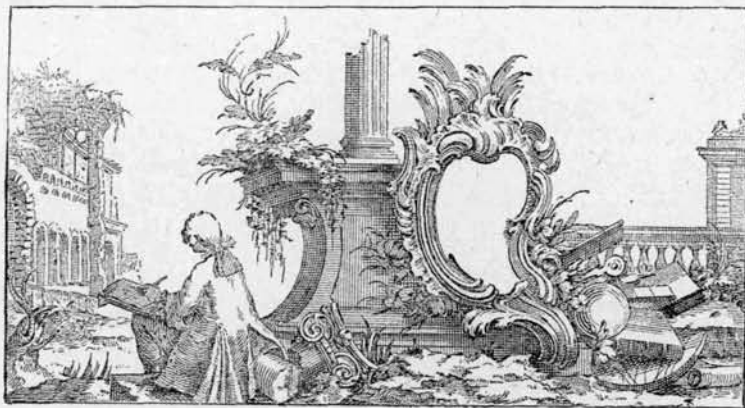
I can assure Bro. Vibert that I am not at all under the impression that I am offering anything new. In fact, I am not offering anything—I am only trying to express what is a common feeling, viz.: That the present classification has very little meaning to most ordinary Masons, and that what we want is a really useful one. My hope is that someone else will take up the matter—I merely throw out an appeal for some practical usefulness—that Bro. Vibert or someone else will produce what many a Mason is earnestly desirous of having: a scheme which can at least be partially understood by the average Mason. I do not propose to defend what I have written, because no one will expect on so complex a matter that anyone should make no mistakes; but I claim to have done my best, even if that best be a poor one.

As for Bro. Songhurst, who is steeped in Masonic lore, I can only say he mistakes me if he thinks I only want to destroy. I repeat that I should be quite satisfied if he, or someone else, even Dr. Begemann, would draw up a connected and really consecutive account of these MSS. showing where the historical events were related to the text as demonstrating Masonic evolution. It is with a sense of great gratification I listen to Bro. Songhurst's able attack on the evidence adduced that Sir Christopher Wren was Grand Master. The publication of his remarks will be of great value to many of us, even though they may have been already known to the very learned; but I would draw his attention to the fact that I deliberately abstained from making any

assertion that Wren *was* a Grand Master, and, consequently, I am not at all troubled to find that, in his opinion, the statements emanating from Dr Anderson are not to be relied upon. I am far too much indebted to him for help and information to desire to do anything but hear and profit by what he may say. One thing, however, I trust he will admit, viz., that, whether Anderson were a Mason in 1717 or not, or even if he wrote at a few years after the actual events themselves, he was as likely as most people to know the general bearing of Masonic History, and if his statements had been so very outrageous there would have been (presuming that Masons in those days were not unlike those whom we know to-day) many ready to attack him and prove his incapacity as an historian. I note that in "Two Letters to a Friend," published in days when Anderson must have had less knowledge and experience, no such suggestion is put forth. Still, Bro. Songhurst may be right.

Many have been disposed to criticize my contention that in 1717 the Jacobite rebellion had received such a blow as to make it no longer a source of anxiety to the Government. This has been held by Bro. Yarker (see his paper) and others; but as it is a question of history I need not press it. I would, however, point out that, though later on in 1745 there was another Jacobite rising, the 'Cause' must have been badly hit in 1716 for so long a period to have elapsed before any effort was made to recover lost prestige.

Unfortunately for myself, I have but scant time to devote to any form of literary work, and this must be at least one excuse for any shortcomings in the paper you have done me the honour to listen to and to criticize.



DR. BEGEMANN AND THE ALLEGED TEMPLAR CHAPTER AT EDINBURGH IN 1745.

BY BRO. J. E. S. TUCKETT, M.A., I.P.M. 2076,
Baldwyn Preceptory K.T.



THE most romantic and fascinating of the many traditions and legends which connect Prince Charles Edward Stuart with Freemasonry or allied bodies is the story of an alleged Chapter of an Order of the Temple said to have been held at Holyrood on Tuesday, 24th September, 1745, when the Prince 'looked most gallantly in the white robe of the Order' and 'took his profession like a worthy Knight,' while (according to another version) he then and there was elected to the Grand Mastership of the Order. Prince Charles entered Edinburgh on the 17th, won his great victory at Gladsmuir (Prestonpans) on the 21st, and remained in the Scottish Capital until the 11th November, when he set out upon his spirited but ill-fated expedition into England. With regard to this Temple Chapter on the 24th September the scanty evidence so far available is not sufficient to warrant any confident statement that it actually happened. Dr. G. E. W. Begemann, of Charlottenburg, has, however, written a treatise upon the evidence, which has been hailed as *proving* that the whole story is an *impossible* myth. The object of these pages is to show that our German Brother's deductions are wholly unwarrantable and that the arguments he brings forward to prove that the Chapter *could not* have taken place are unsound and not in accordance with actual facts. The present intention is to prove that it *could* have taken place and to examine to what extent the Tradition is *likely* to be true. It must be clearly understood that it is not for one moment pretended that in these pages will be found any proof that the alleged Chapter is an actual historical fact.

Dr. Begemann deals with the subject at pp. 56-63 of his *Die Tempelherrn und die Freimaurer. Entgegnung auf die gleichnamige Schrift des Geheimen Archivrats Dr. Ludwig Keller, von Dr. Wilhelm Begemann. Berlin. 1906.* The evidence is contained in a Letter said to have been written by the Duke of Perth from Edinburgh, dated 30th September, 1745, and addressed to David Lord Ogilvy son of the 4th Earl of Airlie, versions of which Letter appeared in the *Statutes of the Religious and Military Order of the Temple as established in Scotland. Edinburgh. 1843* (repeated in the editions of 1877 and 1897), in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for December 1st, 1843, in the *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, Kt., the eminent engraver, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Andrew Lumisden, Private Secretary to the Stuart Princes at Rome. By James Dennistoun. London. 1855.* Two volumes, 8^{vo.}, and in the *Freemasons Magazine* for 27th September, 1862, p. 256.

Before dealing with Dr. Begemann's own treatment of the evidence for and against the authenticity of the Letter, and the truth or falsity of the statements contained in it, it will be well to quote the opinions expressed by Bros. Dr. Chetwode Crawley and W. J. Hughan, for there is no doubt at all that the approbation bestowed by these eminent Brethren upon this portion of Dr. Begemann's tract has led English readers to suppose that his arguments are unanswerable. These opinions are contained in Bro. Hughan's well known work *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome*, in a *Review* of that work by Dr. Chetwode Crawley in our *Transactions*, and in the same Brother's series of articles on *The Templar Legends in Freemasonry*, also in *A.Q.C.*:—

The Jacobite Lodge at Rome. 1735-7. W. J. Hughan. Torquay. 1910.
Chap. iii. "Prince Charles" and Freemasonry.

One of the earliest references to the Prince relates to the Order of the Temple, and is to be found in the Statutes of that Organization for Scotland (Edit. 1897). The following occurs in the Historical Notice appended thereto by Professor Aytoun:—

“ From a letter in the archives of an old and distinguished Scottish family, which has been repeatedly published, we learn that John, Earl of Mar, succeeded Lord Dundee in the Master-ship (*of the Temple*); that on his demission the Duke of Athole assumed the administration of the affairs of the Order as its Regent; and, finally, that in 1745 Prince Charles Edward Stuart was elected to the high office of Grand Master, in a solemn Chapter held in the Palace of Holyrood. This letter [dated 30th Sept., 1745] is written by the Duke of Perth to the Lord Ogilvy, eldest Son of the Earl of Airlie.”

As to this statement, the “Edinburgh Advertiser” for December 1st, 1843, and Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, K.T. [*sic*], the eminent Engraver, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Andrew Lumisden, Private Secretary to the Stuart Princes at Rome, Vol. I., should be consulted.

Dr. George Emil W. Begemann, of Charlottenburg, has most thoroughly tested the Templar incident, and has failed to find any evidence in its favour. He has written me on the subject as follows:—

“ Nowhere before 1843, when the letter appeared in the Statutes of the Temple, is any trace of it to be found, and from the numerous authorities consulted it is quite certain that no Duke of Athole could have been present in Edinburgh on the 24th September, 1745.

When the Prince came to Scotland the younger brother was Duke of Athole, and resided in the Castle of Blair, and when the Prince came near that Castle, the Duke, who had no mind to be mixed up with H.R.H.'s affairs, left Blair and went to the South. (Jesse i., 224; Thomson ii., 115; Ewald i., 162; von Hassell, 105.)

His elder brother attended the Prince as Marquis of Tullibardine, and occupied the Castle of Blair, and he was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites. (Home, 132; Chambers, 2 and 9; Maxwell, 31; Thomson ii., 114; von Hassell, 105.)

He reached Blair Castle on the 30th August, but while the Prince went on the day following, the pretended Duke of Athole remained there until the middle of October. (Thomson ii., 114; Bell, 188, 219.)

There are also three letters, two of Lord George Murray's, dated 7th September, from Perth (Chambers, 75), and the 29th September, from Edinburgh (Chambers, *Memoirs*), and one of James Frazer, dated 9th October, from Edinburgh (Home, 132, 327).

These three letters are addressed to the *Jacobite* Duke of Athole, then at Blair Castle.

From all these evidences, it is certain that no Duke of Athole could have been in Edinburgh on September 24th, and it is quite beyond all possibility that a Duke of Athole could have ‘demitted as Regent’ as stated. The historical facts, as ascertained from reliable sources, do not favour the genuineness of the letter in question.

It is stated that the Lord of Mar was predecessor of the Duke of Athole, and successor to the Lord Dundee. But the latter was killed in the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, and the Lord of Mar was not of age before 1696. (Thomson i., 8.)

So it was impossible that he could have become Grand Master in 1689,

Besides which he was deeply in debt and not noted for his morality. (*ibidem.*)

He raised the Rebellion in 1715, and fled from Scotland with the Pretender, and died in 1732. (Home, 16: Jesse i., 140: Thomson i., 220: von Hassell, 13-19, 28.)

The Marquis of Tullibardine, who adopted the title of Duke of Athole in 1745, had been abroad from 1715 to that year, so it is most unlikely that he could have succeeded the Lord Mar in a Foreign country.

Besides there is a letter of Murray's, of Broughton, containing a description of the Duke of Perth, and stating that he was bred in France until 19 years of age; he never attained perfect knowledge of the English language, partly because of his extreme fondness to speak broad Scotch (Bell, 188),

so that the Duke of Perth is not at all likely to have written the letter in question in plain English."

Dr. Chetwode Crawley. Review of Hughan's *Jacobite Lodge at Rome*, A.Q.C. xxiii., 199.

Bro. W. J. Hughan . . . submits conclusive evidence to the effect that the young Pretender never was a Freemason.

In a communication, which must stand as a model of synthetic evidence, Dr. Begemann shows conclusively that the alleged letter of 30 Sept., 1745, on which so much stress is laid in the Statutes of the Order of the Temple in Scotland, is a pure fiction due to the invention of that delightful romancer, Prof. W. E. Aytoun.

At this point it is sufficient to remark:—(1) That Bro. Hughan submits no evidence of his own. In connection with the subject under discussion he simply quotes without comment Dr. Begemann's digest of his own argument; and (2) that Dr. Begemann does not 'show conclusively' that 'that delightful romancer Prof. W. E. Aytoun' invented the letter. *Dr. Begemann does not once mention Prof. Aytoun, either in the digest or in the full argument.* But in some Notes on Prof. Aytoun in A.Q.C. xxvi., p. 232, it is asserted that the *Historical Notice* (in the 1843 Statutes of O. of the T.) is 'universally ascribed to his (Aytoun's) pen'—the assertion being made by *Dr. Chetwode Crawley himself* and repeated by Bro. Hughan in chapter iii. of the *Jacobite Lodge at Rome*.

Dr. Chetwode Crawley. *The Templar Legends in Freemasonry*. A.Q.C. xxvi., 233.

Like the former letter, the latter was addressed to the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, in which it appeared on 1st December, 1843. . . . It professed to relate how the Grand Mastership devolved on and was accepted by the young Pretender . . . It has been frequently reprinted, and in spite of duplicate versions has maintained its ground to our own time. . . .

the authenticity of the letter, always questionable because uncorroborated, has been completely set aside by the investigations of Dr. W. Begemann. . . . Dr. Begemann has subjected the letter to the canons of historical criticism with a thoroughness of search and a cogency of conclusion that have never been surpassed. . . . The result at which Dr. Begemann arrived was:—

That the letter could not have been written by the personage to whom it was ascribed;

That it could not have been received at the specified date by the personage to whom it was supposed to be addressed;

That the happenings it purported to narrate were imaginary.

Whether or not the Letter is 'completely set aside' by the investigations of Dr. Begemann it is now our business to discuss. Again the present writer wishes to disclaim any pretention to establish its (the Letter's) authenticity, but he does hope to show in the following pages that Dr. Begemann fails to make out all three of the conclusions set forth by Dr. Chetwode Crawley.

Dr. Begemann's argument occupies pp. 56-63 in his *Die Tempelherrn*. It is here translated into English *in full*, and in this form is now presented to English readers for the first time:—

Dr. Begemann. *Die Tempelherrn &c.* 1906. p. 56 *et seq.*

p. 56. At my request for more than ten months past, well-informed gentlemen in Scotland and England have been hunting for the original of the Letter—so far in vain. The question is one of importance, because the Letter has been printed in two different versions.

The one version contains the assertion that the Prince was elected to the Grand mastership. The other version does not.

To be exact then the Journal [*Freemasons Magazine*, Sept. 27, 1862, p. 256], which Keller quotes as his authority, offers the shorter form of the letter, therefore he can have made no examination here himself, but must have copied another statement, indeed certainly that in the *Handbuch* [2nd Ed., 1867, iii., p. 337], the author of which statement however cannot have made use of the Journal, otherwise the difference between the two forms of the Letter could not fail to have struck him. The Journal borrows the Letter from the work entitled:—'*Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange . . . and of his Brother-in-Law Andrew Lumisden . . . By James Dennistoun.* (London. 1855. 2 vol.)

Footnote.—The Statutes of 1843 and the account of the election of the Prince to the Grandmastership are also mentioned by Kloss (i., 76), but as he does not allude to the F.M. Magazine Keller cannot have borrowed from him the information concerning this authority.

p. 57. The longer version of the Letter is contained in the 1843 Edinburgh edition of the Statutes of the O. of the T. and also in the later editions of 1877 and 1897.

A 'Historical Notice of the Order of the Temple' precedes the Statutes. (1877, p. xi.-xxiii. 1897, p. v.-xxi.)

For a year past I have been seeking in Scotland, England and America for a copy of the 1843 edition and I have at last discovered it in London.

The owner has collated the later editions with the 1843 edition on my behalf and he has verified that the wording of all three editions is absolutely identical.

At p. xvi. of the 1843 edition (p. xxi., 1877, p. xvi. 1897) it is stated:—

From a letter in the archives of an old and distinguished Scottish family, which has been repeatedly published, we learn that John, Earl of Mar, succeeded Lord Dundee in the Master-ship (of the Temple); that on his demission the Duke of Athole assumed the administration of the affairs of the Order as its Regent; and, finally, that in 1745 Prince Charles Edward Stuart was elected to the High Office of Grand Master, in a Solemn Chapter held in the Palace of Holyrood. . . . The Letter is dated 30 Sept. 1745 and the following is an extract.

I myself and friends interested in books have for a long time been seeking the 'repeated publications earlier than 1843'—but so far in vain.

In the 'Memoirs' mentioned, the Editor notices the few social evenings at the Palace of Holyrood which were enlivened by gaiety, and then he says:—

A word as to the shadowy Court which once again brightened the long-neglected saloons of the Abbey. On the 30th September, the Duke of Perth wrote to Lord Ogilvie. (Vol. i., p. 81.)

An official at the British Museum is inclined to consider the Letter as a complete invention, but the shorter version without further examination does not convey the impression of spuriousness, whilst the additional portions of the longer version assuredly present a very suspicious appearance.

I place the two versions side by side, the differences being in italics:—

A

It is truly a proud thing to see our Prince in the palace of his fathers, with all the best blood of Scotland around him. He is much beloved of all sorts, and we cannot fail to make that pestilent England smoke for it. Upon Monday last there was a great ball at the Palace, and on Tuesday, by appointment, there was a solemn Chapter of the ancient chivalry of the Temple of Jerusalem held in the audience room. * * * Our noble Prince looked most gallantly in the white robe of the order, took his profession like a worthy Knight; and, after receiving congratulations of all present, did vow that he would restore the Temple higher than it was in the days of William the Lion.

B

It is truly a proud thing to see our Prince *Charles Edward Stuart* in the Palace of his Fathers, with all the best blood of Scotland around him; he is much beloved of all sorts, and we cannot fail to make that pestilent England smoke for it. Upon Monday last, there was a great ball at the Palace, and on Tuesday *24th September* by appointment, there was a solemn Chapter of the ancient chivalry of the Temple of Jerusalem held in the audience room; *not more than ten Knights were present, for since my Lord of Mar demitted the office of G. Master, no general meeting has been called, save in your own north convent*: Our noble Prince looked most gallantly in the white robe of the Order, took his profession like a worthy Knight, and after receiving congratulations of all present, did vow that he would restore the Temple higher than it was in the days of William the Lion: *Then my Lord of Athole did demit as Regent, and his Royal Highness was elected G. Master. I write you this, knowing how you love the Order.*

In order to arrive at a sure judgement concerning the contents of the Letter, besides Dennistoun's 'Memoirs' I have gone through with care all such works, especially dealing with the Prince and the Rebellion of 1745, as were attainable by me, particularly the following:—

[Dr. B. here gives Titles and dates of the well known works by:—Home, Johnstone, Chambers, Maxwell, Jesse, Thomson, Ewald, von Hassell, Bell, and Andrew Lang.]

p. 59. Besides these I have looked through a number of other writings of which any further details can remain unnoticed. Those cited include the notes of contemporaries or rely upon such.

From these authorities as a basis the following conclusion can to begin with be with certainty deduced, that the G.M.^{ship} could not, on the 24 Sept. 1745, have passed from the D. of Athole to Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

At the time of the Prince's arrival in Scotland a younger son of the previous Duke occupied the chief family Castle of Blair and bore the title Duke of Athol, because the eldest son had taken part in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1719, and since then had lived attainted in in foreign parts.

In 1745 as Marquis of Tullibardine he was in personal attendance on the Prince, while the then legitimate Duke his younger brother wished to keep himself aloof from the Rebellion and in consequence escaped to the South when the Prince and his adherents drew near Blair Castle. (Jesse, vol. i., 224: Thomson, vol. ii., 115: Ewald, vol. i., 162: von Hassell, 105: Mahon, Hist. of England, vol. iii., 363.) He has no further concern in our discussion.

His elder brother at once occupied the Home of his Ancestors and from this time was recognized by the Jacobites as Duke of Athol. (Home, 132: Chambers, Memoirs, 2, 9: Maxwell, 31: Thomson, vol. ii., 114: von Hassell, 105.)

He and the Prince reached Blair Castle on the 30th Aug., but while the Prince went on on the following day, the actual Duke of Athol remained at Blair until the middle of October, partly because he was old and infirm, partly in order to beat up further recruits. (Thomson, vol. ii., 114; Bell, 188, 219.)

Three Letters may also be cited as evidence, two from his younger brother Lord George Murray dated 7 September from Perth (Chambers, 31) where the Prince halted from 4 to 11 Sept. (Home, 75), and 29 September from Edinburgh (Chambers, 44), the third from James Fraser dated 9 October (Home, 132, 327).

The certain historical fact then is that neither the legitimate nor the Jacobite Duke of Athole attended the pretended Templar Chapter in Edinburgh on 24 September 1745, and (neither) could (then) have resigned the G.M.^{ship}.

The Jacobite Duke who from 1715 to 1745 lived abroad as a refugee cannot be seriously regarded as G.M.

p. 60. **The Templar G.M.^{ship} of Charles Edward Stuart is, from the facts cited, naturally also finally set aside.**

The final portion of the Letter B has consequently betrayed its spurious origin, and the middle portion, according to which the Earl of Mar is said to have been the successor to Lord Dundee and the predecessor of the Duke of Athol, seems also to be untenable.

In 1689 at the Battle of Killiecrankie against William III. Lord Dundee lost his life as a Leader of the Scottish Stuart Party. According to the testimony of the Abbé Calmet he is said to have been G.M. of the O. of the T. in Scotland. (Historical Notice of the Order a.a.O.)

There are references to Templars united with Hospitallers in Scotland during the 15th and 16th centuries down to the year 1563, being represented in foreign parts through their grandmaster.

Footnote.—The Author of the Historical Notice (1877, xviii. *et seq.*: 1897, xiii. *et seq.*) is here dealing with authentic accounts, and Laurie (*The History of Free Masonry, Edinburgh, 1859, p. 78 et seq.*) follows him.

But whether Lord Dundee as G.M. in 1689 has been sufficiently verified appears to be open to question.

In any case it is inconceivable that the Earl of Mar was his successor, for in 1696, being then just of age, he left his native land (Thomson, vol. i., p. 8), and he cannot by any means be supposed to have already attained the G.M.^{ship} in 1689.

Moreover he was overwhelmed with debt and his manner of life was such that he was called the 'shame of his name.' (*ib.*)

From a perverted greed for honours he stirred up the Rebellion of 1715 but as soon as the cause became doubtful he fled with the Old Pretender to foreign parts, was attainted, and in 1732 died at Aix-la-Chappelle, after in 1723 falling into complete disgrace with the Old Pretender. (Home, p. 16: Jesse, vol. i., 140: Thomson, vol. i., 220: von Hassell, 13-19, 28.)

Thus both the Earl of Mar and the Jacobite Duke of Athol were abroad from 1715 and it is quite incomprehensible how they could have officiated as G.M.,

namely when and how by the 'Demission' of the Earl of Mar the Duke of Athol 'assumed the administration of the affairs of the Order as its Regent' (see Historical Notice, *ante*, p. 57) . . . since both of them must have quitted Scotland for ever in 1715.

It is evident: both Grandmasters are fancy-creations of the author of the Historical Notice of the year 1843.

The question now arises whether the version of the Letter in Dennistoun is genuine and original or a shortened form of B.

p. 61.

As the original Letter has never been found, nor is any printed version earlier than that of 1843 known, and as moreover the three asterisks in the middle of Dennistoun's version A are an indication that something has been left out, I conjecture that Dennistoun made use of the Historical Notice version B and that he cut it down because to him the pretended G.M. appeared to be altogether too dubious.

The same opinion is applicable to the reserve shown by the Scottish Masonic historian Laurie *, who was acquainted with the Statutes of

*Footnote.—William Alexander Laurie was G. Sec. of the G.L. of Scotland 1831-1858. After his resignation of the Office he published 'The History of Free Masonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland' (Edinburgh, 1859), an extensive work of 527 pages, of which the first general part (History of Free Masonry, pp. 1-94), is in many respects certainly unable to face criticism.

the Order of the Temple of 1843 for he drew special attention to them in a Note (p. 81, Note 1) and cited whole passages therefrom,

For of the Letter he employed only that portion printed by Dennistoun, while he observes:—

During his short stay at that Palace, Charles Stuart is stated to have taken his profession as a Templar, and to have “looked most gallantly in the white robe of the Order”, which is not improbable, (p. 83).

[The Quotation from Laurie is correct.—J.E.S.T.]

Laurie makes no use of the G.M.^{ships} of the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Athol, and the Prince, to which attention is drawn in the version of the Letter which appears in the Historical Notice, although in another place he makes plain his belief in the hereditary G.M.^{ship} of the Kings of Scotland (p. 93).

The author and the source of the Historical Notice, which first appeared in the 1843 edition of the Statutes, were naturally well known to Laurie who in Edinburgh was placed at the centre of Masonic life.

If he did not assign any importance to the passages in the Letter referred to, it is probable that this was because he knew them to be simple additions.

Even the shorter version of the Letter seemed to him to be doubtful, for he prefixes to the above mention the remark:—

If credit is to be given to a letter of the Duke of Perth to Lord Ogilvie in 1745. (p. 83.)

[The Quotation from Laurie is correct except that *of* should be *from*.—J.E.S.T.]

This caution on the part of Laurie is quite unusual; at other times he exhibits an astonishing credulity in (accepting) the wild tales of Thory, Clavel and other fabulists.

The pretended ball on the 23rd September arouses doubt and suspicion.

p. 62.

Some authorities speak of a ball on the 17th September on the day of the first bloodless entry of the Prince into the ancient Capital of his Ancestors,

But other immediate eye-witnesses, such as Lord George Murray (according to Chambers) and Murray of Broughton (according to Bell), have nothing to tell us concerning festivities.

The latter testifies rather precisely that the Prince on 22nd Sept., on his re-entry into Edinburgh after the bloody battle of Preston on 21st Sept., deprecated all demonstrations of loud triumphant joy at the success, and on the 23rd Sept. issued a Proclamation forbidding the citizens to celebrate the victory. (Bell, p. 209.)

This excludes the possibility that on the same day in the Palace of Holyrood “a great ball” could have taken place, as the letter affirms.

A clergyman, Dr. Alexander Carlyle, watched the Prince at the gate at Holyrood and ‘beheld his countenance thoughtful and melancholy’; the Court at the Abbey was ‘dull and sombre, the Prince was

melancholy; he seemed to have no confidence in anybody, not even in the ladies, who were much his friends.' (Lang, 109.)

Another witness, Henderson, avers that the Prince disobliged the ladies by declining to give even one ball. (Lang, 110.)

When he was blamed for his neglect of the ladies he pointed to a bearded Highland Sentry and exclaimed:—'These are my beauties.' (Lang, 111.)

Consequently a great ball on the 23rd September is also an historical impossibility, (and it follows that) The Templar Chapter on the 24th Sept. its last remaining feature cannot escape its fate also.

Of Scottish Noblemen who were conceivably Templars only four can with certainty be found amongst the retinue of the Prince on that day: The Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord Nairn and Lord Elcho.

Some one or two more are named by some authorities but according to other advices these were only admitted later.

Apart from the fact that not a single one of them is in any way known to have been a K.T., it is not easy to see how so few men would (could) have held a Chapter, especially, that is to say, as the said Lord Murray and the Prince himself were during the first few days after the battle particularly occupied with anxieties of every possible kind.

p. 63.

Moreover the Prince was in a serious and depressed state of mind as to the ultimate issue of his Enterprize, so that the triumphant promise that "he would restore the Temple higher than it was in the days of William the Lion" accorded very ill with his very slender Hope of Good Fortune.

Further it is not apparent why on the 30th Sept. the Duke of Perth should have despatched a letter of the kind to Lord Ogilvy who was daily expected and who actually reached Edinburgh on the 3rd October. (Home, 128.)

Finally John Murray of Broughton, who was personally and intimately acquainted with the Duke of Perth, says concerning him that as he was bred in France till 19 years of age he never attained perfect knowledge of the English language, and what prevented it in a great measure was his over-fondness to speak broad-Scotch. (Bell, 188, note: Lyon, 1900, 200.)

So that the Duke of Perth would have been incapable of inditing a letter written in faultless English.

Without exception nothing contradicts the opinion that the whole Letter is a forgery,

manufactured for the Historical Notice of 1843 for the purpose of endowing the then-existing Masonic Order of the Temple with the prestige of a greater antiquity.

This recent Order first reached Edinburgh in 1798, was constituted from Ireland in 1806, and was established as a Conclave of Kts. of the H.T. and S. and of St. J. of J. by England in 1811. (Lyon, 1900, 313.)

Charles Edward Stuart was not only never Grand Master but he was never even a K.T., for in 1745 that Order had long since ceased to exist in Scotland.

(End of Dr. Begemann's Arguments.)

The authorities quoted by Dr. Begemann are:—

- Home, John. *Hist. of the Rebellion in the year 1745*. Lond. 1802.
Johnstone, Chev. de. *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746*. Lond. 1820.
Chambers, Robert. *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. Edin. & Lond. 1834.
Chambers, Robert. *Hist. of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746*. Edin. 5th ed. 1840.
Maxwell of Kirkconnell. *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales . . . 1745*. Edin. 1841.
Jesse, J. H. *Memoirs of the Pretenders &c*. Lond. 1845.
Thomson, Mrs. K. *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*. Lond. 1845-6.
Ewald, A. C. *Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart*. Lond. 1875.
Hassell, W. von. *Der Aufstand . . . Carl Eduard Stuart &c*. Leipzig. 1876.
Bell, R. F. *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*. Edin. 1898.
Lang, Andrew. *Prince Charles Edward*. Edin. 1900.

To these I shall add:—

1745. Macpherson, James. *Hist. of the present Rebellion in Scotland &c*. Lond. 1745.
,, Walpole, Horace. *Letters*. Ed. Cunningham. Lond. 1857-9.
,, *The Woodhouselee MS*. First published in 1907.
,, Autograph Letter from John Erskine of Preston to Rev. Chas. Wesley, dated 30 Sept., 1745.
1746. Forbes, Bishop Robert. *The Lyon in Mourning*. Ed. Paton. Edin. 1895-6.
,, *The Jacobite Corresp. of the Atholl Family during the Rebellion*. Edin. 1840.
,, Hughes, Michael. *Plain Narrative or Journal of the late Rebellion*. Lond. 1746.
1747. *The Wanderer: or, Surprizing Escape*. Lond. 1747.
,, *The Female Rebels . . . The Titular Duke and Dutchess of Perth, the Lord and Lady Ogilvie . . .* Edin. 1747.
1748. Boyse, Samuel. *Impartial Hist. of the late Rebellion in 1745*. Reading. 1748.
,, Henderson, Andrew. *Hist. of the Rebellion, 1745 and 1746*. Lond. 1753. Edin. 1748.
1749. *Journal of the . . . Escape of the Young Chevalier*. Lond. 1749.
1750. Ray, James. *Compleat History of the Rebellion*. Bristol. 1750. Lond. 1760.
1816. Charles, George. *Hist. of the Trans. in Scotland . . . 1715-16 and 1745-6*. Stirling. 1816-7.
1836. Mahon, Lord. *Hist. of England*. Lond. 1836-54.
1837. Burnes, James. *Hist. of the Knight Templars*. Edin. 1837; also 1840.
1838. Browne, James. *Hist. of the Highlands and Htghland Clans*. Glasgow. 1838.
1840. Grant, John. *Memoir of James Burnes*. Calcutta. 1840.
1845. Klose, Carl L. *Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart*. Lond. 1845.
1851. Mahon, Lord. *The Forty-Five*. Lond. 1851.
1896. *The Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine*. Edin. 1896.
1900. Norie, W. Drummond. *Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*. London. N.D.
1903. Sanford Terry, C. *The Rising of 1745*. Lond. 1903.
1909. *D.N.B.*
1913. Hadden, J. Cuthbert. *Prince Charles Edward*. London. 1913.

William Murray (1689-1746) was the second son of John, Second Marquis and first Duke of Atholl (or Athole), born on the 14th April, 1689. He was at first known as Lord William Murray, and as such served in the Navy during 1708 and part of 1709. But his elder brother, John, being killed at the Battle of Malplaquet on 31st August, 1709, he succeeded to the title Marquis of Tullibardine. He was one of the most devoted adherents of the fallen Royal House of Stuart and was out in the 1715 at the head of 1,400 of the Atholl-men, and, after a narrow escape at Sheriffmuir and a weary period of hiding, he made good his escape to France. King James III., *i.e.*, The Old Pretender, created him Duke of Rannoch for his services, but he was attainted by the English Government. He was in chief command on land during the abortive expedition to the North Western Highlands, and, in spite of a price of £2,000 put upon his head by the Hanoverian Government, he again got away to France. On the death of his father he was naturally at once recognized by the Stuart King and the Jacobite Party as the rightful Duke of Atholl, but, in the eyes of the English Government, he had forfeited both title and estates, and these passed to his next younger brother, James. Duke William was one of the seven who accompanied Prince Charles to Scotland in 1745; he it was who unfurled the Prince's Standard at Glenfinnan on the 16th August and read aloud King James III.'s Manifesto proclaiming Prince Charles as Regent. The Jacobite Duke plays a very important part in Dr. Begemann's argument, but the account there given of him contains errors and inaccuracies.

Dr. Begemann.

'In 1745 as Marquis of Tullibardine he was in personal attendance on 'the Prince.'

'... from this time was recognised by the Jacobites as Duke of 'Atholl.'

'He and the Prince reached Blair Castle on the 30th August.'

'... the Prince went on on the 'following day' (*i.e.*, 31st Aug.).

Comment.

He was in attendance as Duke of Atholl. Those of the opposite party of course styled him Marquis of T.

'After the death of his father in 1724 he was recognised by the Jacobites 'as Duke of Atholl.'

D.N.B., 1909, xiii., 1306, and every contemporary Jacobite authority.

From this time he was frequently styled D. of A. even by the Hanoverian party.

They reached the Braes of Atholl on 30th Aug. and next day 31st Aug. came to Blair Castle.

Wanderer, 38; Charles II., 21; Klose I., 228; Lang, 77; Norie I., 225; Hadden, 153.

The Prince stayed at Blair Castle from 31st Aug. to either the 2nd or 3rd Sept.

Jacobite Memoirs, 26; *Lyon* I., 208; *Wanderer*, 39; Home, 75; Browne, 39; Henderson, 36; Macpherson, 22; Chambers, 65; Johnstone, 15; Walpole II., 62; Ewald, 97; Charles II., 22; Klose I., 228; Hadden, 154; Norie I., 230-1; Lang, 78.

We now come to an error which cuts at the root of the whole of this part of Dr. Begemann's argument:—

“ . . . the actual Duke of Athol remained at Blair until the middle
“ of October . . . ”

This is quite incorrect, as I shall presently show. But first let us examine the two reasons given:—

“ . . . partly because he was old and infirm, partly in order to beat
“ up recruits.”

The picture of the Duke here presented is that of an aged decrepit personage too feeble to proceed any further. The facts are that although he was past his youth and that he suffered from ill-health throughout the campaign, yet he was, in spite of both these disadvantages, one of the most determined and one of the most valuable of the Prince's attendants and followers. He accompanied the expedition into and the retreat from England in command of the second column, not travelling in a coach, as did Lord Pittsligo, but on foot or on horseback. This in the depth of an extremely rigorous winter. At Derby, when the Council decided upon the retreat, the contemporary Hay tells us that Tullibardine 'seemed much for going forwards' to London. (Lang, p. 144.) Before Falkirk he was engaged in the arduous and thankless task of looking for and forcing out such of the Atholl men as were inclined to side with the Hanoverian Duke. After Falkirk and Culloden came a weary and wearing period of hiding amidst every species of danger and discomfort. At last, worn out, this brave man surrendered, was basely betrayed, and conveyed to the Tower of London. There he died, and was buried in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula. [Sanford Terry, 78, 81; Chambers, 445; Charles, 319, 341; Ewald, 150; *Journal Escape*, 1749, 78; *Lang*, 126, 130, 144, 157, 191; Browne, 274; *Correspondence of the Atholl Family*, 227; Norie ii., 154, 205; Murray of Broughton *Memoirs*, 231.]

The second reason is the real one, and the very nature of the task assigned to the Duke of Atholl by the Prince makes it evident that he must have been moving about constantly in the area within which he was to recruit, organise, requisition and collect stores of all kinds, and so forth. He was, in fact, to rally the Highland Clans and their resources to the service of the House of Stuart, and in particular to recall his own Atholl-men to their allegiance. On 22nd September the Prince named him Commander-in-Chief of the Forces North of the Forth. His Head-Quarters remained at Blair Castle until 26th September, and then moved to Dunkeld. The following movements of the Duke are vouched for by contemporary authority:—

31 Aug.	At Blair Castle
3 Sept.	„ Dunkeld
4 „	„ Perth
12 „	„ Crieff
13 „	„ Dunkeld
26 „ to 14 Oct.	„ Dunkeld
17 Oct.	„ Perth
30 „	„ Edinburgh
30 „ onwards	With the Expedition.

The author of *The Wanderer*, 1747, quotes from a MS. in French 'written by 'one belonging to the nominal duke of Athol,' adding: 'I . . . endeavoured 'to be particularly informed of his (the Prince's) march to that metropolis '(Edinburgh): and with some difficulty and a good deal of diligence got notes.'

The following are some references and quotations:—

That the Duke of Atholl left Blair 3 Sept.: arrived Dunkeld 3 Sept.; left Dunkeld arrived Perth 4 Sept.: at Crieff 12 and 13 Sept.; left Crieff arrived Dunkeld 13 Sept.

The Wanderer, 39; Home, 295.

‘ . . . Meantime our Duke of Athol’s eldest brother (*i.e.*, Duke William) has returned from Perth to Dunkeld, as it is believed, to raise men. Few followed him from Athol to Perth . . . ’

Letter from Lord Milton to Marquis of Tweeddale dated Edinburgh, 7th Sept., 1745; Home, 295.

That the Duke of Atholl accompanied his brother Lord George Murray to Perth and there presented him to the Prince 4 Sept.

Chambers, 69; Macpherson, 25-6.

‘ with this view Lord George Murray sent an express to his brother the Marquis of Tullibardine, on the seventh, requesting him to march with such forces as he had collected, on the morning of Tuesday the tenth . . . to reach Crieff next day.’

Jacobite Memoirs, 31; Browne, 49.

That the Duke did so is shown by the fact that he was at Crieff on the 12th.

The Wanderer, 39.

‘ the 7th ditto (October) the duke continued at the castle of Dunkeld till the 25th, in which time he received all the warlike stores, and four thousand louis-d’ors for the p—, from on board a ship arrived from France. The 28th he set out from Dunkeld for Perth about 15 miles distant; where on the 29th, he received another supply of warlike stores from on board a French ship . . . the duke joined the wanderer at Edinburgh, on the 10th November N.S.’

The Wanderer, 61

[Note.—Oct. 7 N.S.	=	Sept. 26 O.S.	
„ 25	=	Oct. 14	
„ 28	=	„ 17	
Nov. 10	=	„ 30]

It is quite evident that the idea that the Duke of Atholl remained stationary at Blair Castle from 31st August to the end of October is a complete fallacy.

But Dr. Begemann mentions certain Letters, namely:—

- (1) from Lord George Murray, dated 7th Sept., from Perth
- (2) „ „ „ „ „ 29th „ „ Edinburgh
- (3) „ James Frazer „ 9th Oct., „ Edinburgh

In *Die Tempelherrn* he does but mention these Letters, but in chapter iii. of *The Jacobite Lodge at Rome* he makes the more precise statement that:—

‘ These three letters are addressed to the *Jacobite* Duke of Athole, then at Blair Castle.’

The fact, *if it is a fact*, that the Letters were *addressed* to the Duke at Blair Castle is no evidence whatever that the Duke was *actually* at the Castle, either when the Letters were written or when they came to his hand. As a matter of fact he was at Blair when Letter No. (1) reached him, but, seeing that the gist of Dr. Begemann’s argument is that the Duke never left Blair, it is a little unfortunate that no mention is made of the important fact that Lord George’s Letter is an *urgent request* to the Duke to *leave at once and proceed to Crieff* (*Jacobite Memoirs*, 31; Browne, 49:) which he actually did, being at Crieff on the 12th (*The Wanderer*). When the other two Letters were written the Duke was at Dunkeld. The evidence in support of Dr. Begemann’s contention to be derived from the *address* on these Letters is *nil*—that is, supposing that they were so

addressed, of which there is no indication. The evidence to be derived from the *contents* of Letter No. (1) destroys Dr. Begemann's contention utterly.

'The certain historical fact then is that neither the legitimate nor the 'Jacobite Duke of Athole attended the pretended Templar Chapter in 'Edinburgh on 24 September 1745'

Die Tempelherrn, p. 59.

'It is certain that no Duke of Athole could have been in Edinburgh 'on September 24th'

Jacobite Lodge, ch. iii.

These are false deductions based upon the false notion entertained concerning the Duke's movements. The Jacobite Duke *could* have been in Edinburgh on 24th September. On the 26th he was at Dunkeld, *arriving* there on that day. He *could* have been on his way back from a hurried visit to Edinburgh for the Chapter on the 24th. I do not say that he *was*, but it is *not* a 'certain historical fact' that he *was not*. Dunkeld is roughly forty-four miles from Edinburgh, and he would have had from the morning of the 25th to any time on the 26th for the journey.

(neither of the Dukes) 'could' (then) 'have resigned the Grandmastership.'

Here Dr. Begemann does not even quote correctly the Letter he is examining. The Letter says nothing about 'resigning the Grandmastership.' However, he corrects this slip in writing to Bro. Hughan:—

It is quite beyond all possibility that a Duke of Athole could 'have "demitted as Regent" as stated.'

This is an amazing statement. Even supposing that the Duke could not possibly have been present—which is not actually the case—did it not occur to Dr. Begemann that the Duke could perfectly well have 'demitted' by proxy or in writing? Such an 'act' in writing would have been quite valid, and the sending to and fro of Letters and despatches was going on constantly.

'The Jacobite Duke who from 1715 to 1745 lived abroad as a refugee cannot be seriously regarded as G.M.'

If, as Dr. Begemann supposes, it is a question of a continuation of the old original Order of the Temple in Scotland, then possibly the Duke's absence in foreign parts might be held to have some bearing. But if it is a question of a *Jacobite Society* calling itself the 'Ancient Chivalry of the Temple of Jerusalem' of recent origin and created abroad by adherents of the Jacobite claimant to the Throne of England, *then* the residence of the Duke at the Court of his exiled master, his age, his rank, and his prominent services and devotion to the Cause—all these things point him out as an exceedingly likely personage for the 'Regency' until such time as the Prince himself might be ready or willing to take up the 'Grandmastership.' It should be noted that Dr. Begemann again misquotes the Letter when he refers to the Duke as *Grandmaster*. It is a small point, but the use of the word "Regent" makes rather in the direction of genuineness. It must be remembered that there is evidence of some such 'Templar movement' on the Continent just before the time of the 1745, namely, that which is associated with the names of Von Hund, Kilmarnock, Clifford and others. That Order which commencing apparently as Jacobite and non-Masonic became later Masonic (The Strict Observance) and non-Jacobite. I do not say that these things are established facts, but that there are traditions, and some evidence pointing that way.

'The Templar Grandmastership of Charles Edward Stuart is, from the 'facts cited, naturally also finally set aside.'

The 'facts' cited are some of them correct and more of them incorrect, but none of them either add to or take away from the probability of Prince Charles Edward's

'Profession' and election to the Grandmastership of such a society as I have indicated above.

We may pass over the references to Lord Dundee as quite irrelevant, except that, supposing a Jacobite *Templar* Society to have been founded, it would naturally provide itself with a 'traditional history and succession.' The Earl of Mar may have been one of the 'Founders' and a 'G.M.'—his exile is in favour of such a proposition.

' . . . He was overwhelmed with debt and his manner of life was such that he was called the "shame of his name."'

What *has* this to do with it? Was not the Duke of Wharton G.M. of Freemasons in spite of smiliar troubles?

' . . . after in 1723 falling into complete disgrace with the Old 'Pretender.'

This may possibly explain why he 'demitted the Office of G. Master' (see Version B) if he ever enjoyed that honour.

Dr. Begemann proceeds to repeat *twice* the 'since-they-were-abroad' argument, and once more decides that:—

'both Grandmasters' (Mar and Atholl) 'are fancy-creations of the 'author of the *Historical Notice* of the year 1843.'

This concludes the examination of Version B of the Letter, that in the 1843 *Historical Notice* in the Statutes of the Order of the Temple in Scotland. Dr. Begemann next proceeds to discuss the Version A, that in *Sir Robert Strange* by Dennistoun, 1855. He conjectures that the three asterisks in Version A show that it is derived from Version B by the simple process of *leaving something out*. It should, however, be noticed that there are other differences beside that which occurs at the place marked by the three asterisks. It is equally likely that Version A is a nearer approximation to an earlier Version still than is Version B, and that Version B has been obtained by another simple process, namely, that of *putting something in*.

' . . . the original Letter has never been found, nor is any printed 'version earlier than that of 1843 known.'

That is so, and it is sufficient to make us decide to suspend our judgment and decline to accept the Letter and the statements made in it as *established facts*.

In 1837 there appeared *A Sketch of the History of the Knight Templars*, by James Burnes, LL.D., F.R.S. *Knight of the Guelphs of Hanover*. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh. MDCCCXXXVII. A special limited edition in special binding for presentation to a few immediate friends of the Author. The 'first' edition is dated 1840. In his 'Introduction,' which is dated 'United Service Club. Edinburgh. 28 May. 1837,' Burnes says:—

A considerable portion of the following pages consists merely of an abridgement or reprint of an admirable but not sufficiently known article, written I believe by Mr. Keightly, on the History of the Templars, down to the period of the persecution, in the Foreign Quarterly Review for 1828, followed by some extracts from Laurie's Free-Masonry, and Mill's History of Chivalry.

For much of the information recorded in the Chapter on the Scottish Templars I am under great obligations to Adam Paterson and William Pringle Esquires both of whom furnished me with valuable Manuscripts. The latter of these gentlemen is the author of the interesting 'Notitiæ Templariæ' in that valuable periodical, the Free-Masons' Review.

In conclusion . . . warmest acknowledgements to my friend W. A. Laurie Esq.

At p. 56 Burnes writes:—

During the whole of the eighteenth century the combined Order of the Temple and Hospital in Scotland can be but faintly traced, though I have the assurance of well-informed Masons that thirty or forty years ago they knew old men who had been members of it for sixty years.

In a *Memoir of James Burnes, LL.D., K.H., F.R.S.*, By John Grant, Esq., Reprinted From Dr. Corbyn's *India Review for September 1840*. With an Appendix—Calcutta . . . 1840, there occurs:—

Dr. Burnes . . . his . . . History of the Knight Templars, having been encouraged to undertake the work by offers of valuable documents in the possession of old and noble families.

In *The History of Free-Masonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland* . . . by William Alexander Laurie . . . Edinburgh: Seton & Mackenzie. London: R. Spencer. Calcutta: R. C. Lepage & Co. MDCCCLIX., at p. 84:—

During the whole of the eighteenth century the Scottish Order can be but faintly traced, though Mr. Deuchar had in 1836 the assurance of well-informed Masons that thirty or forty years previous they knew old men who had been members of it for sixty years.

These extracts *prove* nothing as to the Letter, but they do show that from 1836 several eminent gentlemen were interesting themselves in Templar matters, namely:—Burnes, Paterson, Pringle, Keightly, Deuchar and others, and 'valuable manuscripts' and 'valuable documents in the possession of old and noble families' were handled by them in the course of their investigations. Whether it is easier to believe that Prof. Aytoun or any other 'delightful romancer' deliberately 'invented' ('forged' would be the correct word) the Letter, or that the Letter must have had some foundation in fact, must be left to individual judgment. For myself I prefer to think that some such letter did actually exist, was seen, got lost or destroyed, and was reconstructed later from memory and possibly with embellishments.

But here we come to what is Dr. Begemann's one solitary genuine argument, and, so far as it goes, it is a strong one. The reserve shown by Laurie tells in favour of Dr. Begemann, for, as he remarks:—

'This caution on the part of Laurie is quite unusual; at other times he exhibits an astonishing credulity . . .'

Still, even this would be accounted for if Laurie knew that nothing more substantial than a *memory* of a Letter (which some claimed to have seen but which was no longer available) survived when *The Hist. of F.M. and the G.L. of Scotland* was in preparation.

Bro. Begemann next deals with what he calls the 'pretended ball' on the 23rd of September, the evening of the day previous to the alleged Templar Chapter:—

'Some authorities speak of a ball on the 17th September . . . But 'other eye-witnesses . . . have nothing to tell us concerning 'festivities.'

Earlier in the argument Dr. Begemann says:—

'In the "Memoirs" mentioned (Dennistoun), the Editor notices the 'few social evenings at the Palace of Holyrood which were enlivened 'by gaiety.'

Here, by a partial quotation, he (Dr. Begemann) has (of course quite unintentionally) quite altered the sense. The complete passage runs:—

' . . . that charm which his (the Prince's) presence imparted to 'the gay assemblages in Holyrood, during the few evenings when the

'old palace was lit up by loyal smiles from lovely eyes, and anxious forebodings were for a time suspended by music or the merry strathspey.'

Dennistoun, vol. i., p. 81.

The real meaning is clear. The Prince's stay in Edinburgh was brief, but music and dancing enlivened the evenings.

Since Chambers is quoted by Dr. Begemann, let us turn to Chambers:—

Chambers. Chap. xiii. Prince Charles at Holyrood. p. 144.

'He . . . gave a few balls to the ladies who favoured his cause. . . . A tune to which he danced with Lady Betty Wemyss on one or more of these occasions has been preserved and published. . . . At his balls, which were held in the picture gallery, he took care to dress very elegantly . . .'

And on p. 145 Chambers quotes the following from Home's *History*, being an 'Account of the Prince's daily life at Holyrood House' and actually written by one of the Prince's officers:—

'In the evening he returned to Holyrood House and received the ladies who came to his drawing room. He then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper and a ball afterwards.'

Chambers, p. 145.

The quotation from Home is correct, the passage occurs at p. 139 of his *History of the Rebellion*. 1802.

Here is a passage from an Autograph Letter written to the Rev. Charles Wesley by John Erskine, the owner of Preston, where the Battle of Gladsmuir (Prestonpans) was fought. The Letter—two pp. folio—is dated 30th September, 1745:—

'Tis reported by both sides that the Chevalier till he came to Edinburgh was dressed in the Highland habit . . . that at Perth (and Edinburgh) he danced with the ladys at their Balls and Assemblies, does all he can to ingratiate himself with all sorts, . . .'

Here is another from *The Woodhouselee MS.*, a contemporary Diary of the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, written by a keen Whig and pious Presbyterian. The MS. was first published in 1907 by its present owner, C. E. S. Chambers, Esq.:—

'This is now the fowrth silent Lords Day in Edinburgh . . . How do the walls murne for the stage plays dancing assemblies and consorts of musick . . . In the midst of it ther is no magestracy nor rowle in the place.'

The Woodhouselee MS., p. 94.

Other testimonies worth quoting are:—

'To mark his sense of the respect shown him, and to ingratiate himself still more with his new friends, Charles gave a series of balls and entertainments in the palace (Holyrood), which were attended by all the persons of rank and fashion assembled in the Capital.'

Samuel Boyse. *An Impartial History of the Late Rebellion*. 1748.

'On returning in the evening he held a drawing-room for the ladies of his party and not unfrequently closed the day by giving them a ball in the old picture gallery of Holyrood. . . . At his balls, he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes.'

Lord Mahon. *The Forty-Five*. Lond. 1851; also vol. iii. of his *Hist. of England*, 1836-54.

'Levés and drawing-rooms were held in Holyrood, and the crush that assembled was worthy of St. James's. Concerts, balls, and receptions were freely given by the Lowland gentry and the presence of the Prince seldom withheld.'

Ewald, p. 136.

'His (the Prince's) evenings (in Edinburgh) were occupied by concerts, balls, and other entertainments.'

Klose i., p. 289.

'... at Holyrood . . . holding Court for distinguished sympathisers, giving balls to the Jacobite ladies . . .'

Hadden, p. 207.

'These balls and receptions, which were held in the great picture-gallery, . . . attracted all the Jacobite rank and fashion of the capital and surrounding district . . . Charles rarely, if ever, danced himself at these assemblies . . .'

Norie ii., p. 128.

Dr. Begemann quotes from Lang three pieces of evidence, namely:—(1) the testimony of the Rev. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, (2) the statement by Henderson, and (3) the famous anecdote of the Highland sentry. The first amounts to nothing at all, the second refers to a specific occasion, whilst the third is believed to have occurred *at a ball* when the Prince was being reproached for not himself joining in the dance. The Henderson story appears in another and different form in *The Wanderer*:—

'It was once hinted to him, that some ladies seemed desirous of a ball? to which he answered, it was a very improper season to think of diversions.'

The Wanderer, p. 62.

Dr. Begemann, in quoting these passages from Lang, omits to tell us that they occur in the course of a discussion of this very point, namely, whether or no dances formed part of the entertainments at Holyrood. Nor does he mention that Mr. Lang decides that:—

'Doubtless, with so many young Highland gentlemen present, there were "dancing and derry," white roses, and tartan sashes.'

Lang, 110.

The fact to be noted is that a Ball or Dancing was a general or frequent happening in the evening during the sojourn of the Prince in the Scottish capital.

It is true that Prince Charles 'deprecated all demonstrations of loud triumphant joy' at his victory at Gladsmuir, and also that he issued a Proclamation forbidding the citizens to celebrate that victory. But a Ball in the evening does not come under the heading of 'demonstration of loud triumphant joy,' nor does it constitute a contravention of the Prince's order to the citizens. He would not allow the city to be illuminated, as it had been on his entry, and there were to be no processions in the public streets. The Ball in the Palace was (as has been pointed out) a *normal* feature in the day's programme.

But Dr. Begemann considers that the Proclamation:—

'excludes the possibility that on the same day in the Palace of Holyrood "a great ball" could have taken place.'

And the fact that the Prince was 'thoughtful and melancholy, etc.,' together with the statement of one 'witness,' Henderson, and the story of the bearded Highlander, leads him to pronounce as follows:—

'consequently a great ball on the 23rd September is also an historical impossibility.'

It is generally considered to be a vain effort to *prove* a negative, but the use of the term 'historical impossibility' indicates that Dr. Begemann thinks that he has achieved that result.

'The Templar Chapter on the 24th Sept. its last remaining feature
'cannot escape its fate also.'

Either a Ball did take place on the 23rd or it did not, but whether it did or whether it did not take place does not affect by a shadow or a shade the *possibility* of a Templar Chapter on the 24th. The two things had no connection the one with the other. The argument is unsound throughout. If the Doctor means that we ought not to trust the Letter when it tells us that a Templar Chapter was held on the 24th, because the same Letter tells us about a Ball on the 23rd in which he (the Doctor) places no trust, he should say so. But to say that the Ball is an 'historical impossibility' and that THEREFORE the Templar Chapter is an 'historical impossibility' also—is intolerable.

Dr. Begemann.

Comment.

'of Scottish Noblemen who were conceivably Templars only four can with certainty be found amongst the retinue of the Prince on that day.'

Any officer or gentleman of the Prince's Army or suite is 'conceivable' as a member of this Order of the Temple if it existed.

'it is not easy to see how so few men would (could) have held a Chapter.'

Does Dr. Begemann mean so few as *four* or so few as *ten* the number stated in Version B of the Letter? Is it known how many were necessary to hold a Chapter?

Lord Murray and the Prince
were occupied
'anxieties of every possible kind.'

See the description given by contemporaries of the Prince's evenings.
Dennistoun, 81: Chambers, 144-5:
Klose, 289: Hadden, 197-9: also
Boyse, Mahon, &c., &c.

. . . . the triumphant promise accorded very ill with
'his very slender Hope of Good Fortune.'

This is a very feeble style of argument. Prince Charles was naturally *anxious*, but he was sanguine, and, indeed, counted upon success. Even if he did not, he would be very careful not to advertise his want of confidence. It was naturally his policy to appear *certain* of triumph. His standard unfurled at Glenfinnan bore the legend *Tandem Triumphans*.

The account of the Duke of Perth, quoted by Dr. Begemann a little further on in his argument—it is by John Murray of Broughton, of unhappy memory—may be accurate enough, and yet, taken alone, it may convey a quite inaccurate picture of the Duke as an uncouth and unlettered man. James Drummond (1713-1746), 6th Earl and 3rd Duke of Perth, was the eldest son of James Drummond, 5th Earl and 2nd Duke. He was born 11th May, 1713, at Drummond Castle, and remained there until 1720, when his father died. His mother then took him to France, where he was educated first at Douai and then at Paris, and it is known that he showed marked proficiency, especially in mathematics, and was, in fact, for the times, above the average of young men of his rank in culture and attainments generally. On reaching manhood—Murray says nineteen years of age—he returned to Scotland and interested himself in agriculture and manufactures. Although the attainder of his father deprived him of any claim to the title which the established Government would recognize, it is remarkable that he invariably styled himself, and was styled by others, Hanoverians and Jacobites alike, Duke of Perth. Soon after the Prince landed in Scotland an attempt was made to capture him, but he managed to escape and elude the vigilance of the Government agents searching for him. He joined the Prince at Perth on the

4th September, and continued with the expedition until the defeat at Culloden, where he commanded the left wing. He escaped from Scotland on the French ship *Bellone*, but died during the passage, 13th May, 1746, and was buried at sea. The enemies of the Stuart Cause generally recognised his merits and goodness, but Horace Walpole, in his *Letters*, vol. ii., p. 69, refers to him as 'a silly race-horsing boy,' while Tweedale, in a communication to Lord Harrington, speaks of him as of 'little spirit' and with 'no great following in the Highlands' (State Papers, Scotland, 9th August, 1745; Ewald, p. 99). These are but malicious slanders, the truer picture being that by Douglas, 'bold as a lion in the field of battle, but ever merciful in the hour of victory' (*D.N.B.* vi., 32; see also *The Female Rebels*, 1747). Such was the man who is supposed to have written the Letter with which we are concerned. The man to whom he is supposed to have addressed it was David Ogilvy, Lord Ogilvy, later Earl of Airlie (1725-1803), eldest son of John, 4th Earl of Airlie. He was born in February of 1725, and educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and was an accomplished young man, proud and high spirited and quick of temper, but brave and devoted to the cause he served. He first joined the Prince at Perth on the 3rd September, but left again to beat up recruits, which he did to some purpose, for he was able to lead into Edinburgh, on the 3rd of October, a regiment of 600 men from his father's lands in Forfar. He joined the Prince's Council, and during the memorable retreat from Derby he was entrusted with the important command of the Cavalry, in which he showed that he possessed conspicuous skill. After Culloden he was in hiding for a time, but eventually escaped on board a ship bound for Bergen, in Norway.¹ (*D.N.B.* xiv., p. 917; see also *The Female Rebels*, &c., 1747.)

'It is not apparent why on the 30th Sept. the Duke of Perth should have despatched a letter of the kind to Lord Ogilvy who was daily expected and who actually reached Edinburgh on the 3rd October.'

Neither Version A nor Version B pretends to be the *complete* Letter. The beginning, the middle, the ending are all wanting, and until these portions are forthcoming it is impossible for Dr. Begemann or anyone else to have any idea at all as to what 'kind' of Letter it was. Suppose, for example, the Letter was written for the purpose of urging Lord Ogilvy to make all speed and to get to Edinburgh at the earliest possible moment. Suppose this—and what becomes of Dr. Begemann's argument?

The Duke of Perth entered Edinburgh with Prince Charles on the 17th of September and continued with him until the departure of the expedition into England. Therefore, the Duke of Perth was in Edinburgh when he is supposed to have written the Letter.

'The Duke of Perth . . . bred in France . . . never attained perfect knowledge of the English language . . . his over-fondness to speak broad-Scotch.'

'So that the Duke of Perth would have been incapable of inditing a letter written in faultless English.'

¹ The following passage in Hughan's *Origin of the English Rite* (Ed. 1909, pp. 157-160) is of interest.

p. 157. Dr. Kloss (*Freemasonry in England, Ireland, and Scotland*, 1847) refers to a letter written by Bro. J. F. Pollet, on the 25th April, 1763, to Bro. J. Peter Gogel, Prov.G.M. (Frankfort). "I have taken the requisite means to receive and learn the Scotch Degree usual in England. It is the same which resembles what the French call the Royal Arch, and it was first known in France from the raising of the Scottish Regiment Ogilvy in 1746. The Collar of the French Royal Arch is red, the Apron green, with a St. Andrew's Cross"

p. 160. . . . the clothing mentioned being more suggestive of the Royal Order of Scotland.

After a brief detention at Bergen Lord Ogilvy was allowed to depart for France where he raised and commanded the Regiment named after him and composed for the most part of destitute Scottish Jacobite Refugees willing to enter the French Service. Bro. Pollet's Letter of 1763 is witness to Masonic activity in the Regiment which must at least have been known and approved by the Commanding Officer.

Now, assuming that there was an *original* Letter, one thing that is absolutely certain is that neither Version A nor Version B is that original Letter or any portion of it *transcribed word for word and letter for letter*. The original Letter—if there was one—would almost certainly have been written in French of the period, and, in that case, A and B are *translations*. If not in French, then the *original* Letter must have been written in English or Scots-English, BUT IN THE STYLE OF 1745. The style of Versions A and B is that of a century later—in fact, of the time when they were written, 1843-1855. They are, therefore, *modernisations* of the original if that original was in Scots-English. It is no uncommon thing for letters and documents to be cited with orthography and style modernised. And it is, indeed, very true that the Duke of Perth of 1745 would have been incapable of inditing a letter written *in faultless English of a century later*. So that this argument breaks down as completely as the rest. It must not be forgotten, too, that there is the added probability that Versions A and B are no more than an effort of *memory* on the part of the author of the *Historical Notice* of 1843 or of some person whom he consulted. This is a more satisfactory assumption than that of a shameful forgery for the base purpose suggested as a motive by Dr. Begemann.

The result to which a study of Dr. Begemann's argument leads is conveniently expressed in the form adopted by Dr. Chetwode Crawley:—

That the letter **COULD** have been written by the personage to whom it was ascribed. (I do not say that it *was*.)

That it **COULD** have been received at the specified date (particularly as no date for the reception was anywhere specified) by the personage to whom it was supposed to be addressed. (I do not say that it *was*.)

That the happenings it purported to narrate are **POSSIBLY** actual facts. (I do not say they are.)



FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1920.



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks, I.P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—
Bros. Harry Tipper, P.G.St.B., John Church, Ralph Nicholson, H. T. Manwaring, Fred. S. Terry, P. C. Penwarden, Wm. C. Terry, Arthur Heiron, G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., E. W. Marson, John Thompson, B. Wolde, W. C. Jones, E. B. Wells, C. F. Sykes, F. J. Asbury, F. W. Hancock, P.A.G.D.C., John Lawrance, Walter Dewes, L. Hemens, Abdul Rahman, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, P. E. Reinganum, E. C. Cobbold, Albert Presland, Geo. W. Sutton, Cecil D. Hills, T. G. Lumley Smith, James R. Potts, S. A. Pakeman, F. C. Bickell, L. Spencer Compton, Howard J. Bonser, Robert Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Robert F. J. Colsell, W. Cornwall, George Lewis, G. F. Ely, William A. Tharp, P.G.St.B., Chas. J. Laker, R. H. Wood, Percy F. Kensett, Hervey Bathurst, P.G.Stwd., Percy H. Horley, C. Wright Marles, A. W. Thomson, H. Huxley, F. Stanley Henwood, Joseph H. Stretton, G. Mumford, John B. Michael, Ernest E. Sharp, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.P., J. H. Seakins, Henry Hyde, H. T. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., L. G. Wearing, H. E. Simpson, C. Lewis Edwards, P.G.D., F. W. Le Tall, J. A. S. Bullock, H. Johnson, F. Knight, W. N. Blair, C. Gordon Bonser, J. H. Pullen, E. C. Harkness, C. Gough, Thos. L. Found, W. F. Keddell, H. McLachlan, Ed. Glaeser, A. C. Walter, H. F. Bayliss, Hugh Western, P.G.Stwd., E. A. Seyd, Stanley Palmer, A. J. Collier, G. H. Fennell, E. Chappell, W. J. Williams, C. R. Macauley, J. Inkster, F. J. Boniface, Digby L. Cropper, R. Harrison Archbald, Walter H. Brown, P.G.Stwd., J. Goldberg, Fred. C. Knight, J. F. H. Gilbard, J. A. Bell, and J. Procter Watson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. J. Bush, of St. Clair Lodge No. 2902; A. M. Pinkerton, R.N. Anti-Aircraft Lodge No. 3790; E. J. Jones, Epworth Lodge No. 3789; C. E. Lawford, Valentia Lodge No. 3097; G. L. Porter, Westminster & Keystone Lodge No. 10; H. W. Barnes, P.M., Unity Lodge No. 1637; H. Ovenden, Tranquillity Lodge No. 185; E. A. Bristow, P.M., Malden Lodge No. 2875; Chris. R. Dewhirst, Musgrave Lodge No. 1597; F. Howard Humphries, St. Andrew Lodge No. 48 (S.C.); James I. Moore, P.M., Alexandra Palace Lodge No. 1541; L. C. Goodger, W.M., Perfect Ashlar Lodge No. 1178; W. L. F. Lind, Burton Court Lodge No. 3864; and W. Berry, Burdett Coutts Lodge No. 1278.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R.; T. J. Westropp; S. T. Klein, L.R.; J. P. Rylands; G. L. Shackles; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P.; Canon Horsley, P.G.Ch.; R. H. Baxter; E. H. Dring, P.G.D.; Count Goblet d'Alviella; and Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D.

One Masonic Library, one Lodge, and thirty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY called attention to the following

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. SEYMOUR BELL, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SNUFF-BOX; papier maché, with Rose Croix design on lid, printed from an engraved plate. Probably Continental.

By Bro. Rev. H. POOLE, Sedbergh.

MARK JEWEL; Chisel, Key-stone and Mallet pendent from a green ribbon. Probably from Malta or India.

By Bro. Dr. G. A. MAIN, Stockport.

MEDAL; silver-gilt, with inscriptions engraved: "Z. C. Hawkes Cork Lodge 540." "H. Rugg Boyne Lodge No. 224." Formerly owned by Bro. Henry Rugg, M.P. for Youghal, Co. Cork, whose daughter, Annie Rugg, married in 1775 the Rev. James Pratt, M.A. (Rector of Athnowen, Co. Cork from 1767 to 1827), the great grandfather of the present owner, Dr. John Pratt, of Millom.

By the SECRETARY.

R.A. JEWEL; silver-gilt, Scotch design, manufactured by J. Law.

JEWEL (Organist, R.A.); Lyre on Triangle set with paste.

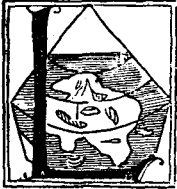
JEWELS; three, of Mark degree.

JEWEL; St. Mark's Lodge, Glasgow.

Bro. GORDON P. G. HILLS read the following paper:—

WOMEN AND FREEMASONRY.

BY BRO. GORDON P. G. HILLS, I.P.M., 2076; L.R.; P.Pr.G.W., Berkshire.



LAST year, when I was asked to read a paper before the Berkshire Masters' Lodge, I collected material on the subject of *Women and Freemasonry* for that purpose, which I have also had the pleasure of bringing before the Mid-Kent Masters' Lodge at a recent date. The gleanings for those occasions form the foundation of the present paper, in which I present the results rather differently arranged and together with some additional matter, in a form which I hope may be acceptable to our Brethren, and serve as a useful article on the subject for the encyclopædic pages of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*.

As the footnotes to my paper will demonstrate, I am indebted to many sources for references and material, but particularly I should like to acknowledge the wonted kind and ready help of Bro. Tuckett and Bro. Songhurst in both respects, which has been of great assistance.

Our distinguished Brother, the Earl of Warwick, mentions, in his recently published *Memoirs*,¹ an incident bearing upon our subject, which occurred whilst he was Provincial Grand Master of Essex. Provincial Grand Lodge had been invited to meet in the Library at his seat, Easton Lodge, and he tells us that some of the ladies of his house party hoped to turn the occasion to account as an opportunity to unravel some of the mysteries of the Craft. The usual precautions, however, effectually precluded them from gratifying their curiosity; but, after the meeting, certain facetious and wholly unfounded stories became current, to the effect that for several days following the gardeners came across stray members of the fraternity lost, and in a somewhat somnolent condition, in various parts of the grounds. Lord Warwick more than hints that such scandalous tales originated from those who were disappointed in their endeavours to fathom our secrets!

A little consideration of our subject will, I think, convince us that there is no novelty in the attitude this story reveals nor in the explanation afforded.

Lord Warwick comments on his story that, "Women will never respect Masonry while they are excluded from all participation in it"; but I do not think we can accept such a statement. Many women most certainly do immensely respect Freemasonry. It is remarkable how much interest they take in the Craft, its history, its doings and its charities, and, what is more, the support they accord to the last, when one realizes how entirely external to *real* Freemasonry they have been, and always must be, with the exception of such abnormal cases as we are now about to consider. A lady,² writing on the point of view of her sex on matters in general, has concisely stated the position:—for men, "in their great social league of brotherhood, Freemasonry,—silence to men outsiders and to all women is profound and inviolate."

Some of my hearers may recollect the name of Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, who was a contributor to *The Freemason* and also to our *Transactions*.³ The wife of a clergyman who had resided in India and travelled much in remote parts, she took a keen and intelligent interest in Freemasonry, so far as it is possible for a woman to do so, although, as Bro. Gould remarked at the time of her death in 1898, her sex "debarred her from acquiring that intimate knowledge of our Fraternity which is so essential to the formation of correct theories."

¹ *Memoirs of Sixty Years*, by the Earl of Warwick. Cassell & Co. 1917.

² *Through a Woman's Eyes*, by (Mrs.) Beatrice Heron-Moxwell. Melrose. 1917.

³ Papers by Mrs. H. G. M. Murray-Aynsley, in *A.Q.C.*:—*The Tau or Cross*, v., 81; *Some Hammer Legends*, vi., 51; *Further Light on Scotch Initiation*, vii., 15, 77.

Looking back to an early date, in accordance with the precedents set by some of our less critical Masonic historians, I would venture to suggest that a very early, if not the first, case of a speculative lady Mason may be found in the person of the QUEEN OF SHEBA.¹ Certain allusions of long-established use mention her participation on an occasion of very special Masonic significance; but now-a-days there is a tendency to overlook this old tradition. Nevertheless, a knowledge of the part that the Queen plays in the legends about King Solomon, and the prominent position accorded to her representation, as well as to that of the Wise King, in the elaborate schemes of statuary which adorned the great churches of mediæval times, show that she was a personage of great importance in the estimation of those days. Under these circumstances, it is much more likely than otherwise that she would figure in the ancient legends of the Craft, so that I do not think that what is possibly a relic of an old operative tradition should be too readily dismissed.

With regard to ancient operative usages of the Masonic Craft we may safely accept the judgment of that careful student, Bro. Hughan,² that "he did not believe that females were ever admitted as members of Lodges in the olden time." That the same disability prevailed in Scotland, Bro. Murray Lyon's researches have rendered quite clear.³

Coming to the time of our Speculative Grand Lodge, we find the rule that women cannot become Freemasons firmly adopted as a fundamental principle and landmark of the Order, and summed up and settled for us in that clause of the Antient Charges prefixed to the Book of Constitutions of 1723 and continued to the present day, which lays down that:—"The Persons admitted Members of a Lodge must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondsmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report."

The various stories of Women Freemasons are pre-eminently cases of 'exceptions which prove the rule,' and, as I shall show, stories about such hardly ever occur without emphasis being placed on the exceptional circumstances which have led to the transgression of the rule that *Women are not eligible to become Freemasons*, as well known to the world outside as to the Brethren within the Craft.

The story Bro. Anderson tells of Queen Elizabeth in his history annexed to the Book of Constitutions of 1723 shows clearly the feeling of those times. He writes that, "the learned and magnanimous Queen ELIZABETH, who encourag'd other Arts, discourag'd this; because, being a *Woman*, she could not be made a *Mason*." Bro. Charles Johnson, in his dedication of a play—the Comedy, entitled *Love in a Forest*—dated 1723, enlarges on the same theme:—"It was owing to the Unhappiness of her Sex that a most Illustrious Princess of our own cou'd not be admitted, and if her Curiosity was piqued at not knowing a Secret, perhaps it was the only Point in her whole Reign that ever the Woman got the better of the Queen."⁴

This story may have arisen from a flight of imagination, but the sequel is not incompatible with the tendencies of human nature even of the most exalted rank!

Queen Elizabeth is said to have satisfied herself by enquiry as to the innocent character of Masonic pursuits, but there is a story of the Empress Maria Theresa which, if true, shows her even more determined to be informed regarding the Viennese Lodges. It is said that about 1751 she paid a visit to a Lodge attended by a maid of honour both disguised in male attire, in order to satisfy herself that none of her own sex attended the meetings.⁵

By far the best known, and what may be accepted as a thoroughly well authenticated instance of a woman being made a Mason, is that of the Hon. Elizabeth St. Leger, afterwards Mrs. Aldworth. I need not dwell upon this

¹ *King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, by Bro. F. J. W. Crowe. A.Q.C. xix., 112, 120, 126.

² A.Q.C. i., 71.

³ *Kenning's Masonic Cyclopædia* "Dame," 146.

⁴ A.Q.C. vii., 57, 58.

⁵ Gould's *History* iii., 287

case, as it has been fully dealt with in our *Transactions*.¹ Bro. Conder, after a careful investigation, was able to piece together, what we may take as, the nearest approach to the facts that can be achieved, and further light was thrown on the subject by Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley. I will merely remind you that the occurrence took place between 1710 and 1713 at the latest, before the organisation of the Irish Grand Lodge in 1729-30, in a private Lodge held by the lady's father, Viscount Doneraile, his sons and intimate friends, at Doneraile Court, County Cork. The young lady had accidentally fallen asleep in a small library adjoining the room, on the ground floor, in which the Lodge was held, and awoke to hear, and even to see, through the partition wall—which was incomplete owing to repairs being in progress—the ceremonies of the Order. When she realized the solemnity of the proceedings she wished to beat a retreat, but found herself opposed by the butler in his capacity as Tyler; the members of the Lodge were summoned, and, after long consultation, determined that the fair culprit should herself pass through the ordeals she had witnessed. The lady during her long life, which only ended at the age of eighty in 1773, proved herself an exemplary member of the Craft, highly valuing her position of *special* privilege. Indeed, it has been recorded of her that “she had such a veneration for Masonry that she could never suffer it to be spoken lightly of in her hearing; nor would she touch upon the subject, but with the greatest caution, in company with even her most intimate friends, whom she did not know to be Masons, and when she did, it was under evident embarrassment, and a trembling apprehension lest she might, in a moment of inadvertence, commit a breach of Masonic duty.”

Bro. Conder mentions an apron and two jewels supposed to have been worn by our distinguished Sister, which are preserved as relics of her Craft career. Bro. Cecil Powell informs me of another jewel presented to the Provincial Grand Lodge at Bristol by Bro. Sir William Osb. Hamilton in 1817. The letter which accompanied the gift and a memorandum about it are still preserved, hanging up in a gilt frame, at Freemasons' Hall, Bristol, but unfortunately the jewel itself has disappeared. It was a little silver trowel, such as actually appears as being worn by the lady in one of her portraits. It had come into the donor's possession owing to his being a connection of the family.

The story of the famous Lady Freemason has been told with many variations. Some versions picture the heroine as having deliberately hidden herself in a clock-case, or behind the tapestry, in order to spy upon the Lodge proceedings. One would rather believe, as, in fact, Bro. Conder seems to have satisfactorily demonstrated, that it was an element of accident and no dishonourable intention which placed the young lady in her desperate dilemma.

The expedient of the clock-case crops up in various quarters. In a letter written in 1879 to Bro. Montague Guest,² the following passage relating to a Dorsetshire Lodge occurs:—“There was a Lodge about a hundred years ago, held in a house facing the Up-Lyme turnpike . . . It was in that Lodge that it was said the woman hid herself in a clock and was in consequence made a Mason.”

There seems to be an echo of the clock-case tradition in Thackeray's burlesque story of “my grandfather's time,” which occurs in one of his papers on *Snobs* about

my grand aunt (whose portrait we still have in the family) who got into the clock-case at the Royal Rosicrucian Lodge at Bungay, Suffolk, to spy the proceedings of the Society, of which her husband was a member, and being frightened by the sudden whirring and striking eleven of the clock (just as the Deputy Grand Master was bringing in the mystic gridiron for the reception of a neophyte), rushed out into

¹ *The Hon. Miss St. Leger and Freemasonry*, by Bro. Edward Conder, A.Q.C. viii., p. 16, and p. 53, *Notes on Irish Freemasonry, I. Supplementary Note on the Lady Freemason*, by Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, L.L.D.

² Quoted by Broadley in *A History of St. Mary's Lodge, No. 707, Bridport* (1907), 2.

³ *Punch* xii. (1847), p. 7. *The Snobs of England, By One of Themselves*, xlv. *Club Snobs*.

the midst of the Lodge assembled; and was elected, by a desperate unanimity, Deputy Grand-Mistress for life. Though that admirable and courageous female never subsequently breathed a word with regard to the secrets of the initiation, yet she inspired all our family with such a horror regarding the mysteries of Jachin and Boaz, that none of our family have ever since joined the Society or worn the dreadful Masonic insignia.

Another humorous version, from which Brethren may gain some amusement, is a racy metrical form of the Irish story written by H. T. Craven,¹ in a style reminiscent of the Ingoldsby Legends. In this case the writer, disclaiming being a Mason himself, fully avails himself of poetic license; but the account has too much of the picturesque and too little of the historical to commend it to our present consideration. Other accounts, especially by non-Masons, are unintentionally funny, as in a recent case where a lady writer tells how Miss St. Leger, opening the door to make good her escape, "met Tyler, Lord Doneraile's butler, who was evidently a Mason, for he at once called his master." The writer of the novel *Love and the Freemason*² puts his version into the mouth of a lady typical of many whom I have referred to as keenly interested in the history and doings of the Craft, so far as outsiders can be.

There are traditions current in many quarters, of ladies who have emulated the example of our famous Irish Sister, and of initiations which have arisen out of the supposed necessity of admitting a woman who has more or less successfully attempted to penetrate our mysteries. These stories vary a good deal in their circumstances, some having an element of accident or ignorance about them, and not amounting to intentional eaves-dropping by the parties concerned; whilst others were deliberate cases of spying without any mitigating features.

I will start our consideration of these with a bevy including English, Welsh, and Scotch heroines.

The Palladian Lodge, No. 120, at Hereford, has preserved a tradition that in 1770, when it was only a young Lodge of eight years' standing, a MRS. HAVARD was proposed as an *Honorary* Member and initiated in the first Degree. Unfortunately, the earliest Minute Book which should cover this date is missing, and so no record remains of the actual circumstances of the case. 'Havard' seems to have been a well-known name at Hereford in those days, and frequently occurs in the Minutes, which are preserved from 1778, in which year a Bro. Havard was raised who became J.W. the next year.³

Probably the key to this incident is to be found in the designation *Honorary*, and it arose out of a compliment paid to the lady, which did not really involve actual initiation or membership of the Craft. It may have been founded on little more than the pleasant familiar courtesy with which in his letters Bro. Dunckerley was wont indifferently to send "his wife's" or "*Sister*" Dunckerley's greetings to his Masonic friends and their wives, as appears from his correspondence published in Bro. Sadler's life of that worthy Mason.

The newspapers of the day record the death, aged eighty-five, on Tuesday, May 11th, 1802, of MRS. BEATON, in St. John's Maddar-market, Norwich, and tell us:—

She was a native of Wales, and commonly called here [*i.e.*, at Norwich] the '*Free-mason*' from the circumstance of her having contrived to conceal herself in the wainscotting of a lodge-room, where she learnt that *secret*, the knowledge of which thousands of her sex have in vain attempted to arrive at.—She was a singular old woman, and as a proof of it the *Secret* died with her.⁴

¹ *The Lady Freemason*, by H. T. Craven, in *Humorous Readings and Recitations* . . . selected and edited by Leopold Wagner (F. Warne & Co.), 1892.

² *Love and the Freemason*, by Guy Thorne (Werner Laurie, Ltd.).

³ *Miscellanea Latomorum* I. (N.S.), 10, 101; *Freemason*, January 18th, 1913, p. 454.

⁴ Quoted thus, *Miscellanea Latomorum* III. (N.S.), p. 82, from *Norfolk Chronicle or Norfolk Gazette*, 15th May, 1802. A slightly different paragraph is quoted *A.Q.C.* vii., 58, from the *Annual Register*, 1802, May 11th, p. 506. See also other versions of same, *Miscellanea Latomorum* IV. (N.S.), 6.

It does not necessarily follow from this that it was at Norwich that Mrs. Beaton gained her knowledge, but it is curious that, supposing there was any real foundation for Thackeray's story which connects Bungay with a lady Mason, his case would most likely have involved the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 102¹ which was at Bungay in 1814, and possibly traces back to a Lodge associated with Norwich as long ago as 1758, when Mrs. Beaton's adventure might have happened.

It does not appear that this lady was in any way recognised as a Mason by the Craft.

Melrose Lodge, No. 1 *bis* on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, preserves the tradition of a woman initiate, ISABELLA SCOON, known in the vernacular as *Tib Skin*. The story runs that after removing from Newstead, the meetings were held in hired rooms for some years, and

the matron, a true daughter of Eve, somehow obtained more light upon the hidden mysteries than was deemed at all expedient, and, after due consideration of the case, it was resolved that she must be regularly initiated into Freemasonry,

which was actually done, with the best results, the initiate being greatly impressed with the solemnity of her obligation, remaining ever a true and faithful Sister among the Brethren, and distinguishing herself in works of charity. The Lodge Minutes, however, contained no record of the occurrence.²

The officers and about forty privates of the 22nd Regiment quartered at Newcastle in 1769, being Freemasons, celebrated St. John's Day in Winter by attending service at St. Nicholas' Church. This publicity would appear to have excited the curiosity of the Landlady under whose roof the Lodge was held, for in the *Newcastle Chronicle* of January 6th, 1770, the following advertisement was inserted:—

This is to acquaint the Public that on Monday the first inst., being the lodge (or monthly meeting night) of the Free and Accepted Masons of the 22nd Regiment, held at the Crown Inn, Newgate, Mrs. Bell the landlady of the house broke open a door (with a poker) that had not been opened for some years past, by which means she got into an adjacent room, made two holes through the wall and by that stratagem discovered the secrets of Masonry, and she knowing herself to be the first woman in the world that ever found out that Secret is willing to make it known to all her own sex; so that any lady that is desirous of learning the secrets of Freemasonry by applying to that well learned woman Mrs. Bell (that lived 15 years in and about Newgate St.) may be instructed in the secrets of Freemasonry.³

If Mrs. Bell did actually acquire the knowledge the advertisement claims, it is clear that she had by no means learnt the lessons which we are told were so deeply impressed upon some of the other lady candidates; but there is great likelihood that this story is nothing more nor less than a hoax. Probably Mrs. Bell heard a good deal about the doings of the Lodge held on her premises, and was inclined to let her tongue wag too freely and to pretend to know more than really was the case. The advertisement, in the spirit of those times, was I suggest, intended to hold her up to ridicule and warn her to be more discreet.

Other stories bear witness to the fact that when Lodges are held on premises to which women have access, female curiosity may lead to escapades of a like character.

Capt. J. W. Gambier, a non-Mason, in his *Links in my Life on Sea and Land* (pp. 138-9),⁴ writes:—

In 1861 I arrived at Chatham and met my father. We went ashore, and dined at the old inn by the pier at Chatham, sacred to the memory of Pickwick and his companions, and but for a fat old waiter

¹ Lane's *Masonic Records*, pp. 117, 118.

² *Miscellanea Latomorum* III. (N.S.), 81; A.Q.C. v., 145.

³ *Northumbrian Masonry*, by Bro. John Strachan (Kenning, 1898), p. 80.

⁴ *Miscellanea Latomorum* III. (N.S.), 135.

regaling us with pot-house legends . . . we should have been dull indeed. Amongst other anecdotes this venerable old Ganymede told us was how once a woman had hidden herself in a cupboard, which he showed us in the room, to overhear what went on at a Masonic meeting, but that, being discovered, by her dog scenting her out, she had been hauled out and then and there made a Mason with all due Masonic rites.

The identification with Dickens' associations is, I think, clearly a mistake, confusing Chatham and Rochester; but the pier would seem to be the Sun Pier, which may link up the story with the Sun Tavern, at which the old Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity, present No. 20, dating back to 1723, met for the first time as No. 10 so long ago as 1790.

It appears, from Bro. H. F. Whyman's history of this old Lodge, that after the disastrous fire in 1820,¹ which destroyed the *tavern* and incidentally the Lodge belongings, this body returned to the premises rebuilt as the Sun *Hotel*, and still was under that roof in 1861. Thus the old waiter would clearly appear to have exhibited a cupboard at that inn then associated with No. 20. Bro. Whyman does not, however, include this story in his chronicle of the Lodge.

When such stories are told, for the amusement of the general public at the expense of the Craft, there is sometimes a tendency to assume that an initiation was the necessary sequel to the adventure. In such circumstances as the last mentioned case it seems very unlikely that any attempt would be made to confer such an honour; but sometimes it is quite clear from the description—at any rate to any Mason—that no real initiation did take place. I am indebted to Bro. W. R. Makins for a reference to the following account which illustrates this point. It appeared in the *Newcastle Journal* of 1765 under the heading of "LONDON" news, April 29th:—

One evening this week, at a lodge of Free-Masons held at a tavern in the Strand, a sprightly young girl found means wittfully to introduce herself, disguised in men's cloaths, into the lodge, when she had the happiness of satisfying her curiosity (so inseparable from the fair sex) and of being initiated into the sublime mysteries and arcana of that ancient and most honourable Society; she remained some time in the Lodge, but the awkwardness of her behaviour in her new apparel, and some other circumstances, created a suspicion, which occasioned the supposed gentleman to be taken into another room, where her sex was discovered. Some of the rigid old Masons were as much offended as the Roman Matrons were when Clodius was detected in a woman's dress at the feast of Cybele, to which none but females were admitted, but the younger Masons were much pleased with her spirit and adroitness, and, with great politeness, sent the lady away, highly satisfied with the novelty of the adventure.

About the year 1864 Lodge Tongariro, No. 705 E.C., met at the Rutland Hotel, at Wanganui, New Zealand. Part of the premises, adjoining the room used by the Lodge, had ceased to be occupied, and had become somewhat dilapidated, and hence the following story as told in the recently-published *History* of the Lodge²:—

The landlord who was a member of the lodge, had a sister living in the house. She was an elderly lady with a great thirst for knowledge, and she determined to find out all about Freemasonry. Accordingly she went to this disused part of the building and succeeded in removing a knot from the wooden partition, and from this spy-hole was able to witness unobserved some portion of the proceedings. She did not, however, possess the gift of silence, and one evening while serving behind the bar told a gentleman who at that time was not a member of

¹ *History of the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity, No. 20, Chatham* (1910).

² Reviewed *A.Q.U.* xxxi., 152.

the Craft, although he afterwards became a Mason and subsequently occupied the Master's Chair in the Lodge. The good lady was especially impressed with the third degree, which she described as "very dreadful." She stated she was going again that night, and that it was her intention to enlarge the hole in order to get a better view. She informed her hearer that there was not a great deal to see until the Lodge had been opened about half an hour. There was to be 'a third' that night, and if her friend would join her in about half an hour, he might take his turn at the peephole. Unfortunately for her plan, her brother who was standing near, though unobserved, overheard this conversation, and when the old lady had climbed up to her accustomed place, he crept softly behind her, and taking a firm grip on her ear, conducted her without any ceremony to her rightful place behind the bar. Unlike the Hon. Elizabeth St. Leger, the lady who concealed herself in a clock-case at an Irish Lodge, she was not initiated into Freemasonry so could not equal this famed lady.

A series of prints published between 1754 and 1802, and a picture belonging to the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, at Bury, Lancashire, refer to a widely disseminated story at the expense of the Brethren of a Canterbury Lodge, in which "Molly," the maid of the Inn, eavesdropping in a loft over the Lodge-room, is represented to have made a precipitate descent owing to the ceiling giving way. It is not suggested that this intruder was made a member of the Craft, any more than was done in the cases of two barmaids who Bro. Speth¹ recorded as having hidden themselves on the glass roof at the Albert Hall when King Edward, as Prince of Wales, was to be installed as Grand Master. These ladies were duly discovered by the vigilance of the Stewards, and politely conducted off the premises a full hour before Grand Lodge assembled on that memorable occasion. An injudicious spirit of enquiry on the part of a Devonshire landlady, about 1870, is said by Bro. Mackenzie (*Royal Masonic Cyclopædia*) to have brought about the removal of a Lodge which had met on her premises. More severe punishment was meted out to an offender in France so recently as December, 1903, when it was reported in the *St. James' Gazette* (December 17th, 1903):—

A Woman aged twenty-nine has been sentenced to thirteen months imprisonment at Montpellier for having contrived to penetrate into the masonic temple at Cette, and for having endeavoured to initiate herself into the mysteries of the Craft.

A case at the other extreme of treatment was recorded some years since on the information of Bro. H. F. Twiss.² It appears that during the eighteenth-seventies a lady obtained some knowledge of the Craft ceremonies performed by a military Lodge at the Mauritius. Through a slit in the wall of the bungalow she witnessed some part of the ceremony and afterwards disclosed the circumstance to her husband, who was a member of the Lodge and had been present at the initiation. He felt bound in his turn to disclose it to the Lodge, which treated the matter in a very common sense manner, neither attempting to inflict a penalty nor force an initiation, because they considered the knowledge gained was really of no moment, in fact, "ludicrously imperfect, inconsequent and unmeaning."

The *Bristol Times and Mirror* in 1907 printed the following particulars from "a little pamphlet published by J. P. Babington at Bowling Green Virginia" of CATHERINE SWEET, an alleged girl-Freemason, who witnessed the proceedings of a Lodge of which, luckily for her, no less than five relatives—her uncles—were members. The story, which is well though somewhat lengthily told with other, and characteristically American touches of description, proceeds as follows:—

In the town where she was brought up, the school which she attended occupied the first floor of a two-storey frame building. The top floor

¹ *What is Freemasonry?* A Lecture by Bro G. W. Speth. 1892. (Kenning).

² Bro. H. F. Berry, as he was then known. Member of the Lodge, 1907-1919. *A.Q.C.* viii., 23.

had been originally designed for a church, and a pulpit and other church furniture had been installed; but later this plan was abandoned, and the Masonic Lodge secured the place for their meetings. Under the unused pulpit, the girl, Catherine Sweet, one day discovered an excellent hiding place when playing hide-and-seek. Later she utilized it during the sessions of the lodge, and gained many secrets of Masonry.

For more than a year she had been an unobserved attendant at all the meetings of the lodge. She had on several occasions, run some narrow escapes, but a day came when she failed in her calculations.

The members of the Lodge always carried their rifles when they attended the meetings. On this fatal day one of her uncles left his rifle in the ante-room, and had gone some distance before he thought of it. He retraced his steps, and as he approached the building he saw Kate crawling out of her place of concealment. She discovered him at about the same time, and she knew that a reckoning was at hand. When she reached the ground her uncle told her to return home and go to her room and stay till he came for her. Upon her uncle's return, he called his brothers and they went into their office. After relating what he had seen, they decided to call Kate in, and find out, if possible, what she had learned about Masonry: She was summoned to appear for what she thought would be her death sentence, as she had been led to believe that no one was allowed to live who stole the secrets of Masonry.

It was at this time that she showed her courage in a way that probably saved her a vast amount of trouble. She entered the presence of her uncles, all of whom she knew loved her better than they did their own lives, with a firm step and head erect. As soon as she was seated, the eldest brother became spokesman, and the following conversation took place:

Uncle: Kate, tell us where you have been this evening.

Kate: Under the pulpit in the lodge.

What were you doing there?

Watching and listening.

Was this your first visit?

No, Sir.

How long have you been doing this?

For a year and a half, or ever since John Williams was initiated.

Have you been able to learn any of the secrets of the lodge?

Yes, Sir; all of them.

Well, tell us all you know.

I will answer all questions you may ask me, for I am a Mason, and am willing to answer questions when properly put to me; but I cannot give you my knowledge of Masonry in any other way.

Where shall I commence, and what kind of questions shall I ask you?

Begin at the beginning and ask such questions as you would ask a stranger if you wanted him to prove to you that he was a Mason.

Seeing that she would not impart her Masonic information in any other way or manner, the brothers decided that it would be best to put her through the regular catechism, which they proceeded to do. The Masonic reader can understand the looks and feelings of the five brothers as the examination proceeded and they discovered that their seventeen-year-old niece was better versed in the secrets of Freemasonry than either of them. The trial came to an end on their reaching the point when she revealed to them that she had even caught the words that are spoken by the master of the lodge when the candidate is finally raised to the degree of a master Mason.

After all was over and Kate had told the brothers that no one, except themselves, knew what she had done, she was confined to her room and closely watched, pending the decision of the lodge as to the proper steps to be taken in her case. The master of the lodge was at once told of what had taken place. Each member was notified of a call communication to be held the next day. When the lodge assembled, it went into a committee of the whole, and after hours of deliberation adjourned to meet the next day. Messengers were sent out, and the oldest and wisest members of the lodge were called in to consult and advise. Long and earnestly did they discuss the matter. Many different suggestions were made but none seemed practicable.

The laws of Masonry, which had been in force ever since the days of King Solomon, said plainly that no woman could be made a Mason. Yet here was a young girl who had all the secrets of Masonry that could be obtained in the Blue Lodge. The question arose, 'What was to be done?' Almost a month was consumed by the lodge in discussing the matter and consulting the most learned Masons of the State. At last it was decided that inasmuch as Kate Sweet had obtained all the secrets of Freemasonry, the only thing that could be done was to obligate her, in the regular way, and risk the consequences. Accordingly, a suitable uniform was made of red flannel, and she was taken to the lodge, where she was obligated as a regular Mason, but not admitted to membership.

The day she took the obligations was the first and last time she was ever inside a Masonic lodge (where she could be seen) while it was at work. She knew Masonry, and kept herself posted up until a short time before her death, but never attempted to visit a lodge.

Many instances are related in the pamphlet in which she found her knowledge of Masonry of help when she needed assistance. The story would appear to refer to the earlier half of the last century, perhaps about 1840.

Mrs. T. P. O'Connor, in her recently-published¹ volume of impressions about Ireland, mentions Doneraile and its legends. Herself hailing from the Southern States, U.S.A., she writes that she formerly knew a Southern lady "who was a Freemason." The young and beautiful wife of a distinguished Confederate officer, her plantation lay directly on the route of Sherman's march to the sea,—“All the houses were to be burned; she was alone, the fate of the women was uncertain; to give her protection her husband asked that she should receive the first degree of the order of Freemasons.” Mrs. O'Connor comments: “This is probably the only instance of a woman Freemason in America.” In reply to my inquiry for further particulars, Mrs. O'Connor has kindly written saying that she sees no objection to the lady's name being published, and that she was the wife of Captain—afterwards Major—Charles Lilley, of Gainsville, Georgia.

In France there were several Societies dating back to the earlier part of the eighteenth century which, emulating the secrecy of Freemasonry and working some kind of ceremony, offered membership to women and enjoyed a temporary prosperity. The ladies of that nation seem to have been much more anxious to participate in some sort of pseudo-Masonic activity than was the case on this side of the Channel, and this tendency led in 1774 to an attempt by the French Masonic authorities to regulate some of these bodies by the recognition of Lodges of Adoption. These were societies attached to regular Lodges to which women were admitted and in which ceremonies were performed for their special edification. It was not Masonry, but a substitute, and the ceremonies, more or less frivolous, usually ended with a ball. The subject of Rites of Adoption and other substitutes for Freemasonry in the case of women is outside the bounds of my present paper, but I mention it because some curious advertisements in the London papers about this date seem to be a faint reflection of some of these Continental uses.

¹ *Herself—Ireland*, by Mrs. T. P. O'Connor, author of *I myself, My Beloved South*, etc. (Hutchinson, 1917).

The *Public Advertiser* for March 7th, 1759, contained an advertisement as follows:—

“FOR FEMALE SATISFACTION.”

WHEREAS THE MYSTERY of Freemasonry has been kept a profound Secret for several Ages, till at length some Men assembled themselves at the *Dover Castle*, in the parish of Lambeth, under pretence of knowing the secret, and likewise in opposition to some gentlemen that are real Freemasons, and hold a Lodge at the same house; therefore, to prove that they are no more than pretenders, and as the Ladies have sometimes been desirous of gaining knowledge of the Noble *art* (sic), several regular-made Masons, (both ancient and modern,) members of constituted Lodges in this metropolis, have thought proper to unite into a select Body at Beau Silvester's, the Sign of the *Angel*, Bull Stairs, Southwark, and stile themselves UNIONS, think it highly expedient, and in justice to the fair sex, to initiate them therein, provided they are women of undeniable character; for tho' no Lodge as yet (except the Free Union Masons) have thought proper to admit women into the Fraternity, we, well knowing they have as much Right to attain to the secrets as those Castle Humbugs, have thought proper so to do, not doubting but they will prove an honour to the Craft; and as we have had the honour to inculcate several worthy Sisters therein, those that are desirous, and think themselves capable of having the Secret conferred on them, by proper Application, will be admitted, and the charges will not exceed the Expences of our Lodge.

This effusion was evidently a hoax at the expense of the Brethren who are politely denominated the “Castle Humbugs,” an *argumentum ad absurdum* that one might as well perpetrate the folly of making women Freemasons as recognise these male pretenders at Lambeth.

Another facetious advertisement of a little later date, and very similar purport, is quoted from a newspaper of 1762¹:—

C. LOGE C.

AVERTISSEMENT AUX DAMES, etc. Pour vincre que les Francs Massons ne sont pas telles que le public les a representés en particulier la sexe Feminine cet Loge juge a propos de recevoir des Femmes aussi bien que des Hommes.

N.B.—Les Dames seront introduits dans la Loge avec la Ceremonie accoutumée ou le Serment ordinaire et le reel Secret leur seront administrées. On commencera a recevoir des Dames Jeudy 11 de Mars 1762, at Mrs. Maynard's, next door to the Lying-in Hospital, Brownlow Street, Long-acre. La Porte sera ouverte a 6 Heures du Soir. Les Dames et Messieurs sont priées de ne pas venir après sept. Le prix est £1, 1s.

One need only comment that the writer's French was as weak as his humour.

Bro. Sadler, in his inaugural address,² drew attention to a song entitled “The Modern Masons,” published about 1750, which refers to a convivial society admitting both sexes to its ranks. It clearly was only Masonic in name and gloried in its inconsistency. The burden of the verses is:

Let Ancient Masons boast their stile
On scenes of Mirth we build our fame
Contented with a Modern's Name.

The illustration heading the music depicts ladies and gentlemen together at a meeting, and we read:—

From Huntingdon's Great Earl we take
The Badge which our Grand Master wears,

¹ *History of Signboards* . . . Larwood and Hotten (John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly, 1867), p. 417-8.

² *A.Q.C.* (1910) xxiii., 328

and the ladies are exhorted:

Let every Sister too be there
 With gayest Form and beauteous Face
 * * * * *

and in another verse:

Then to the Forest haste away
 There we'll the Hours in Mirth improve
 The Chase we'll Follow all the Day
 And revel all the Night in Love.

Bro. Sadler recorded a body calling themselves the *Modern Masons* Lodge, meeting at Silvester's Gardens in 1741, and an advertisement of February, 1774, couched in facetious terms, of a similarly-named body holding a "Grand Lodge" at Reading; but whether these gatherings were off-shoots of the society celebrated in the song or admitted women is quite uncertain. This society would be very much on the lines of some of those I have referred to as in vogue on the Continent.

Amongst the Lodge Collections, Bro. Songhurst has a curious old play-bill referring to a performance by "Mr. Barrington & Family" given at the Black Horse Inn, Oxenden Street, and elsewhere. It was a miscellaneous entertainment including "The World as it goes, or a Cap to fit us all," and amongst other items "An Eulogium on Masonry, by Sister Barrington," and

Part the Third

An Operatical Piece in one Act, (never performed here,) called

THE FEMALE FREE MASON;

Or, A Peep into the Lodge Room

With an Exhibition of the various

Symbolic Emblems of Masonry,

Written by Companion Barrington, cloathed in the full Order
 of the most Excellent Super Excellent

ROYAL ARCH

The whole performance to close with

The Principles of Free Masonry.

Written & to be spoke by Brother Barrington.

The bill was printed by Epps at Rochester, and has written on it the name of the Inn as above and the date Friday 14th January, but unfortunately no year.

There are some cases on record in which as an exceptional honour to a woman playing a man's part an initiation has been attempted.

The French Masonic historian Clavel, in his History (*Histoire Pittoresque de la Franche Maçonnerie*), tells us the story of MME. DE XAINTRAILLES, as follows:—

Although the rule which forbids women admission to Lodges is absolute, yet it has once been infringed under very remarkable circumstances. The Lodge of "Les Frères Artistes," presided over by Brother Cuvelier de Trie, was giving a fête of Adoption. Before the introduction of the ladies, the brethren had begun their ordinary work. Among the visitors who were waiting in the ante-chamber was a young officer in the uniform of a major of cavalry. He was asked for his certificate. After hesitating for a few moments, he handed a folded paper to the Expert, who without opening it, proceeded to take it to the Orator. This paper was an aide-de-camp's commission, issued to Madame de Xaintrailles, wife of the general of that name, who like some other republican heroines had distinguished herself in the wars of the revolution, and had won her rank at the point of her sword. When the Orator read to the Lodge the contents of this Commission,

the astonishment was general. They grew excited, and it was spontaneously decided that the first degree, not of Adoptive Masonry, but of real Masonry, should be conferred there and then on a lady, who, so many times, had displayed all the virtues of a man, and had deserved to be charged with important missions, which required as much courage as discretion and prudence. They at once proceeded to Mme. de Xaintrailles, to acquaint her with the decision of the Lodge, and to ask her if she would accept a hitherto unprecedented favour. Her reply was in the affirmative. "I am a man for my country," she said, "I will be a man for my brethren." The reception took place with proper modesty; and from that time Mme. de Xaintrailles often assisted in the work of the Lodges.

I find that Bro. Cuvelier de Trie¹ was one of the founders of the Lodge in question in 1797, and occupied the chair in 1802, which serves to give a date to this episode.

The case of the COUNTESS HADIK BARKOCZY² arises out of the same line of argument.

This lady, born in 1833 and married in 1860, was her father's sole heiress, and, being the last of her race, the Hungarian Courts allowed her to take the place of a *son*. Her friends in Freemasonry were equally willing, it would appear, to concede to her the privileges of a *man* in the Craft, for in 1875 she was initiated in a Lodge held under the Grand Orient of Hungary. For this violation of the principles of the Order, the governing body instituted proceedings against the Deputy Master of the Lodge (Bro. Géza Mocsary), who conducted the initiation, for "breach of the Masonic vow, unjustifiably conferring Masonic Degrees, doing that which degrades a Freemason and Freemasonry, and for knowingly violating the Statutes." Proceedings were also taken "against the Orator, the Junior Warden, and the Secretary for the same offences, excepting the third, and against all the other members of the Lodge for the last-named offence." All were found guilty, and the judgments ranged in severity from expulsion from the Order for ever to three months' suspension from membership. The Grand Orient decided that the initiation was null and void, that the Countess was not to be admitted into any Lodge under its jurisdiction under penalty of erasure of the Lodge, and requested all Grand Lodges to do the same. The Countess was requested to return the invalid certificate.

It is said that the Countess, who was a well educated woman, took great interest in Freemasonry, mastered the rituals of almost all the degrees, and was well acquainted with a few Masons, through whom she eventually succeeded in being admitted into the Craft.

In the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*³ of 1839 (p. 325) an account is given of a Spanish lady, who, in order to save the life of her brother, whom she much resembled, impersonated him at a Masonic Lodge of which he was a member. She was taken there by her father, who was a Mason and had given her sufficient information to enable her to play the part. After some romantic adventures, both brother and sister are stated to have escaped from the troubles—apparently political—which threatened them, and to have retired to England. The story needs further particulars to confirm it as any more than a romantic tale.

A Naval Brother⁴ afforded information of a curious experience of Spanish Freemasonry of a kind which occurred at Minorca in 1887. Being at Port Mahon with the British Fleet, he received invitation, in common with other Freemasons, to visit the Lodge ashore. Upon being ushered into the meeting, after usual ceremonies, the visitors were surprised to find several ladies seated in the Lodge and wearing the regalia of the Order. The ladies took equal share with the men in the Lodge work, and acquitted themselves most creditably, and, what is more, did not neglect charges more peculiarly their own, for two of the Sisters had their

¹ Kenning's *Masonic Cyclopadia*, 143.

² *Miscellanea Latomorum* III. (N.S.), 117.

³ *Miscellanea Latomorum* III. (N.S.), 35.

⁴ *A.Q.C.* v., 66, and *Titbits*, January 6th, 1892.

infants in arms with them. Our English Brethren were informed that a number of ladies on the Island were Freemasons, and the Order there appeared to be conducted as a benefit society more on the lines of Oddfellowship than of the Craft.

We know that, unhappily, abroad some of the Continental Masonic bodies have so departed from the ancient landmarks in various essential points that they have ceased to be recognised by our Craft. The principle which this paper illustrates—'that women are not eligible to become Freemasons'—despite the story last cited, is not one from which there is a general departure from established customs: yet it may be noted that certain bodies operating in this country which are not recognised as Masonic, and which admit women to membership, against which Grand Lodge recently reiterated the warnings of nearly ten years ago, derive their first origin from Continental sources.

In Mexico¹ for some years past Freemasonry as there practised has been thrown open to women, who openly participate in Lodge proceedings. This state of things is curiously illustrated by a correspondence which passed between Bro. Albert Pike, the great American Mason, formerly at the head of the Supreme Council 33°, Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A., and Dr. Pombo, the Grand Commander of the A. & A.R. in Mexico. In 1889 the latter wrote for advice on this point: "May a Lodge of Perfection admit into its bosom, and confer the 4th to the 14th Degrees on the first lady Doctor of Medicine, who received the blue degrees in a symbolic Lodge?" The answer came "that a woman cannot lawfully receive the Blue Degrees, anywhere; and if a Lodge so far forgets itself as to give them to a woman, she cannot be recognised as a Mason by a Lodge of Perfection."

One sees that there was a plea put forward, that the case was exceptional, as the lady had qualified as a medical *man*; in fact, at that date, she was the only female physician who had graduated from a Mexican University; but our American Brother stood firm for this fundamental principle of the Craft—that *Women are not eligible to become Freemasons.*

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Hills, and comments on the paper were offered by Bros. J. E. S. Tuckett, Herbert Bradley, L. Vibert, J. S. M. Ward, R. H. Baxter, E. Glaeser, and Cecil Powell.

Bro. J. S. M. WARD pointed out that Bro. Hills had not given any reason why women should not be admitted into Masonry. Perhaps this showed how wise he was, for it was certainly a difficult and delicate question; nevertheless, the speaker thought they should be prepared to face it, and he suggested that the explanation might be found in the view that Freemasonry was a survival of the primitive initiatory rites of the savages.

The speaker in his travels had come across what seemed to him abundant evidence that our signs and symbols were known the world over to people who were not in our sense Freemasons and who yet appeared to use these signs with the same meaning as we did. His observations were confirmed by further instances which had been given him by Brother Masons who had been in different parts of the world.

To make his exact meaning plain he mentioned some of his experiences in different parts of the world, and added that the Dervishes gave as an explanation of certain ceremonies practised by them that Richard I. of England having during a truce initiated Saladin into the order of chivalry, the latter, not to be outdone in knightly courtesy, initiated Richard into their lower degrees, and he, in his turn, initiated some of his own knights, among whom were certain Templars, and the latter gave it to the men who built their churches.

¹ A.Q.U. vi., 116-7; vii., 169.

The speaker added that he did not consider that this *was* the true origin of Western Freemasonry, which he thought came to Europe much earlier and by a different route, but he believed it was quite possible that a fresh infusion of ideas was obtained from that source; anyway, the tradition was worth investigation.

The speaker concluded with the suggestion that if our system could be traced back to the initiatory rites of the primitive savages it would naturally follow that women would be excluded from them, for it was death for a woman to approach a man's lodge, and a similar fate awaited any man who approached a woman's lodge when its members were initiating a girl into womanhood. The women's system would perish when the tribe passed from the totemistic into the Patriarchal stage and the women entered the Harem, but with men no such social cause intervened. If this theory were correct, then we had an explanation of why no woman could be admitted into our Lodges, and the fair sex might turn their attention to the surviving systems of female initiation and see whether they could not evolve something from them rather than try to imitate masculine Freemasonry.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

I have read with much pleasure the rough proof of Bro. Gordon Hills' paper, *Women and Freemasonry*. The author has covered his ground so fully that there is scarcely any room left for suggestion or criticism.

The impression left on my mind is that there is not an authentic case on record of a woman ever having been made a Mason in a regular Lodge. Even the story of the Hon. Miss St. Leger (afterwards Mrs. Aldworth) seems to require further investigation. Bros. Conder and Chetwode Crawley dealt with the subject in *A.Q.C.* viii., 16 and 53, but I could never quite understand why, after having established so many improbabilities, they both seemed to cling to the belief that the initiation really had taken place.

Bro. H. R. Wood recently kindly copied for me the inscription on a tablet in the N.E. corner of St. Finbarre Cathedral, Cork, recording the lady's place of burial and the circumstances of her admission to Freemasonry. I reproduced this in *Miscellanea Latomorum* iv., 97, and asked a question relative thereto, but so far no further part of the publication has appeared, and so I have not had an answer. It is certain that the initiation did not take place in the Lodge alleged.

I am inclined to place the whole story in the category of Masonic fictions.

The case of the Chevalier or *Chevaliere* D'Eon, so delicately dealt with by Bro. Chetwode Crawley in *A.Q.C.* xvi., 229, might possibly have been referred to in this paper as a sort of sidelight on the subject.

Bro. GORDON HILLS writes:—

I much appreciate the kind reception accorded to my paper and the interesting comments which its discussion afforded.

With regard to Bro. Baxter's remarks, I am not, of course, concerned to champion the authenticity of any of the cases I have mentioned, but I think that, in the light of Bro. Conder's and Bro. Chetwode Crawley's very careful researches, confirmed by the endorsement of such authorities as Bros. Hughan and Speth, he is unnecessarily sceptical about the case of Mrs. Aldworth.

It is a very general experience that when an incident becomes a matter of common knowledge there is an 'unfortunate tendency for people to be careless about details. Numerous memorial tablets—not to mention the current press notices—afford frequent examples of such improbabilities in details. It has been reserved for an *American* Masonic contemporary (*Brotherhood*, February, 1920) to take severely to task an *English* newspaper (the *Manchester Dispatch*, January 13th, 1920), which, on the recent death of Lady Mary Aldworth, daughter of

the Earl of Bandon and wife of Col. R. W. Aldworth, tried to attach the old story to her name. The tablet in the modern Cathedral at Cork, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1865, is a case in point; the dates of Mrs. Aldworth's birth and death are both incorrect, and it was certainly not Lodge No. 44 that met at Doneraile when the initiation took place.

My paper is written to illustrate the fact that 'Women are not eligible to become Freemasons,' and that stories about Women Freemasons bear witness to this rule, so that if the stories are all myths, so much the better for my contention; but I think that, at any rate, we can say with certainty that the Countess Barkoczy was initiated in a regular Lodge, which, however, promptly paid the penalty of its irregular proceedings.

The case of the Chevalier D'Eon was in my mind when I wrote this paper as a confirmation of my views, but as it is a side issue, and has already been fully treated in our *Transactions*, I did not mention it upon this occasion.

Bro. Ward's comments raise several points, the discussion of which would carry us far beyond the bounds of my paper, so that I cannot attempt to deal adequately with them. Further, I am now rather concerned with facts than with theories, but to answer his main question briefly and in a manner suitable to the audience to which my remarks are addressed, surely I need say no more than that **WOMEN ARE NOT ELIGIBLE TO BECOME FREEMASONS BECAUSE OUR CRAFT IS A MEN'S SOCIETY.** To a Freemason this must be perfectly obvious from every point of view.

It has been suggested that I should a little amplify my reference to certain bodies operating in this country which are not recognised as Masonic, and against whose efforts to induce Masons to attend their meetings our Brethren have been solemnly warned.

This movement for admitting women to membership in Lodges arose, as I have mentioned, on the Continent, where Masonry has adopted practices with regard to religion and politics widely different from our fundamental principles. About 1879 several Lodges seceded from one of the French Masonic jurisdictions and established a new governing body. One of these Lodges, *Les Libres Penseurs*, took the step of initiating Mlle. Maria Desraimes, a lady actively interested in humanitarian and feminist questions. This occurred on January 14th, 1882, and resulted in the suspension of the Lodge by its governing body. This irregular Lodge, however, pursued its course of action, and, being reinforced in 1893 by the admission of seventeen lady candidates, constituted a governing body for the propagation of its principles denominated "Universal Joint Freemasonry," and since called 'Co-Masonry.' In 1900 this organisation enlarged its sphere of action by constituting itself a Supreme Council 33°, and undertook to confer the degrees of the A. & A.S.R. I derive these particulars from an official pamphlet published in 1903, in which the following occurs:—

A word may be said regarding the *Principles* attached to the authorised English Constitution. In France at the present day the tendency in our Fraternity is to dispense with the religious element, and the large majority of Brethren, including those of our own Order, prefer a somewhat materialistic attitude. Our Supreme Council, however, in granting an English Constitution, recognised that different methods are required in different countries, and have consequently sanctioned our upholding for ourselves a belief in a creative principle under the title of "Grand Architect of the Universe."¹

I understand that, owing to disagreements there have been secessions from the original body in England, so that this androgynous system is now conducted under three governing bodies in this country.

Amongst other points which will appear incongruous to Freemasons we may specially note that this movement owes its origin to the deliberate betrayal by certain Brethren of their most solemn undertakings, and that some of its votaries endeavour to induce others similarly to violate their obligations.

¹ *Transactions of the Dharma Lodge of the Supreme Council of Universal Joint Freemasonry.* No 1 (Benares, 1903), p. 18.

NOTES AND QUERIES.



E FRÈRE AMÉRICAIN.—Since the appearance of Part I. of Vol. xxxii. of *A.Q.C.*, which contains my paper on *The Origin of Additional Degrees* and the *Discussion* which followed the reading, I have received the following interesting communication from Bro. Chas. A. Brockaway, of Brooklyn, U.S.A.:—

In the library of the G.L. of Pennsylvania there is a Certificate issued by Stephen Morin, who was commissioned in 1761, by the G.L. of France and the Council of the Emperors of the East and West in joint Session, to establish a lodge and “perfect and sublime Masonry.” This Certificate was issued to Ossonde Verrière, a planter, resident of Port-au-Prince and member of the lodge *La Parfaite Union*, one of the lodges of which François La Marque is credited with being a member as quoted by you *A.Q.C.* xxxii., 53. On the back of this Certificate are four endorsements. The second one reads:—“1766. J’ay été reçu Prince de Jlm (*i.e.*, Jerusalem) dans “la loge Ecc. la Parfaite Harmonie du Port-au-Prince en “Mars, 1766, fr Boyer Major du Regim. d’Angoumois tenant “le Septre, et fr Lamarque de l’Angleterre . . . [here “are three words illegible].” I thought you would be interested in the statement here that La Marque was an Englishman.

Bro. Brockaway’s communication is most welcome. Referring to difficulties caused by eccentric names he goes on to say that he has met a companion whose baptismal name is Royal Arch Mason, and concludes:—“What trouble this may “get some investigator into some day!”

J. E. S. TUCKETT.

Constitutions.—Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills’s definition of the term *Constitution* in *A.Q.C.* xxxii., 106, is capable of expansion from the use of the term in ecclesiastical law.

In the English Code of 1604 it is used as synonymous with *Canon* both in the title (*Constitutions & Canons*; Latin version: *Constitutiones sive Canones*) and in the body of the code. *Constitution* occurs in the English version in Canons 10, 12, 42, 110, and 141; and translates *constitutio* in the Latin version excepting the first example, where the Latin has *sanctiones*.

Canon E. G. Wood, probably the most eminent English canonist, has two definitions of the term in his work *The Regal Power of the Church* (Cambridge, 1888):—

“Next it [*sc.* the canon law] is said to be *constitutum*, that is, it is duly formulated either in canons or decrees” (p. 21).

“The remaining source of canon law is constitutions. Under this term are included three classes of the written law, (1) the canons of councils, (2) judicial decisions or decretals, (3) the dicta of the Fathers” (p. 87).

Canon T. A. Lacey draws a distinction between *canons* and *constitutions*: “Canons are rules of conduct, Constitutions are detailed directions” (*Handbook of Church Law*, London, 1903, p. 11). The last sense of *detailed directions* is eminently suitable to the use of the term in the *Book of Constitutions* of Grand Lodge.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary gives the historical meaning of the term as “decree, ordinance,” and quotes for an illustration the *Constitutions of Clarendon* (1164).

CHARLES GOULD.

The last *Transactions* to hand contains the paper on the "Peculiarities of the Book of Constitutions," and the discussion on the title leads me to venture this letter to you.

To me, it seems impossible for Freemasonry to have a Constitution, but is it not most likely that the learned brethren responsible for our Regulations used the word and phrasing which would be familiar? *Constitutio* is the ordinary Latin for a law and edict (*cf. Gai Institutiones*). The Church of England has its "Constitutions and Canons." Even in 1603 this title is used and the Latin is *Constitutiones sive* [not *et*] *Canones*. Constitutions, therefore, is simply Rules or Regulations having no reference at all to Constitution. May I, as a student of Freemasonry, ask if this is an erroneous interpretation?

(Canon) CYRILL J. WYCHE.

Freemasonry in Fiction.—I have recently read the number of the *A.Q.C.* containing the paper and debate on "Freemasonry in Fiction," and I was struck by the fact that, while several of the works mentioned were little known, or of a somewhat ephemeral nature, a classic like Tolstoy's *War and Peace* was overlooked; perhaps Tolstoy's works hardly come under the head of fiction?

The portions dealing with Masonry made some impression on my mind because I was not yet a Mason when I read the book, and from it I derived most of my ideas of an Initiation; ideas which turned out to be largely wrong, but from Tolstoy's character for realism there can be little doubt (whether he himself was a Mason or not) that he was giving a fairly correct account of a Russian Initiation ceremony in 1806.

In any case no Mason can read the following chapters of the book without much interest:—

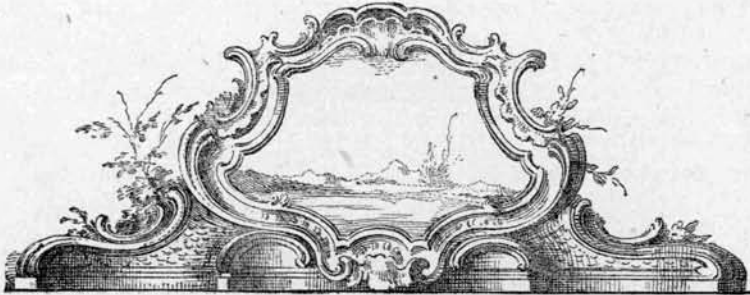
Part V., chaps. ii. and iii. relate the introduction of one of the leading characters, Count Pierre Bezuhov, to Masonry and his Initiation.

Part VI., chaps. vii., viii., and x. contain references to his further career as well as to Masonry outside Russia at that period, and to the characters and motives of several Russian Masons.

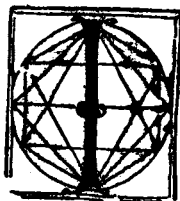
Count Pierre's mentor is a remarkably drawn and somewhat mysterious figure, and seems to be a portrait of some well-known personality.

A reference is made to "Freemasons and Martinists": I am quite ignorant of the latter sect.

P. H. Fox.



OBITUARY.



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

Harris Samuel Beaman, of Kennington Park, London, on the 31st March, 1920. Bro. Beaman was a P.M. of the Ionic Lodge No. 227. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1905.

John Bodenham, of Newport, Salop., on the 15th February, 1920. Our Brother had held the offices of Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in Grand Lodge and Grand Sword Bearer in Grand Chapter. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in November, 1887.

Arnold E. Davey, of Adelaide, South Australia, on the 13th March, 1920, at the age of 58 years. Bro. Davey was a P.M. of Lodge No. 38 (S.A.C.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1905.

Dr. **Royal Amenzo Gove**, of Tacoma, Wash., U.S.A., on the 21st January, 1920. Bro. Gove was a Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Washington, and for 13 years acted as our Local Secretary for that State.

Herbert Ingle Hankin, of St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, on the 19th March, 1920. Bro. Hankin attained the rank of Pr.G.W. in the Craft and that of Pr.G.Sc.N. in the R.A. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1900.

John Patterson Keys, of Rochester, Pa., U.S.A., on the 5th January, 1920. He was a member of Lodge No. 229 and Chapter No. 167, joining our Correspondence Circle in November, 1917.

Judge **Daniel F. Macwatt**, of Ontario, on the 12th February, 1920. Bro. Macwatt had held the office of Grand Master and Grand Z. in Canada. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1911.

Francis Charles Marty, of Buenos Aires, during 1919. He had held the offices of Pres.Dis. B.G.P. and Dis.G.J. in the Argentine. Bro. Marty was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1898.

Arthur Price, of Chepstow, Mon., on the 10th January, 1920. Bro. Price attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D. in Craft and that of P.Pr.G.So. in the R.A. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1914.

John Tate, of Belfast, in March, 1920. Our Brother had held the office of Dep.Dis.G.M., Bombay, and was a Past Grand Deacon of England. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1893.

Rowland George Venables, of Oswestry, Salop, on the 9th March, 1920. Bro. Venables held the offices of Dep.Pr.G.M. and Grand Superintendent in Shropshire, and had been appointed Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner in Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter respectively.

FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1920.



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., I.P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P., Steward; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. J. Asbury, Robert Blake, R. J. Houlton, L. G. Wearing, Walter Dewes, Sidney Maddigan, W. H. Phillips, John Lawrance, Harry Tipper, P.G.St.B., P. H. Fox, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, F. C. Bickell, D. D. Webb, Fred. Armitage, Wm. C. Ullman, George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., A. H. Dymond, Leslie Hemens, C. F. Sykes, H. W. Barnes, A. Presland, Percy H. Horley, A. Gilchrist, F. Howard Humphris, C. R. Macauley, P. W. Howard, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., F. W. Le Tall, J. Proctor Watson, R. Wheatley, Herbert L. Simpson, E. Glaeser, H. Johnson, J. Inkster, T. Atkinson, W. J. Williams, F. J. Boniface, H. Mills, J. F. H. Gilbard, and Walter Berry.

Also Bro. H. Hadow, P.M., Kerala Lodge No. 2188, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. William Watson, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Edward Conder, P.M.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D., P.M.; John T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, I.G.; and G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

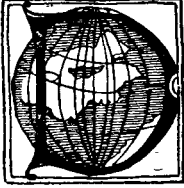
Four Lodges and fifty-eight Brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

A vote of congratulation was passed to the following members of the Correspondence Circle who had received honours at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—His Honour Judge Turner, Junior Grand Deacon; I. A. Symmons, Assistant Grand Registrar; J. W. Stevens, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; Charles Curd, Robert Audley, Cecil D. Hills and Percy Allen, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; F. W. Ward, Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; W. Shepherd, Assistant Grand Pursuivant; Sir Ernest Cooper, Past Grand Warden; Dr. W. O. Steinthal, Past Grand Deacon; and Major W. Wilkinson, J. H. Boocock, K. W. Mounsey, E. W. Roach, and G. Holloway, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies.

Bro. J. E. SHUM TUCKETT, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M., read the following Paper:—

L'ORDRE DE LA FÉLICITÉ.

BY BRO. J. E. S. TUCKETT, T.D., M.A. (Cantab.), F.C.S.,
W.M., No. 2076.



URING the eighteen years which followed the foundation of Charles Radcliffe's Lodge at Paris in 1725 Freemasonry in France came more and more into view and the number of Lodges and Brethren, not only in Paris but throughout the Provinces, increased rapidly. The attitude of the Government and Police towards the new Society became one of suspicion and hostility, but by the general public it was viewed with wonder and curiosity. And when, as happened during the later years of this period, the profane world became cognizant of Masonic Degrees and Orders endowed with imposing Chivalric Titles, those feelings began to be tinged with something of envy. If contemporary references are to be trusted this was particularly so with the fair sex, which is represented as seriously piqued at its persistent exclusion from all participation in Masonic labours and intercourse. It was not long before attempts were made to create a Society or Order in imitation of Freemasonry but drawing its members from both sexes and obviously intended to eclipse its rival and drive it into obscurity and oblivion. The Order of Mopses founded in Vienna in 1738 was at first confined to Roman Catholics of both sexes and was a *substitute* for Freemasonry then coming under the Papal Ban. The earliest effort in France was undoubtedly the *Ordre de la Félicité*, about which but little has hitherto appeared in English, and that little not altogether reliable. Two other Orders were founded a little later, *L'Ordre des SEPT SAGES*, *Compagnons d'Ulysse*, ou *L'Ordre de Minerve*, and *L'Ordre de Palladium ou Souverain Conseil de la Sagesse* (which claimed to date from 1637 but is certainly later than 1737). But androgyne *Sociétés Burlesques* were by no means a new invention. *L'Ordre des Egyptiens*, founded at Metz in about 1635, is described in the *Mémoires* of the Abbé Arnauld; *L'Ordre des Coteaux* is referred to by Boileau, La Bruyère, and by Des Maizeaux in the *Vie de Saint-Evrémond*; *L'Ordre des Chev. et Chev. de la JOIE*, founded in 1696, printed its *Statuts* in 8° in 1698; *L'Ordre de la Boisson*, founded at Avignon in 1700, published its journal *Les Nouvelles de l'O. de la B.*; *Le Régiment de la Calotte* appeared at about the same time and added several words derived from its observances to the French Language; *L'Ordre de la Mouche à Miel*, founded by the Duchesse de Maine in 1703, possessed its Medal of Membership inscribed L.BAR.D.Sc.D.P.D.L.O.D.L.M.A.M. (*Louise, Baronne de Sceaux, Directrice perpétuelle de l'Ordre de la Mouche à Miel*), of which an engraving may be found in the *Récréations Numismatiques* of Tobiesen—Duby, 1786. These Societies had their Grand-Masters, Grand-Mistresses, Trinkets, Tokens, Jewels, and Medals, and exacted an Oath or Promise from their Candidates, but—and this is what marked a new departure in the *Ordre de la Félicité*—there is no indication that they worked a Ritual or conferred any Degrees. In no sense were they 'Secret Societies' or even 'Societies possessing Secrets,' which is by no means the same thing.

In 1738 at Rouen was founded an *Ordre des Chevaliers Rameurs et Dames Rameuses* which met with but little success there. This was probably the germ from which sprang the *Ordre de la Félicité* which appeared in Paris at some time between 1740 and 1743. Lenning says 1742 and Thory 1743. Clavel implies 1730, but I think this is an error due to reliance upon *Le Parfait Maçon*, 1744, which is supposed to contain evidence that *Maçonnerie d'Adoption* commenced as early as 1730. The error has been further bolstered up by the fact that Willaume in

the *Tuileur* states that the *Ordre de la Félicité* and *Maçonnerie d'Adoption* are identical. Clavel's note on the *Ordre de la Félicité* is quoted by Bro. E. L. Hawkins in a Paper in *A.Q.C.* xxiv., p. 7, as follows:—

“ . . . about 1730 (?) Female Freemasonry was instituted. We do not know who was its inventor; but it made its first appearance in France, and it is evidently a product of French wit. The rules of this Masonry, however, were only definitely settled after 1760, and it was recognized and sanctioned by the governing body of Masonry only in the year 1774. At first it assumed various names and various rituals, which have not reached us. In 1743 it had some nautical emblems and a vocabulary: and the Sisters used to make the fictitious voyage from the Isle-of-Felicity under the sail of the Brothers and piloted by them. It was then the *Order of the Happy Ones (Félicitaires)*, which comprised the degrees of Cabin-boy, of Captain, of Commodore, and of Vice Admiral, and had for Admiral, that is to say, for Grand Master, Brother de Chambonnet, who was its Author. The Candidate was made to swear to keep the secret concerning the ceremonial that accompanied the initiation. If it was a man he swore ‘never to take anchorage in any port where a vessel of the order was already found at anchor.’ If it was a woman, she promised ‘not to receive a strange vessel in her port, so long as a vessel of the order should be there at anchor.’ She was sworn sitting in the place of the Commodore or President who was kneeling during this formality. A split in this order gave birth in 1745 to the *Order of the Knights and Ladies of the Anchor* which was only a refinement of the first and preserved its forms.” (Clavel, *Hist. pittor. de la F.M.*, p. 111.).

Bro. Woodford in a brief notice of the Order says that it was founded by ‘M. de Chambonnet and some sea officers.’ Ragon says ‘M. de Chambonnet and some other sea officers.’ Woodford continues that the ‘Society was not Masonic but Social—some say too much so, though there is no proof of it.’ He gives the 4 Degrees as (1) *Mousse*, (2) *Patron* (which he translates ‘Patron’ instead of ‘Captain’), (3) *Chef d'Escadre*, (4) *Vice-Amiral*. He goes on to say:—

“The Sign of the Order was an Anchor suspended from three silken cords. It had a ritual and vocabulary made up of nautical terms. It did not last long for owing to a quarrel in 1745 a portion of the Society formed a new Society called ‘*Ordre des Chevaliers et Chevalières de l'Ancre.*’ The first account of it seems to be given in ‘*L'Antropophile ou le Secret et les Mistères de l'Ordre de la Félicité, dévoilés pour le bonheur de tout l'Univers. A Arctopolis. 1746.*’ Its Word of Greeting is said to have been the Hebrew ‘Shalom Alechem,’ Peace be with you. It was one of those meaningless Androgyne Orders which did, we feel compelled to say, French Free-Masonry much harm.” (*Masonic Cyclopædia.*)

In these accounts there is much that is correct and more that is misleading or untrue. The work *L'Antropophile &c.* I have not seen, but it certainly was not the first exposure of the secrets of this Order, for I have in my collection two earlier ones which I shall presently describe and translate. Before doing so it is desirable to offer a few remarks by way of introduction.

In the first place the Order of Felicity was not in any sense an addition to Freemasonry nor can it be regarded as an early form of, or even the germ from which developed the *Maçonnerie d'Adoption* which ultimately secured the recognition of the French Grand Lodge or Orient. Clavel, Willaume and Woodford and (in following them) Bro. Hawkins are misleading on this point. The Order was, and loudly proclaimed that it was, a ‘rival’ institution:—

Rival de la Maçonnerie
Notre Ordre est d'autant respecté,
Il a de plus la nouveauté
Et des Dames la compagnie.

Neither Freemasonry nor the later *Mac. d'Adoption* have aught in common with the Order of Felicity except that the latter did copy its organisation and externals from the Craft. Herein lies a sufficient reason for examining in some detail its ceremonial and observances, for by so doing we may learn something concerning the management of our own Society at a very important but obscure period of its development.

The Order of Felicity conferred at first four Degrees, namely:—

I°	<i>Mousse</i>	= Cabin-Boy
II°	<i>Patron</i>	= Shipmaster or Captain
III°	<i>Chef d'Escadre</i>	= Commodore
IV°	<i>Vice-Amiral</i>	= Vice-Admiral

As with Freemasons a person not a Member of the Order was *Profane*. The equivalent to a Lodge was an *Escadre* or Squadron. The locality or town where a 'Squadron' assembled was termed a *Rade*, i.e., Roadstead. The Grand Master was styled *Amiral*, i.e., Admiral, and under him were Officers styled *Vice-Amiral*, i.e., Vice-Admiral, who correspond to Provincial Grand Masters. Thus we see that the III° and IV° were definitely associated with *Office* in the Order, and we have at once the idea of *Chair-Degrees*. The Admiral issued *Patentes* or *Commissions* giving power to confer Degrees and Offices, and these seem to have been written documents corresponding to our Warrants. Later the Degrees were altered by the addition of a new grade above *Patron* or Captain and called *Patron-Salé*, i.e., Salted-Captain.

The Grand Officers of the Order were:—

Saint Nicholas, Grand Patron of the Order		
Amiral	= Admiral	<i>Corr. to G.M.</i>
Vice-Amiral	= Vice-Admiral	,, Prov.G.M.

The Officers of a Squadron (Lodge) were:—

Chef d'Escadre	= Commodore	<i>Corr. to W.M. of Lodge</i>
Maitre des Cérémonies	= M. of Ceremonies	,, M.C.
Commissaire de Marine	= Marine Superintendent	,, Sec. and Orator
Grand Sondeur	= Grand Leadsman	,, S.W. (?)
Inspecteur	= Inspector (of Coasts)	,, J.W. (?)
Rameur au Chef d'Escadre	= Commodore's Oarsman or (?) Boatswain	(?)
Cherubin	= Cherub or Cherubin	,, I.G.
Paquebots	= Packet-Boats.	,, Deacons (?)

All members of the Order (except 'Packet-Boats') wore an Anchor of Gold as a Badge or Jewel of membership. There were Jewels of office, but all Degrees and all offices were further distinguished by the 'Cables,' i.e., *Cordons* or Cords of Silk by which the Anchor was *amarré* (moored) to the Heart. The Anchor was therefore worn as a Breast Jewel. The number of Cords and their colour differed for every Degree and every office, as will be seen later. The 'Accolade'—a feature of all Degrees and in the investment of all officers—was given with the Sword for Degrees and the higher offices, but with the Office-Jewel for the lower offices. 'Paquebot,' according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Ordre*, = *Commissionnaire chargé des dépêches* or Despatch bearer. They wore an Anchor of Silver with a single green 'Cable' and were given the 'Accolade' with a stick or whip. They were apparently an inferior kind of Deacon. There were also 'Serving Knights' who received the 'Accolade' by a stroke of the hand upon their shoulders, and nothing is said as to the 'Cables' assigned to them. There is no indication that the Lady-members were eligible to hold office in the Order.

Every Office as well as every Degree possessed its secret 'Word or Words,' but those for the Offices are not disclosed. The Degree Words were never to be uttered except in open Squadron. There were also 'Sacred Words' (*paroles consacrées*). All the Degrees except that of *Vice-Amiral* had special 'Signs' but no 'Grip or Token,' while the Degree of *Vice-Amiral* which had no 'Sign,' alone

possessed a 'Grip or Token.' The Sign of Assent and Salutation was called *Coup-de-Rame* (=Oar-Stroke). In the 'Language of the Order' *Rame* (Oar) = *Bras et Jambes* (Arms and Legs). The Sign was made thus:—

Place the right hand on the breast, then hold it out and trace with it a half-circle, at the same time advancing the leg.

This Sign was made on entering or leaving the Squadron, when addressing a Superior, and on other similar occasions. There were Single-Arm and Double-Arm Oar-Strokes and the *number* of such Strokes was carefully prescribed according to the occasion. There was another form of Salute called '*Salut de Chapeau*,' which was as follows:—

Carry the hat to the breast, move it up and down perpendicularly twice, then replace it on the head.

The *Commandement* (Word of Command) or method of Honouring a Toast at a Banquet ran thus:—

Hold out the Glass as if to clink glasses with another, the index finger being kept pointing upwards; then lower the glass and make as if to pour wine into it; then recover it upon the breast; move it up and down perpendicularly twice; and then empty it (by drinking the wine).

A Glass was called *Une Jarre* and a Bottle *Dame-Jeanne*.

The Members of the Order are divided into those who are 'within the Tabernacle' and those who are not, the meaning of which expression is obscure but seems to point to something corresponding to Grand or Prov. Grand *Rank* (not *office*). Ladies were eligible to be 'within the Tabernacle.'

Five or more could hold a Squadron, but no one below the rank of Commodore could initiate. The Commodore on the 'Throne' was styled 'The President.' Those present were ranged in two 'Columns' on the R. and L. of the Throne. All must be 'clothed,' i.e., provided with their Anchors and proper Cables. The members wore their Swords and Chapeaux or Head-dresses in open Squadron, and, in fact, these articles were essential to the ceremonial. The Candidate was without Sword and bare-headed but not apparently hood-winked, and was supported by a *parrain* or Sponsor who testified to his virtues and eligibility. He had to profess 'zeal' and repudiate mere 'curiosity' and give proofs of his proficiency in the 'Science of Navigation,' of which more anon. A Ballot-Box with White and Black Balls was used. The Ballot was taken *three* times (if necessary) at *three separate* meetings, and should a Black Ball or Balls appear at all three the Candidate was for ever rejected. The term *Réception* applied to all Degrees equally. The Cherubin or I.G. (Ragon calls him *le surveillant*, but he cannot mean in the sense of Warden), who was always the junior member of the I^o, stood sword in hand within the entrance to the Squadron. In the First Degree the room in which the Squadron was held apparently represented a Ship or Boat with a double bank of oars, and the ceremony includes a rather striking representation of the members present rowing the Boat with the Candidate as passenger to the Harbour of Felicity on the *Isle Desirée* or *Isle de Félicité* or *Isle de Cythère*, where the Obligation—which contains many phrases of familiar sound—is taken and the Secrets communicated.

It is rather surprising to find that after the First Degree the nautical business seems to recede into the background, for the Second and Third Degrees have to do with a Garden—the Garden of Eden—while the Degree of Commodore is concerned with an assembly of heathen Gods and Goddesses not usually associated with the abode of primitive innocence. All 'Working' in open Squadron was styled *La Manœuvre*, and it is evident that it was carried out in the 'Language of the Order,' that is to say, in French, in which all the principal words and phrases had a meaning other than the ordinary one. This *Working* in a special 'Language of the Order' is an unusual feature, but at the *Banquets* both of Masonic and Adoption Lodges something of the kind was customary, and it is difficult to say whether the Order set the fashion or followed it. The *Dictionnaire de l'Ordre* is an interesting compilation in two parts:—Felicity--French, and French-Felicity.

Bro. Woodford has hinted that the practices of the Order may not have been altogether above reproach, and it must be confessed that there is much which might be supposed to convey an impression of unpleasant double-entendre, especially in the Degree of *Patron-Salé* or *Salted-Captain*, and it is difficult to see how occasion could arise for some of the expressions contained in the *Dictionnaire* without overstepping the bounds of decorum. On the other hand, it must be remembered that at this period certain subjects were openly discussed in the highest and politest circles, and with a freedom such as would be quite impossible to-day, and, on the whole, it is safer to account for the peculiarities noticed by the licence characteristic of the times and as common in our own as in other countries. The 'Science of Navigation' meant the 'Art of Love,' 'Embarquements' is the Felicity for 'Love Intrigues,' 'Prises faites' are 'captures'—in an amorous sense, a novice in the art of 'Navigation' was called 'Halle Bouline,' i.e., 'Haul-Bowline,' an enemy of the Order was a 'Pirate.' *Vaisseau* stands for 'Man,' *Fregatte* for 'young Lady,' while *Port* (a port or harbour) means simply *cœur*, that is 'heart.'

That the Order was quite innocent of all offence at the outset need not be doubted, and it seems clear that the members were recruited from the best ranks in Society. Nor was it confined to the Capital, for 'Squadrons' were formed in many 'Roadsteads' in various parts of the country. But rapid increase in numbers lowered the social prestige of the Order and aroused suspicion, as had happened also in the case of Freemasonry. To our Brother, the G. Sec. of the G. L. of Massachusetts, I am deeply indebted for his kindness and courtesy in supplying me with a photographic reproduction of a page of the:—

Boston Evening Post. Jan. 9. 174 $\frac{3}{4}$. No. 440.

containing the following interesting reference to the Order of Felicity:—

London, Sept. 16.

Extract of a Letter from Rome, dated August 27. N.S.

'We hear from Avignon, that a Society composed of Persons of both Sexes, has been lately formed there, under the Name of *Knights* and *Knightsesses* of the Order of Felicity; and as this Society has made a great Noise, by Reason of the Ceremonies performed at the Admission of Members into it, M. Joseph de Guyon de Crochans, Archbishop of that City, has published a Mandate against it, wherein he expresses himself to the following Purpose:

"That he cannot conceal the extreme Uneasiness he is under at the repeated and circumstantial Informations that have been given him concerning this Society, the Design of which can neither be the Service of God, nor a new Engagement tending to greater Perfection: That he leaves it to the Civil Magistrates to inquire, whether such Associations are not destructive of the real Good and Repose of Civil Society; and that he exhorts the Faithful in his Diocese, to be upon their Guard against a Society so suspicious on Account of the frivolous and indecent Ceremonies, to say no worse of them, that are observed at the Reception of its Members."

'We are likewise told, that the said Society started up at Avignon, soon after the *Free-Masons* were suppressed there.'

In 1751 the same Archbishop issued another furious tirade or 'Mandement' against Masonry, but it is well to remember that the accusations of Roman Ecclesiastics against Societies which they wished to discourage or stamp out are not always fully justified by actual facts. Still there is reason to fear that with the too rapid growth of the Order of Felicity not sufficient care was taken in the selection of candidates, and it is quite likely that this led to disorder 'the mob having seized the helm.' 'Soon,' says a contemporary critic, 'a liveried lackey might be seen with the supreme grade of a Commodore and a *grisette* perched within the 'Tabernacle.' The proceedings of a certain Prince (who is described as 'G.M. de l'O. maçonnique' and whose identity can easily be guessed) at a Squadron at Vincennes gave great offence.

Two elegant little 12° volumes are in my collection. They are certainly very rare and, although it is scarcely likely that they are the only copies known, it can at least be said that they are the only copies which I have been able to trace so far. The first of these *Formulaire, &c.*, 1745, is an official production issued under the auspices of the Order itself, and therefore entitled to every credit, being, in fact, the work of *friends* of the Order. The other one, *Les Moyens, &c.*, undated, is of a different stamp, being the work of *enemies* of the Order and intended to bring discredit upon it, and, indeed, the doubts cast upon its good fame are largely traceable to this anonymous and bitter attack. It must have followed close upon the heels of the *Formulaire*. Ragon and Thory assign it to 1745, and no doubt they are right, for in the following year appeared an official *Apologie de la Félicité*, Paris, 1746, in which the odious aspersions cast upon the Order are indignantly repudiated. The year 1746 also saw the issue of *L'Antropophile, &c.*, while two years later, 1748, came *L'Ordre Hermaphrodite, &c.* For the full titles of these five works, all of which were produced in Paris, readers are referred to the Bibliography of Contemporary Works at the end of this Paper. The articles by the French Masonic writers of more modern times on the subject of the Order of Felicity are mainly inspired by the first two, but some additional information is to be found in Ragon's *Manuel complet de la Maçonnerie d'Adoption ou Maçonnerie des Dames*. Paris. n.d., and in Thory's *Annales originis Magni Galliarum. O. ou Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient de France*. Paris. 1812, and this has been used at various points throughout the Paper.

How long the Order of Felicity lasted is a matter of uncertainty. In 1747 the better class of its members, disgusted with the bad tone shown by the 'mob' or commoner sort, resolved to separate from the Society and form a new one which should maintain all the Old Landmarks of the Original except some trifling alterations in the regalia and modes of recognition. Thus came into existence *l'Ordre des Chevaliers et Chevalières de l'Anchre*, which was practically nothing but *l'Ordre de la Félicité* purged from its undesirable members. The Anchor and Cables were replaced by an elegant Medal engraved with the Emblems and Attributes of the Order. There is reason to suppose that this reformed body flourished for a time, and that it spread to other countries. When it finally disappeared is unknown, but it seems likely that it gave way under the superior attraction and prestige of the *Maçonnerie d'Adoption*. The new Order published *Les Motifs de la Création, &c.*, at Paris (probably in 1748), an 8° tract of 8 pages.

It is not a little remarkable that in 1745 an *Order of The Vessel* sprang up in the United States of America, to all intents and purposes a reproduction of the *Ordre de la Félicité*. What success attended it and how long it lasted I cannot say.

A translation of the *Formulaire* and *Les Moyens* is now presented to English readers for the first time, but it should be explained that whenever the word *Foot-note* occurs it means a Footnote in the printed book. A 'Note' enclosed within [] is an interpolation of my own:—

1 l. blank not counted in pagination.

T.P. Formulary | of the Ceremonial | in Use | in the Order of Felicity | observed
1 in each Degree at the time of | the Reception of the Knights and | Ladies
 of the said Order. | With | a Dictionary of the Nautical Terms | in
 Use in the Squadrons and their | Significations in French. | To this is
 added a Collection of Songs which | have so far been composed on this
 subject. | M.DCC.XLV. | (12°).

rev. blank.

2

3 4 1 l. blank.

p. 5 Formulary | of the Ceremonial | in Use | in the Order of Felicity. |

 Union being the basis of the Order no one should be admitted
 (into it) without the unanimous consent of all the members of a

Squadron. To hold a Squadron at least five are necessary and no one may receive (candidates) unless he is in possession of the required Authority for the purpose conferred by his Warrant for the Roadstead within which the Squadron is held.

p. 6 When a Squadron is assembled and it is desired to enter the room in which it is held two knocks are given upon the door, the Cherubin replies by the same signal and then goes to warn the Commodore that there is an Alarm. Having received permission to find out who has knocked at the door, if it is a Brother, he is examined as to the Planks of his Vessel before he is admitted; if it is a Candidate for the Order he is introduced in a manner to be described later on.

To be received into the Order three essential qualities are demanded, Charm of disposition, gentleness of character, and skill for Sea service.

The 1st Degree to be reached is that of Cabin-boy.

The 2nd is that of Captain.

The 3rd is that of Commodore.

The 4th is that of Vice-Admiral.

p. 7 There are several Grand Officers of the Order. There are other Officers, private and inferior (in rank), and lastly there are Packet-Boats. When anyone presents himself for admission to the Order, the Master of Ceremonies remains outside the Squadron with the Candidate. He knocks at the door in the customary manner, the Cherubin opens and finds out if the Candidate has the zeal and talent necessary. He then goes to report to the Commodore and with his permission he introduces them both. The Commodore himself questions the Candidate to make sure whether it is really genuine zeal or merely curiosity which makes him desire the Order of Chivalry. The Commodore being acquainted with the Candidate's motives causes him to be placed on the N. side and there to recite the Supplication to Saint Nicholas, Patron of the Order, as follows:—

p. 8

Oraison

A Monsieur Saint Nicolas

Toy qui dans l'horreur du
naufnage,
Soutiens le cœur des Matelots,
Toy, qui d'un mot calme
l'orage
Et fais taire le bruit des flots;
Saint Nicolas sois favorable
Au zèle qui m'appelle à toi;
Fais que ton Scrutin redoubtable
m'admette à vivre sous ta loi;

Que sur tes Escadres brillantes,
Je serve & commande à mon
tour,
Qu' aux Charges les plus importantes
De rang en rang je monte un
jour;
Que contre moi le fier Borée,
Ne souleve jamais les Mers;
Et que de l'isle désirée
Je trouve tous les Ports
ouverts

Ainsi soit-il.

Supplication
to Monsieur St. Nicholas

O! thou who amidst the terrors of
shipwreck,
Art the support of Sailors' hearts,
Thou who with a single word canst
calm the storm
And silence the thunder of the waves;
St. Nicholas be gracious
To the zeal which calls me to thee;
Let thy formidable ballot
Admit me to live under thy rule
(law);
that aboard thy illustrious Squadrons
I may serve and in my turn command,
that to the most important offices
from rank to rank some day I may
rise
that against me proud Boreas
may never stir up the Seas;
and that of the Longed-for-Isle
I may find all the Harbours open

So mote it be.

[*Note.*—St. Nicolas (or Nicolaus), Bishop of Myra in Lycia at the time of the Diocletian persecution, patron of children, and the favourite patron of sailors. He was accustomed to predict bad weather, calm storms at a word, protect sailors from wreck, and healed them when sick or disabled. Is generally represented as taking a foremost part in the Council at Nice. When heathen Temples of Poseidon were transformed into Christian Churches they were nearly always dedicated to this Saint. The well known ceremony of the 'Boy Bishop' was a feature in the celebration of his festival.]

p. 9

During this ceremony the Squadron must be up-standing with head bare and hands crossed over the breast, the Ballot (Box) is then opened before the Candidate. He approaches it, shuts it, and retains possession of the key, so that he may be assured that no trickery may be perpetrated; sufficient balls, white and black, are placed near the Ballot (Box) so that each Brother may make such use of them as he deems to be right; everybody leaves the room and the junior Cabin-boy, who is always the one to perform the office of Cherubin, takes his sword in his hand and (posts himself) outside the door which he opens and closes as each of the Brethren enters singly, i.e., one at a time. The Candidate stands opposite to the Cherubin in order to solicit by an Oar-Stroke the support of each Brother as he goes in to record his vote; the Ballot being ended, the Commodore takes the Candidate by the hand and leads him to the Ballot (Box). He solemnly lays his hands upon it uttering the Sacred Words . . . and gives it to him (the Candidate) to open. If a single black ball is found therein he is put back for another Ballot. Two Ballots for the same person may never be taken on the same day; and should black balls occur at three Ballots the Candidate is for every rejected.

p. 10

When the Ballot is favourable all the Squadron clap hands and embrace him who is thus admitted.

[*Note.*—*L'Ordre Hermaphrodite*, &c., 1748, says that the Ballot was taken during the recitation of the Prayer to St. Nicolas which does not agree with the above. Ragon, p. 133, and and Thory, p.351.]

p. 11

Ceremonies for the Reception of a Cabin-boy.

All the Knights and Ladies who are present at the Roadstead should group themselves about the Commodore in two columns on the Right and Left according to Rank, Dignity, and Seniority. All are seated and with head covered. The Cherubin posts himself sword in hand within the door. The Commodore sword in hand is seated on his Throne.

While waiting for the Master of Ceremonies to introduce the Candidate each member should report to the Commodore the Embarcations and Captures effected since the last Squadron, the Superintendent announces complaints if there are any, the Grand Leadsman renders an account of the discoveries he has made along the coast, and the Inspector sees that everything is in order and that each member has his Anchor and Cable.

p. 12

When the Master of Ceremonies has knocked for the admittance of the Candidate, the Cherubin enquires his name and what he wants and the reply is that he demands admission into the Garden of Eden; the Cherubin goes to make his report. He returns to demand who acts as his Sponsor which information he carries back to the Commodore. The Sponsor rises and says that he will furnish an account of the talents of the person presented by him whenever it shall be required.

The Commodore then demands if all consent to the admission of the Candidate and all the Squadron replies by a silent Oar-Stroke.

6. 13 The Cherubin opens the door, the Master of Ceremonies makes the Candidate enter, disarmed and minus his head-dress; proclaims his name and titles, and then leaves it to the Sponsor to make a fuller report on his behalf. The Commodore then asks what he seeks. He replies that he wishes to embark for the Island of Felicity and that he demands the Order of Chivalry. He is questioned as to the embarkation which he has made in order to judge of his experience in Navigation. The Commodore demands of the Knights if they are satisfied and they reply by an Oar-Stroke. The Master of Ceremonies leads the Candidate up to the Throne and makes him there make three low bows and then places him on his knees at the feet of the Commodore. Then all the Squadron commence a movement as if rowing in order to conduct the new Brother to the Harbour of Felicity. The Candidate places his left hand upon the knees of the Commodore, and raises his right hand which he interlocks with the left hand of the one who receives him (? Commodore). In this situation the Commodore demands if he consents to bind himself to the Order by an Obligation which will not commit him to anything contrary to Religion or Honour or the State. When he has agreed to do so he repeats these words after the Commodore:—

I swear and promise upon my Honour never to reveal, under any pretext whatever, or in any manner whatsoever, any of the Secrets which may be entrusted to me, or any of the things which may happen within the Squadron. And I consent, should I fail to keep my word, to be regarded by my Brethren as a man dishonoured. *Footnote.*—In place of the words 'And I consent, &c.,' if it is a Lady who is being admitted, she says:—'Under the penalty of being abandoned to the 'fury of the most terrible Sailors, should I fail to keep my word.'

[*Note.*—In the Dictionnaire the word *Matelots* (Sailors) is translated *Gens sans pitié* (merciless men).]

p. 14 The Commodore next makes him promise Fidelity to the Order in general, Obedience to the Grand Master, and to his Superiors, in all which concerns the Order, to wear the Anchor moored to his Heart by the Cables corresponding to his Degree, to contribute by all means in his power to the happiness, the comfort and advantage of all the Knights and Ladies, to allow himself to be led to the Isle of Felicity and to lead others there whenever he knows the way, to answer Summonses, to submit to all fines and penalties which shall be inflicted upon him when he has failed in respect of any of the Statutes. And never to cast Anchor in any Port where a Vessel of the Order is actually at the time at Anchor. *Footnote.*—If it is a Lady she is made to promise:—'never to receive a strange Vessel in her Port so long as a Vessel of the 'Order is there at Anchor already.'

[*Note.*—*Vaisseau* (Vessel)=*Homme* (Man): *Port* (Port)=*Cœur* (Heart).]

p. 15 After the Obligation the Commodore demands of the Knights if they are satisfied with his promises, and they signify approval by an Oar-Stroke; all (the members of) the Squadron then raise the right hand upon the head of the new Knight and lay down their hats until the Commodore has concluded the Communication of the Secret to him and has given him the Accolade with the Sword. The Master of the Ceremonies (then) conducts him to share (the Secrets) with all the Knights and Ladies, and the Commodore's Oarsman who affixes an Anchor and Cable to his button-hole commands him ever to wear it over his heart, saying:—'May your Anchor never drag: May St. 'Nicholas ever lead you straight to the Port.'

[*Note.*—*Port* (Port or Harbour)=*Cœur* (Heart).]

Footnote.—Serving Knights receive the Accolade with a stroke of the hand on the shoulders, instead of with the Sword.

When a Lady is received she is seated on the Commodore's Throne who himself kneels. She places her left hand on the Commodore's shoulder while he places his upon her shoulder.

[*Note.*—*et la droite sur la sienne.* The meaning is ambiguous. It is, however, made clear by Thory:—*tandis qu'il posait la sienne sur l'épaule de la néophyte.*]

p. 16 She then takes the Obligation in which there is no other mark of distinction than those already indicated above. After the Obligation the Commodore places both his hands upon the shoulders of the Lady while communicating the Word.

[*Note.*—Thory states that the 'Statuts et Formulaires' were read directly after the Obligation.]

p. 17

Ceremony

for the Reception of Captains.

The Knights and Ladies present dispose themselves in a circle intertwining their arms which are passed behind the back. The Master of Ceremonies introduces the Cabin-Boys (? the Candidates), the juniors being on the left of the one whom he receives (first) because they are instructed later in the Secret. They are examined as to the Planks of the Ship and of the Frigate and also in the Language of the Order.

[*Note.*—*Vaisseau* (Vessel or Ship)=*Homme* (Man): *Fregatte* (Frigate)=*Petite Femme* (Young Lady).]

Having satisfied they are made to place their right hands upon their heads and promise never to reveal the new Secrets about to be entrusted to them. After this has been done these (new Secrets) are communicated to them with an explanation and they are then examined as to what they remember concerning them. Then they interlace their arms with the other (members) and the Ceremony ends.

p. 18

Within the Squadrons the Cherubin and the other Knights never approach or address the President without saluting him with the Oar-Stroke which are his due. For a Cabin-Boy—1 Oar-Stroke, for a Captain—2, for a Commodore—3, for the Grand Master—4 Double Oar-Stroke. For Ladies the number is not limited.

If a Commodore has a Special Commission from the Grand Master to confer this same Degree (that of Commodore), he will carry out the Reception in the same manner as he himself was Received, having first tested whether the Captain he is about to admit is sufficiently acquainted with the Flowers which make up the Flower-Beds of the Garden, and having required from him the new Obligation.

Footnote.—As a Special Commission from the Grand Master is necessary to confer the Degree of Commodore we have not here given any more detailed description of this Ceremony. If it should happen that anyone to whom such a Commission is entrusted is ignorant of the details of the Ritual he will be instructed concerning it by some (other) Commodore who is acquainted with them.

p. 19

In the Reception of the inferior Officers of the Order hands are laid upon the shoulders while the Word is given and the Accolade is given with the Jewel of their Office.

In the Reception of Packet-Boats the Accolade is given with a Stick or Whip.

[Pages 20-35. Chansons. See Addendum.]

p. 36

Number of Cables	
That each should wear corresponding to his Degree.	
Cabin-Boy	1
Captain	2
Marine Superintendent	4
Commodore	4
Vice-Admiral	5
Grand-Master	6

All Knights not within the Tabernacle wear an Anchor of Gold attached by a Cable of Green only.

Those who are within the Tabernacle wear it with a Cable of Green and Gold.

The Vice-Admiral with a Cable of Silver only.

The Grand-Master with a Cable of Gold only.

The Officers of the Order wear an Anchor of Gold (or as they please) with a Cable of Green and Silver.

The Packet-Boats wear an Anchor of Silver with a Cable of Green only.

[Pages 37 to 69. Dictionnaire de l'Ordre. The Felicity-French part occupies pp. 39-52. The French-Felicity part pp. 55-69.]

End of Book.

Many of the words and phrases peculiar to the *Language of the Order* occur and are explained in the course of the Paper and many others will be found in the Addendum dealing with the Songs of the Order.

The second of the two books to be described will be found to supply most of the information which is lacking in the first:—

1 l. blank, not included in the pagination.

p. 1 Title The Means|whereby to rise to the Highest Rank|in the Navy without serving at Sea|or|The Secrets of the Knights of the Order|of Felicity. | Dedicated|to the very polite and very veracious|Bro. Profane Leonard Ga|banon, Author of the Cate|chism of the Freemasons. | By Madame Pirate. | At the Bottom of the Hold;|At the House of Seaman Boreas at the Golden Anchor. | And at the House of the Widow Sailoress at the Household Gods. | With the Approval and Permission of Æolus.

p. 2 verso of Title, blank.

[*Note.*—Leonard Gabanon, whose real name was Louis Travenol, published *Le Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* . . . à *Jerusalem et Limoges* in 1740. The later editions of 1747 and 1749 connect Freemasonry with the Knightly Orders. He was 'Profane,' both to Freemasonry and Felicity.

Pirate (Pirate)=*Ennemi de l'Ordre* (Enemy of the Order).

A Fond de Cale (At the Bottom of the Hold).

Veuve Matelotte (Widow Sailoress)=Widow Pitiless.

• The *Dieux Lares* occur in the Degree of Commodore.]

p. 3

Avertissement.

I make here no mention of the Ceremonies to be observed at the Reception of Knights of Felicity, nor of their Jargon, seeing that these are no mystery to the Public, and that moreover the whole is set forth in detail in the little Brochure entitled *Formulaire du Ceremonial en usage dans l'ordre de la Félicité*. I unfold only those essential Secrets

p. 4

of the Order, which have not hitherto been penetrated and which serve to distinguish the initiated from amongst those who are not. So that anyone who profits by my instructions can if he chooses boldly assume the title of Knight of Felicity, wear the Jewels thereof whether as Cabin-Boy, Captain, Seasoned-Captain or Commodore, without any Knight being able to refuse to recognize him as a Brother. But it is necessary to guard against letting out to them that the Instruction has been gained from this or any other writing. It is necessary to persuade them that you have been received with all due form, by which means they will be the dupes, although they know perfectly well that their Secret has met with the same fate as that of the Freemasons. Any who make trial of this simple test will be convinced that I have not imposed upon the Public in the same way as have certain Authors in presenting it with *Le Parfait Maçon*, *La Franc-Maçonne* and other similar flights of fancy, as the true Secret of Freemasonry, believing that thereby the Public would either be deceived or else put into the quandary of not knowing whom to trust. In spite of this fraud the Public has known how to sort out the Truth from amongst the Lies, and has recognized the work by Monsieur l'Abbé Perault entitled *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons dédié au très-vénérable Frère Procope &c.*, and that by Leonard Gabanon which has for title *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons dédié au beau Sexe &c.*, to be the only ones which contain the Veritable Mysteries of Freemasonry. I hope, then, that the Public will accord the same justice to this present work, notwithstanding the pains which zealous Knights of Felicity will take to disparage it.

[*Note.*—*Le Parfait Maçon ou les véritable Secrets des quatre Grades d'Apprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires et Ecossois* appeared in 1744. *La Francmaçonne, ou Révélation des mystères des Francmaçons, par Madame Veuve * * **, Bruxelles, 1744, 12° The former tells of several Scots Degrees, the latter that there were seven Degrees of Freemasonry at that date.

Gabriel Louis Calabre Pérau (not Perault) was born in 1700 at Semur (*Auxois*) of humble parents, who destined him for the Church. In obedience to their wishes he was educated with this purpose in view and presently received minor Orders. But his heart was not in it and in addition he became involved in a love affair which caused some scandal, but he repented sincerely of his conduct and obtained permission to resume his studies at the Sorbonne. When the time came he refused finally to take Priest's Orders declaring himself to be unworthy, and henceforth he devoted himself to literary work in which he attained to some considerable reputation. He commenced but did not finish an edition of the *Lettres d'Yves de Chartres*, he completed the *Vies des Hommes Illustres de France* of N. Castres d'Auvigny, and issued several minor historical works of merit. His eyesight having failed him he was through the good offices of Laverdy, the Contrôleur-Général des Finances, accorded a pension of 1,200 livres. Soon after an operation for cataract—a rare thing in those days—proved successful, and he was able to resume his literary work. He became Prior of the Sorbonne and died in Paris, 31 March, 1767. He edited many works of famous authors, e.g., Hecquet's *Médecine des Pauvres*, Collected Works of Rabelais, Boileau, de Bossuet, de Saint-Réal, Germain Brice, Marigny, de Feuquières, &c. He also wrote himself *Lettres au Sujet de M. le Marquis de Tavannes* (1743), *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* (1742), *Recueil A.B.C.* (1745); *L'Hôtel Royal des Invalides* (1765), folio,

with engravings by Cochin, *Vie de Jerome Bignon* (1757), the precocious child genius and friend of Grotius. The Abbé Pérau's remarkable Masonic work *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons*, which appeared in 1742, is the earliest of the so-called French 'exposures' of Freemasonry, and it claims to be written in the interest of the Craft with the hope of promoting a reformation within it. It is dedicated to the Très-Vénérable Frère Procope. This eminent personage was Couteau Procope the only son of a man of noble family a native of Palermo named François or Francesco Procope who migrating to Paris was the first to establish there a Literary Café or Club-House for writers, dramatists and such like. *Le Café Procope* became famous and long continued to be a favourite meeting place for the most celebrated wits and literary men.

At Paris, in 1684, was born the son Couteau Procope, better known under his *nom-de-guerre* of Michel Coltelli. He was educated for the Church, and it is recorded that at the age of nine years he delivered in the ancient Church of the Cordeliers a kind of lay sermon or discourse in Greek of his own composition. But he forsook the Church for medicine and after a brilliant career as a student he took the Degree of a Doctor in 1708 and speedily became a fashionable and successful practitioner. Slightly deformed and by no means good looking he seems to have possessed very considerable charm of manner and to have been an especial favourite with the fair sex. He was vivacious and witty and of imperturbable good humour, and a great part of his time seems to have been occupied in frequenting literary gatherings, theatrical displays and convivial or social societies. He married twice, his second wife being an English lady of very considerable fortune which enabled the Doctor to relinquish much of his medical practice and devote himself to art and literature. He ended his days at Chaillot towards the close of 1753 in reduced circumstances but with unimpaired happiness of disposition. He was a poet and author of some repute. His dramatic works are: (1) *Arlequin Balourd*, a comedy played in London in 1719; (2) *L'Assemblée des Comédiens*, comedy, 1724; (3) *Les Fées*, comedy, 1736; (4) *Pygmalion*, comedy, 1741; (5) *La Gageure*, 1741, (part author with Lagrange); (6) *Les Deux Basiles*, 1743, (part author with de Merville). His medical works are: (1) *Analyse du Système la Trituration*, 1712; (2) *La Maladie du Roi*, 1744; (3) *Les Medecins et Chirurgiens*, 1746, (in a humorous vein); (4) *L'Art de faire des Garçons*, 1748, (another humorous production which a brother medico took to be serious). Dr. Procope was the subject of a comic poem by Claude Marie Giraud entitled *La Procopjade, ou l'Apothéose du Docteur Procope*, published in 1754. Addressing Dr. Procope in *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* the Abbé Pérau says:—"The keen interest you take in everything concerning the illustrious Order of Free-Masons has decided me to "present to you this little work," and the Doctor is described as "one of the Venerables of the twenty-two Lodges established "at Paris." This is, of course, copied in *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons trahi et Le Secret des Mopses révélé* of 1745 and in the edition of 1778. There is no doubt that he was a very active and prominent Mason, and M. Simonet, who, in his MS. of 1744, *L'Idée juste de la Société des Freys-Maçons*, refers to him as 'fameux Poete de la Société,' handles him with some severity in consequence. A Masonic Poem by him

entitled *Apologie des Francs-Maçons* appears in all the early collections of *Chansons des Francs-Maçons* and is given a prominent place in De la Tierce's *Histoire Obligations et Statuts de la très Vénérable Confraternité des Francs-Maçons* (1742). Bro. de la Tierce concludes his 'Discours Préliminaire' thus:—

We are of opinion that we cannot better finish this Discourse than by giving an *Apology for Freemasons* composed a few years since by the learned and worthy Bro. Procope, Doctor of Medicine at Paris, for it contains the true character necessary for a genuine Brother and Fellow (*Frère et Compagnon*). It is true that it has already appeared in print in various works. But it will be agreed that it was not possible to omit from this one a Piece which contains so noble and so natural a representation of the worshipful Brotherhood.

The following lines:—

Le but où tendent nos desseins
Est de faire revivre Astrée
Et de remettre les humains
Comme ils étoient du tems de Rhée

may be compared with the IV^o Mystery of the *Ordre de la Félicité* and suggest that perhaps Dr. Procope besides being a Freemason was also a Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Félicité.

A very interesting series of Plates illustrating Ceremonial contained in Gabanon's (*i.e.*, Travenol's) *Catéchisme* of 1740 invites and will repay careful study.]

p. 5

Letter
to the Author of the Catechism
of the Free Masons.

The debt we owe to you, my dear Gabanon, for a sight of the *Light* reserved for Freemasons, the gift you have made to us of their Catechism, the learned and clear Commentary upon the obscure parts of the Text, all this imposes upon us the duty of making some return. At some little cost I discharge myself of this duty. Our Sex with all its prerogatives affords no excuse for Pride or Ingratitude. We must not remain beholden to anyone, provided that we do not carry to extremes our readiness and our acknowledgements. But between a man of learning and a lady similarly endowed it is permissible to overstep a little those limits which restrain the baser sort, and the Public which is only too scrupulous in taking notice of the goings-on of women, relaxes a good deal of its rigour in favour of those who are styled BEAUX ESPRITS. To such it gives permission to risk a thousand incongruities which would result in grave consequences for others. (Such as) to rush into print in collaboration with some Famous Author, to share his renown, to glory in his success, to hold him up for the applause of the pit (and gallery), to act as his A.D.C. at his recitals and readings of his Poems, to possess the Household Gods in common with him, &c. &c.

p. 6

[*Note.*—Beyond a doubt here the allusion is to the famous liaison between Voltaire and Gabrielle Emilie de Breteuil Marquise de Chastelet. Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques* and certain other of his writings gave such offence by reason of their profaneness that warrants were actually issued for his arrest. He found it expedient to disappear from Paris and retired to

Cirey on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine in company with the Marquise de Chastelet. This liaison was in full swing in 1743.]

But I will not avenge you at our expense for the severity which has been meted out to you by certain coquettes whom you have used ill in your writings. For! what do you give them? Verses! Opinions! Serenades! This sort of cash does not circulate with them and in these days will with difficulty pass muster out of mere curiosity even with certain rich old widows.

In unveiling for you the profound Secrets of Felicity, I violate no Obligation. A Stranger to the Order of the Anchor, even as you are to that of the Trowel, why should the zealous members of the one and the other reproach us with the violation of a fidelity

p. 7

[*Note.*—The Trowel played an important part in early French Freemasonry and *l'Ordre de la Truëlle* is often found employed as an alternative name. In the *Rélation Apologetique et Historique* the W.M. presents the Trowel to the Initiate bidding him to erect with it 'le Temple de votre Félicité.' In Italy in its earliest days Freemasonry used the title 'Company of the Trowel,' possibly intending thereby a reference to a sixteenth century *Società della Cucciara* which is said to have existed at Florence.]

from which they dispense themselves. It is from them that one learns to mock at their Mysteries, the ridiculous pains they are at to cover them up lays them bare. Those who are accused contradict themselves continually, and it calls for no great skill to be able to expose them.

Perchance they will cry out against me as they have done against you. Their folly will weigh them down. They want to overwhelm me with it, but it is all of no account. We save the Public from all the drudgery imposed upon Candidates. In undeceiving them we are serving the State. Yes! dear Citizens, you (can) all of you now assume the rank of Commodore, take it straight off without (passing through) the grades of Cabin-Boy, Seaman, Captain. Excused from the intervening steps, I dispense you from the Noviciate, I cut short the Tests.

[*Note.*—The 'grade de Matelot.' This is the only indication of a 'Degree' of *Matelot* (Sailor). *Matelots* is Felicity for *gens sans pitié* (men without pity or mercy).]

Wear the Anchor in your Button-hole, to make it secure attach to it as many Cables as you please. Finally confer upon yourselves whichever of the Titles you may fancy.

You see, dear Gabanon, that She whom you have created a Maçonne without Apprenticeship, now makes an equally generous return both to you and to the Public. At an early date I hope siliarily to penetrate the Secret of the Order of the Fendeurs

p. 8

[*Note.*—The Order of Fendeurs (see *A.Q.C.* xxii., p. 52). This reference in a work of 1745 is of considerable interest for it is generally supposed that the Order of Fendeurs was founded in Paris by a certain Chev. de Beauchaine in about the year 1763. Ragon gives the date as 1747. This de Beauchaine is described by Savalette de Langes as 'scraping a living out of 'the bounty of certain noble Masons' (see *A.Q.C.* xxx., p. 164).]

and from one discovery to another we shall at last attain to the Philosopher's Stone.

[*Note.*—Is this an indication that even in 1745 Hermetic Studies were (in popular opinion) associated with Freemasonry?]

If you should find out all about it first I shall look to you for information. If not, I shall be on the look-out for you. May thus *le commer des curieux*,

[*Note.*—*le commer des curieux.* *Commer* is an obsolete XVIIIth century verb meaning 'to make comparisons.' In older French the Pres. Infin. with the Def. Art. was frequently used as a Noun, thus:—*le dire d'experts*= 'the opinion of experts' or 'what experts say.' The meaning here is evidently the 'comparison of experiences by those interested.']

the sharing of lights, shorten human studies, help on the acquisition of knowledge, quicken the progress of the Arts, and uplift the glory of our century.

p. 9 The Means | whereby to rise to the highest Rank | in the Navy without getting wet. | Or. | The Secrets | of the Knights | of the Order of Felicity. |

There are four Degrees in this Order, namely, Cabin-Boy, Captain, Salted-Captain, and Commodore. To distinguish between them each has Attributes, Signs, and special Words. But outside the Squadron it is not permitted to utter the Words of any Degree for the purpose of making oneself known.

p. 10 The Cabin-Boy has for Attribute a Vessel (Man) and a Frigate (Young Lady), the Captain has a Garden, the Salted-Captain has a Flower-Bed, and the Commodore has certain Gods and Goddesses. The Word of a Cabin-Boy is found in the names of the different kinds of Timber of which his Vessel and Frigate are built up. The Word of a Captain is found in the names of the different Plants which are in his Garden. The Word of a Salted-Captain is found in the different Flowers which are in his Flower-Bed. And that of a Commodore in the Names of his Gods and Goddesses.

[*Note.*—This is the only authority which mentions the Degree of Salted-Captain. Ragon gives the Secrets of this Degree to that of Commodore, and those of Commodore he passes on to Vice-Amiral. Thory omits them and *shares* the Secrets of a Commodore between the Commodore and the Vice-Amiral. It seems possible that Thory's version is that of the reformed *Chev. et Chev. de l'Anchre* brought about by suppressing the objectionable *Patron-Salé*.]

p. 11 The Mystery of the (Degree of) Cabin-Boy. I°.
In Question and Answer.

Q. How many Planks have you in your Vessel?

A. Six.

Q. Of what Wood is the first?	A. Cedre	=Cedar
„ second	Hêtre	=Beech
„ third	Ymandier	=Almond
„ fourth	Taurier	=Laurel
„ fifth	Oranger	=Orange
„ sixth	Murier	=Mulberry

[*Note.*—Thory gives Orme (Elm) or Olivier (Olive) in place of Oranger, also Charme (Yoke-Elm), Acajou (Mahogany), and Maronnier (Chestnut) as alternatives for the others.]

p. 12 Q. Of how many Planks is your Frigate built up?

A. Four.

Q. Of what Wood is the first?	A. Tiegé	=Cork
„ second	Erable	=Maple
„ third	Xermès	=Green or Scarlet Oak
„ fourth	Ybricotier	=Apricot

[*Note.*—Ragon gives a fifth, namely, Houblon (Hop).]

The initial letters of the names of these ten Timbers form the Word of a Cabin-Boy. He has two Signs. The First is made by holding the tip of his right ear with his right hand. The Second by holding his right arm stretched out down his thigh. But only one or the other (not both) of these (Signs) must be made, *i.e.*, when a Brother to make himself known makes use of the first the reply must be given by the second and not by the same one.

[*Note.*—According to Ragon these double Signs in the Degrees of Cabin-Boy, Captain, and Commodore are 'Question and Answer' without any option as to the order in which they are used.

CHALOM LEKA. Hebrew=Peace be with you. This is the 'Shalom Alechem' referred to by Bro. Woodford. Were these the 'paroles consacrées'? Ragon gives LEKAH and translates CHALOM as *Sommeil* or *Songe* which is correct (see *Genesis* xx., 3). He translates LEKAH as *Ambulans* which I cannot trace.

Kermès (of Persian origin) means:—(1) A kind of Cochineal which infests a certain species of Green-Oak which is therefore called the Kermès-Oak or Scarlet Oak; (2) a preparation of Antimony and Sodium Carbonate called 'poudre des Chartreux' and used as an expectorant.

p. 13

The Mystery of the (Degree of) Captain. II°.

In Question and Answer.

Q. How many Flowers have you in your Garden?

A. Nine.

Q. What is the first?

A. Fenouil = Fennel

,, second

Elegantine = Sweet Briar

,, third

Lis = Lily

,, fourth

Jonquille = Jonquil

,, fifth

Citronelle = Southern Wood

,, sixth

Jasmin = Jasmine

,, seventh

Tubereuse = Tuberoses

,, eighth

Amaranthe = Amaranth

,, ninth

Sauge = Sage

[*Note.*—The following variations from the above occur in (1) Ragon and (2) Thory:—(1) Eglantier (Dog Rose), Coquelicot (Corn Poppy), and Souci (Marigold). (2) Eglantier, Jasmin, Citronelle or Cinamomum (Cinnamon), Iacinth or Jonquille, Anémone or Amaranth, Souci.]

p. 14

The initial letters of the names of these nine Plants form the Word of a Captain. He also has two Signs. The first is made by stroking the right eyebrow with the index finger of the right hand. The second is made by stroking the under-part of the nose with the same finger. These two Signs are used like those of the Cabin-Boy. When anyone makes use of the first one to you, you must respond with the second.

p. 15

The Mystery of the (Degree of) Salted-Captain. III°.

In Question and Answer.

Q. How many Flowers have you in your Garden?

A. Six.

Q. What is the first?

A. Fenouil = Fennel

,, second

Orange = Orange

,, third

Violette = Violet

,, fourth

Damazine = Damson-Plum

,, fifth

Renoncule = Ranunculus

,, sixth

Epinevinette = Barberry

[*Note.*—*Damazone* instead of *Damasine* (Ragon). Probably an obsolete form of modern French *Damas*, cf English 'Damson' would seem to have been originally 'Damascene,' cf also Italian 'Damaschins.' *Damas* means:—(1) Damson—plum. (2) Silken material with flowers woven in. Of course the Silk originally came from Damascus but so did the Plum, and is it not probable that the Silk of the place was usually patterned with the predominant flower of the place, *i.e.*, the wild-plum-tree-flower? The *Prunus Pissardi* in full bloom gives some idea of the appearance.]

p. 16 The Flowers of this Garden make up the Word of a Salted-Captain, except the fourth Flower, which ought to be *Thin*. As its odour is not to the taste of everyone I thought I might cut it out and put another in its place. Those who do not fear too powerful odours can replace it and then they will see the Garden and the Word in all their regularity.

[*Note.*—Ragon gives FOVDRE as the Word of a Commodore, adding 'This Word pronounced in nautical fashion needs no interpretation.' The word hinted at has an intensive (but not necessarily objectionable) meaning. It is, however, not an elegant word.]

The Salted-Captain has but one Sign, which is to half-open the mouth advancing the tongue just to the tip of the lips and wagging it about for a moment looking fixedly at the Knight or Lady to whom he wishes to make himself known.

[*Note.*—According to Ragon this Sign is the Answer to the following Sign:—'Put the hands beneath the skirts of one's Coat,' both Signs belonging to the Commodore.]

The Mystery of the (Degree of) Commodore
IV. and Final Degree.

In Question and Answer.

- Q. How many Gods have you in your Squadron?
A. Five.
- Q. Who are they? [*Note.*—According to Ragon:—
- | | | | | |
|----|---------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| A. | Mars | <i>i.e.</i> , Mars | has for Attribute | A Javelin |
| | Amour | Cupid | " | A Quiver |
| | Saturne | Saturn | " | A Scythe |
| | Eole | Æolus | " | A Cloud or Mist |
| | Lares | Lares | " | A Hearth]. |
- p. 17 Q. How many Goddesses have you?
A. Seven.
- Q. Who are they?
- | | | |
|----|----------|-----------------------|
| A. | Erigone | <i>i.e.</i> , Erigone |
| | Rhéé | Rhea |
| | Orithie | Orithyia |
| | Uranie | Urania |
| | Astrée | Astræa |
| | Calliope | Calliope |
| | Hebé | Hebe |
- Q. What Attributes do you give to these Goddesses?
- | | | |
|----|--------------|---|
| A. | To the first | A Bunch of Grapes |
| | second | A Globe Terrestrial |
| | third | Boreas [<i>Note.</i> —= a Favouring Breeze (Ragon).] |
| | fourth | A Star |
| | fifth | A Pair of Scales |
| | sixth | A Trumpet [<i>Note.</i> —A Trumpet or Lyre (Ragon)] |
| | seventh | A Goblet A Lyre (Thory).] |

The initial letters of the names of these Divinities form the Word of a Commodore. Behold, then, all which makes up the Secrets of the Order of Felicity.

[*Note.*—Ragon makes MASEL EROUACH the Word of the Vice-Amiral and he states that there is no Sign of a Vice-Amiral but a Grip as follows:—‘Take each other mutually by the ‘right hand and rub lightly on the interior with the index ‘finger.’

MASEL or MASCHAL = parabole, proverbe (Ragon).
ROUACH = Souffle, esprit (Ragon). If these words are Hebrew and MASAL be read for MASEL the translations are correct. A reference to the Cabala may be intended, the words standing for MEZLA RUACH.]

Pages 18 and 19. Chanson. *Avis Sincères.*

See Addendum.

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End of Book.

[*Note.*—Table showing Degrees and Secrets according to the four authorities quoted.]

Title.	Formulaire &c.	Les Moyens &c.	Ragon	Thory
Mousse	1°	1° CHALOM LEKA R Ear . . R Hand R Arm . . R Thigh	1° CHALOM LEKAH R Ear . . R Hand R Arm . . R Thigh	1° CHALOM LEKA
Patron	2°	2° FELICITAS R Eyebrow . . R Index R Index . . Nose	2° FELICITAS R Eyebrow . . R Index R Index . . Nose	2° FELICITAS
Patron-Salé	—	3° FOVDRE — Lips — Tongue	—	—
Commodore	3°	4° MASEL EROUACH	3° FOVDRE Hands . . Skirts Lips . . Tongue	3° MASEL
Vice-Amiral	4°	—	4° MASEL EROUACH — Grip as above	4° EROUACH

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ADDENDUM.

THE SONGS OF THE ORDER OF FELICITY.

The *Formulaire* &c. contains three Songs which are here reproduced, with spelling and accents as printed:—

p. 20	Chanson de la Félicité.	Notes.
	L'Isle de la Félicité N'est pas un chimere; C'est où regne la Volupté Et de l'Amour la mere; Frères courons, parcourons Tous les flots de Cithére, Et nous la trouverons.	
	Pour nous faire un heureux destin Brûlons d'un feu sincere, Egayons l'Amour par le vin Et ne songeons qu' à plaire; L'embarquement est charmant Sur les flots de Cythére, Pour un Mousse constant.	<i>Embarquement</i> = <i>Intrigue</i> <i>d'amour</i> (Love intrigue) <i>Mousse</i> = I° (Cabin-Boy).

- p. 21 On ne doit naviguer jamais *Naviguer=faire son chemin*
 Sur des Mers étrangères, (make headway).
 Dès que l'on peut troubler la paix
 Dont jouissent les Frères;
 Voguons soumis à l'Amour *Voguer=(to sail or be wafted).*
 Sur les flots de Cythère;
 Mais vogons sans détour

 Le calme doit nous engager
 A des courses légères;
 Mais gardons-nous de Voyager
 Quand les vents sont contraires,
 Ne risquons point en amour
 Un trajet téméraire *trajet=(passage, journey.)*
 Sans espoir de retour.

 Courrons en imitant Jason;
 Tous les tendres Emisphères
 Pour conquérir une Toison *Toison=(fleece)*
 Soyons un peu Corsaires,
 L'embarquement est charmant
 Sur les flots de Cythère,
 Quand le Mousse est prudent.

- p. 22 Fuyons les languers du repos
 Que l'on voit sur la Terre,
 Et tenons de joyeuse propos,
 En fendant l'Onde amère
 Voguons au gré des Zéphirs
 Sur les flots de Cythère
 Guidés par les plaisirs.

 Sur la tranquillité des cœurs
 L'Ordre est sur tout sévère,
 Il sçait unir toutes les Sœurs,
 N'est-ce pas beaucoup faire?
 C'est un commerce bien doux
 Que celui de Cythère,
 Quand il est sans jaloux.

 Soyons unis, soyons constants
 Pour chaque Chevalière,
 Dans nos festins les plus charmants
 Liberté toute entière;
 Et que Bacchus & l'Amour,
 Sur les flots de Cythère,
 Nous menent tour-à-tour.

- p. 23 Pour la manœuvre des Vaisseaux *Vaisseau=Homme (Man).*
 L'Amour est nécessaire,
 Venus qui naquit dans les eaux
 En fera son affaire,
 Abondonnons nôtre fort
 A ce Dieu Tutelaire,
 Nous verrons l'heureux Port. *Port=Cœur (Heart).*

p. 24

Chanson pour la Félicité.
Sur l'Air: *du Branle de Dunkerque*

The *Branle de Dunkerque* was a celebrated Folk-Dance accompanied by vocal music. The meaning of *Branle* is 'Swing' or 'See-Saw' which affords a clue to the movement indicated in the dance.

LE CHEF-D'ESCADRE

Mon cher Fils, il me faut,
Sans tomber en défaut,
Faire un détail bien clair
Des vertus qu'il faut sur Mer.

LE FRERE.

Regards, gestes, paroles,
Rien n'est indifférent,
Il faut dans les Boussolles
Consulter le vent,
On y doit remarquer,
Si l'on peut s'embarquer.

Boussolle (Mariner's compass)=
Les Yeux (the Eyes)

S'embarquer (to embark, go on board)=*Nouer une intrigue* (get up an intrigue).

p. 25

LE CŒUR.

Il a bien répondu,
Il a de la vertu;
Prions Saint Nicolas
Qu'il ne l'abandonne pas.

LE CHEF D'ESCADRE.

Courage, mon enfant,
Dites, quel bâtiment
Voudriez-vous choisir
Pour voguer avec plaisir?

Bâtiment (building or ship)=*Le Corps* (the Body)
Voguer=(to sail or be wafted).

LE FRERE.

Que de peines à prendre
Pour en trouver de bons!
Je fuis une Belande,
Et la laisse au Ponton,
Quiconque a de l'aimant
Vogue avec agrément.

Belande (a bleater)=*Une folle* (a mad girl).
Ponton (ponton, hulk, or ferry-boat)=*Sot* (fool).
Aimant (loadstone, magnet)=*L'Esprit* (wit).

LE CŒUR.

Il a bien répondu &c.

p. 26

LE CHEF D'ESCADRE.

La Fregatte souvent
Resiste & se défend;
Pour la bien remorquer
Comment faut-il s'intriguer?

Fregatte (Frigate)=*Petite Femme* (young Lady).
Remorquer (to get in tow)=*tirer quel qu'un à soi* (attract anyone to one's self).

LE FRERE.

En lui faisant falotte,
On doit toujours caler
Pour devenir Pilote
Il faut dissimuler,
En allant à l'abord,
On bouline le Port.

falotte (grip) = *agacerie* (allure)
Caler (to lower sails) = *aller doucement* (go gently).
Pilotes (pilots) = *gens à bonne fortune* (lucky fellows).
Aborder (to board) = *s'approcher de quelqu'un* (approach anyone)
Bouliner le Port (to haul to windward of the harbour) = *Voler le Cœur* (steal away the Heart).

LE CHEUR.

Il a bien répondu &c.

LE CHEF D'ESCADRE.

p. 27

Avec le vent cargué,
Lors qu'on s'est embarqué
Mon fils, comment peut-on
Avoir toujours le vent bon ?

Carguer (to reef or brail up) = *Pencher de côté* (to incline to one side).
s'embarquer, as before.

LE FRERE.

Un bon Garde-Marine,
Doit, pour bien naviguer,
Aller à la bouline,
Et ne jamais carguer;
C'est en bien louvoyant
Qu'on leste un bâtiment.

Garde-Marines = *Ceux qui doivent servir sur mer* (those who have to serve at sea).
Naviguer (to navigate) = *faire son chemin* (make headway).
Aller à la bouline (to sail close to the wind) = *Cacher son jeu* (to conceal your tactics)
Carguer, as before.
louvoyer (to tack about) = *user de ruses* (employ stratagems).
lester une Frégate (to ballast a Frigate) = *Fixer quelqu'un* (to secure someone).
bâtiment (building or ship) = *le corps* (the body).

LE CHEUR.

Il a bien répondu &c.

LE CHEF D'ESCADRE.

Est-ce assez, mon Enfant,
Que d'être triomphant ?
Comment s'y maintenir
Après qu'on vient de Surgir ?

LE FRERE.

p. 28

N'être point en Carême,
Ne point quitter son bord,
Avoir bonnes antennes,
Et bien servir son Port;
Attendre avec l'aimant
Le retour du bon vent.

Surgir (to reach the haven) = *Arriver* (to arrive, to attain one's end).
être en Carême (? *Carène*, to be laid on keel, careened) = *être malade* (to be ill).
Antennes (lathen-yards) = *les épaules* (the shoulders).
Port (port) = *Cœur* (Heart).
Aimant (lodestone, magnet) = *L'esprit* (wit).
Vent (wind) = *Fortune* (success).

LE CHEUR.

Il a bien répondu &c.

LE CHEF D'ESCADRE.

Il est vrai que toujours
L'aimant est un secours,
Il sçat en peu de mots
Faire de jolis balots.

Aimant, as before.

Balot (? Ballot, bale of merchandise) = Lettre (Letter epistle).

LE FRERE.

Pour rendre un stile aimable,
Pour écrire avec art,
Je ne voudrois pour table
Qu'un joli gaillard;
Ovide n'écrivoit
Que lors qu'il en trouvoit.

Gaillard (flat part of ship's deck, ship's castle) = la table de la gorge (the table of the neck, throat or breast?)

p. 29 LE CHEF D'ESCADRE seul.

Il a bien répondu;
Il a de la vertu,
Pour le récompenser,
Mes Sœurs, il faut l'embrasser.

p. 30 Nouveaux Couplets
Pour l'Ordre de la Félicité.

Rival de la Maçonnerie,
Notre Ordre est d'autant respecté,
Il a de plus la nouveauté;
Et des Dames la compagnie,
Vive, que par tout soit chanté
L'Ordre de la Félicité.

Chez nous il faut que le vrai zèle
Soit conduit par la liberté;
La vaine curiosité
N'est point admise en la Nacelle
Vive, &c.

Nacelle (wherry, boat) = (young man, youth).

p. 31 Une Fregatte, quoique neuve,
N'est pas souvent propre à voguer,
Il n'est point sur de naviguer,
Si l'on ne l'a mise à l'épreuve;
Vive, &c.

*Fregatte (Frigate) = Petite Femme (Young Lady).
voguer = (to sail or be wafted).
naviguer (to navigate) = faire son chemin (make headway).*

Notre Serment n'a rien d'étrange,
On n'en doit pas être effrayé;
Quand par l'honneur on est lié,
Il n'est point à craindre qu'on change;
Vive, &c.

Pour un Marin l'apprentissage,
Est d'écouter docilement;
On ne sait bien le bâtiment,
Qu'en connoissant des bois l'usage.

*Bâtiment (building, ship) = le corps (the Body).
Allusion to the I° (Cabin-Boy).*

Bravons les rochers & l'orage;
Il n'est qu'un tems pour tout risquer,
Et le plus sur pour s'embarquer
Fut toujours celui du bel âge
Vive, &c.

s'embarquer, as before.

p. 32 Souvent du sein de la tempête
On a vu naître les Zéphirs;
Il en est ainsi des désirs,
Ils croissent plus, on les arrête;
Vive, &c.

 Venez voler, Troupe immortelle,
Plaisirs, abandonnez les Cieux;
Ils sont ouïs des Amans heureux;
Vous comblez l'ardeur mutuelle;
Vive, &c.

 Des plus beaux dons que Flore étale,
Ici mon oeil est enchanté,
Et mon odorat est flatté
Des parfums que la Terre éxale,
Vive, &c.

p. 33 Quel doux mouvement nous entraîne!
Unissons nos mains & nos cœurs
Avec des guirlandes de fleurs;
Les Graces forment notre chaîne;
Vive, &c.

 Temple adorable heureux azile
Des humains & des immortels;
La Constance, vers tes Autels
Rend enfin la route facile;
Vive, &c.

 De cinq Dieux le concours propice Five Gods. *See IV° (Com-*
Nous y fait goûter un plaisir, *modore).*
Dont la bouche par mil soupirs;
Au cœur exprime le délice;
Vive, &c.

p. 34 Du Sanctuaire impénétrable, *Sanctuaire. ? A reference to the*
O! Pirates, éloignez-vous, *'Tabernacle.'*
Il n'est permis qu' a peu de nous, *Pirates (pirates) = Ennemis de*
D'entrer dans ce lieu respectable; *'Ordre, enemies of the Order).*
Vive, &c.

 Que le reste soit lettre close;
Frères & Sœurs, n'en dites rien,
C'est altérer le prix d'un bien,
Que d'en trop découvrir la cause;
Vive, &c.

 Soit du repos, soit de la course,
Goûtons les plaisirs en secret,
Des Dieux, le bonheur n'est parfait *Gods. See IV° (Commodore).*
Qu'en ce qu'ils en cachent la source;
Vive, &c.

p. 35 Comme eux satisfaits de nous-mêmes,
Nous devons tous nous préférer,
Laissons aux autres ignorer
Ce qui fait notre bien suprême;
Vive, & que partout soit chanté
L'Ordre de la Félicité.

The other book, *Les Moyens*, &c., contains but one Song, which is entitled:—

p. 18

AVIS SINCERES.

à Mdlle de * * * Chevalière de
l'Ordre de la Félicité.
Sur l'Air, de la *Bequille du Pere Barnabas*.

[*Note*.—‘Le Père Barnabas’ in France and ‘Old Barnaby or Barnabee’ in England was a celebrated and stock character of low class and of immense antiquity. He was a type of senile but jovial depravity and drunkenness and revelling. Richard Braithwaite (1588-1673) the poet and dramatist of Burneside in Kendal in Westmoreland refers to this ancient reprobate in his most famous work *Barnabae Itinerarium, or Barnabee's Journall* . . . to the old Tune of Barnabee commonly chaunted. This first appeared in 1638 under the pseudonym ‘Corymbæus’ and is a more or less witty record of wanderings about England put into verse (Latin and English). It met with no success during its author's lifetime but it reappeared in 1716 as:—*Drunken Barnaby's Four Journeys to the North of England, in Latin and English verse: to which is added Bessy Bell. The Second edition. 12°.* with two illustrations. In its new form it became very popular and Barnaby's name and fame achieved great notoriety. In 1820 in a 9th edition there appeared a very elaborate memoir and bibliography of Richard Braithwaite contributed by the Antiquary Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833). In this Braithwaite's authorship of *Barnabee's Journall* is clearly established and an attempt made to discover the origin of the Barnaby Myth but without success. Hazlitt fared no better. The ‘old catch of Whoop Barnaby’ or ‘Old Tune of Barnabee commonly chaunted’ may be—in fact probably is—the ‘Air referred to in the *Chansons de Félicité*. The French equivalent of Barnaby or Barnabee is always ‘Le Père Barnabas’ and associated with his name are a number of more or less coarse and low class catch-penny productions some of them as late as the nineteenth century. ‘La Bequille’ may in some roundabout way be derived from ‘La Begueule’ which is a ‘terme injurieux qui se dit d'une femme prude avec hauteur ou dédaignouse avec impertinence qui affecte ridiculement la modestie et la vertu,’ a species of bogus Mrs. Grundy a prominent member of the *entourage* of Le Père Barnabas or Drunken Barnaby.

The coarse allusions in this Chanson ‘Avis Sincères’ constitute an outrageous libel upon the *Ordre de la Félicité* and probably goaded the better class of its members to attempt the vindication of their good name in the *Apologie de la Félicité* of 1746 and *Les Motifs de la Création de l'Ordre* . . . de l'Anchre of 1748.

In the Masonic work *L'Ordre trahi, &c.*, of 1745 there is a *Chanson Pour les Francs-Maçons. Decembre. 1743. Sur l'air de la Bequille*. This is possibly by the same author (his name does not appear), but if so, then his Muse has not improved during the passage from Freemasonry into Felicity, for whereas only one of six stanzas in the Masonic Poem offends against good taste, the whole of the Felicity Poem is packed with odious suggestion.

To Mr. Falconer Madan, late Bodley's Librarian, I am greatly indebted for my information concerning Barnabee and Barnabas.]

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Tuckett for his very interesting paper, and comments were offered by Bros. Herbert Bradley, Gordon P. G. Hills, Lionel Vibert, W. B. Hextall, F. Armitage, John Lawrance and the Secretary.

Bro. GORDON HILLS said:—

Amongst the Societies which Bro. Tuckett has referred to in the introductory portion of his paper is the Order of the Honey Bees, instituted by the Duchesse de Maine in 1703. The Motto of this Order was "Je suis petite, mais mes blessures sont profondes," and its members took the following oath on their admission:—

I swear by the Bees of Mount Hymetta,
fidelity and obedience to the perpetual
Dictatress of the Order, to wear all my life
the medal of the Bee, and observe while I live
the statutes of the Order; and if I prove false
to my oath, may honey become gall to me,
wax turn into tallow, flowers into stinging nettles,
and may all the wasps and hornets pierce me
with their stings.

The development of a language for the Order as in the case of the Order of Felicity brings us in touch with a very widespread tendency. Children in their games so often devise a special language, and at the other extreme arts, sciences, and trades must perforce do so. Thus we have not only languages of scientific terms, but a slang use grows up amongst those who have to use them, and of slang we have examples in School, College and everyday life. Thus when an Order adopts such a terminology it is only a very natural result of the association of its members. We still retain some traces of the old ritual and terminology which used to be carried out at the Masonic banquet. Bro. Oliver, in his "Revelations of a Square," gives a description of the usages similar to the elaborate procedure in the old French Lodges of which I have some particulars in the handwriting of a family connection. In those cases the references seem particularly military, but in tonight's paper there is a very strong flavour of the sea.

Bro. GILBERT C. SHADWELL, of Long Island, N.Y., writes:—

I feel that the greatest praise is due to Bro. Tuckett for his admirable paper, firstly for the choice of subject and secondly for the completeness of the exposition of the work.

I see that this so-called Order is referred to by the late Dr. George Oliver, D.D., in his *Historical Landmarks and other evidences of Freemasonry*, where he speaks of it as the Order of Happiness, and gives a list of the degrees which is a slight variation from that set forth by Bro. Tuckett. He says in the note¹:—
"This Order has symbols and a vocabulary which were exclusively nautical. The candidate was said to make a voyage to the island of Felicity, under the pilotage of the Brethren. It had four degrees, called:—1, The Cabin Boy; 2, the Master of the Vessel; 3, the Chief of the Squadron; 4, the Vice Admiral. The Grand Master was termed the Admiral. The oaths both for males and females are curious. A schism in the Order produced another Lodge, the members styling themselves 'Knights and Ladies of the Anchor.'"

Again I see reference made² to the Order as the "Order of Felicity" in conjunction with that of the Green Apple, the Lovers of Pleasure and the Knights

¹ Vol. ii., Lect. xxv., Pt. I., p. 8, and note 93, p. 41.

² *F.Q.R.*, 1837, p. 442, and *H.L. and O.E. of Freemasonry*, by Geo. Oliver, D.D., vol. ii., Lect. xxv., pt. III., p. 16, and note 10, p. 58.

and Ladies of Perseverance. To quote:—"The chief lady who assists the W.M. is called Grande Maitresse; by the Wardens are placed the Sisters Inspectors, and by each officer a sister who takes the name of his office. The lodge room is elegantly decorated with emblems peculiar to each degree. Around are symbolically represented the various Masonic qualities and virtues; and in the East are two splendid thrones for the W.M. and Grande Maitresse. All the sisters are in white, wear aprons and blue scarfs to which are fastened the jewels of their rank. Each of the officers is distinguished by her jewel which is a golden Trowel. The brothers, in addition to the insignia of their rank, wear the jewel of adoptive Masonry, a gold ladder with five steps or rounds."

It would appear to me that this has apparently no immediate connection with *L'Ordre de la Félicité*, but I give the quotation due to the fact that about a century ago writers considered, apparently, that there was a rather more intimate connection between the Order in question and that of Freemasonry as we understand it than would be considered to be the case to-day. Indeed, Bro. Tuckett himself draws attention to the difference to be made between *L'Ordre de la Félicité* and a Lodge of Adoption. Nevertheless the fact that other similar references occur is of interest to us so far as thought was given to the matter at the time.

The most important point, however, is the very quaint and interesting feature of the ritual which has been so ably presented.

Why, for instance, should it have to do with boats and other nautical features? Was the Order a pure and simple invention, or was it a modification of some legend handed down in the form of some kind of Folk Tale?

Such stories as "Jack in the Bean Stalk," "Jack the Giant Killer," and a host of others are not a product solely of recent times—they have a groundwork of mythology to base themselves upon.¹ Moreover, although the purport of the stories as we have them to-day is quite different from that which existed primarily, yet there is sufficient left for us to recognise clearly the original.

So I consider it to be with *L'Ordre de la Félicité*. It is not easy to say if that Order had been handed down from ages past until we see it in the form in which it is presented in the paper, or whether it was the product of comparatively recent times based upon an ancient myth; but the ancient basis is surely there.

That basis is found in the Ancient Mysteries, going all the way back to those of Greece and then back to the original of Egypt, even to the most remote times—the Aektet Boat and the Atet or Maätet Boat, which travelled over the sky²; the Four Rùdders of Heaven (chap. cxlviii., *op. cit.*); the Field of Aaru,³ the Field of Peace,⁴ are a few only of the outstanding unmistakable features of resemblance.

Indeed, the boat or bark is so important in the whole subject of Eschatology (of which Freemasonry forms so large a part) that it is seen all through the Egyptian religious system and has been carried down through the ages of time into our own.⁵

The Brethren will take notice that the supplication which Bro. Tuckett quotes is comparable to several parts of the *Book of the Dead*. For instance, here is the version in the Félicité work:—"Admit me to live under thy rule that . . . I may serve . . . and that of the Longed-for-Isle I may find all the Harbours open."

Now let us take the translation of "A Hymn to Ra" (chapter xv., *Book of the Dead*, from the Papyrus of Ani, Pt. I., lines 24-8):—"Let there be prepared for me a seat in the Boat of the Sun on the day whereon the god saileth: Let me be received . . . in the Island of Truth-speaking—the Ka of Osiris Ani."

¹ *Ancient Egypt, The Light of The World*, by Gerald Massey, vol. i., p. 492, etc. Also A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol. ii., pp. 302-320.

² *The Book of the Dead—Papyrus of Ani*—E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., Litt.D. (Lee Warner, 1913).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 22, etc.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 76, etc.

⁵ Gerald Massey, *A.E.*, pp. 361; 347; 395; 411; 554; 656; 737; 827-8; 829.

Why the reference to the Island, Isle, or Land? The answer is that the Island referred to was that on which Osiris lived (see *op. cit.*, chap. clxxv.). The god who worked the ferry boat to it would transport thither no one who was not a speaker of the truth, and the Island itself repelled any untruthful person who succeeded in getting near it (see Dr. E. A. W. Budge, *P. of A.*, p. 346). Like him who was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, the Egyptian dead personage went through opaque darkness and at last reached fertile islands, brilliant with light, the meadows of sweet cypress, where his master, Osiris, offered him a peaceful asylum¹ on condition of repeating the password.

Nor is the above the only point of interest, for the Pawnee mysteries contain a very similar allusion,² and, in fact, a whole chapter could be devoted to other similar points of comparison with other mysteries throughout the world—all having their origin undoubtedly in Egypt.

It will be noted that Bro. Dr. Albert Churchward gives an interesting reference to the subject.³ Indeed, several interesting conclusions may be arrived at which, it is trusted, time and circumstances will provide the opportunity for setting forth more completely.

If space permitted I would have been glad to have gone further into other details, such as the simile of St. Nicholas, which is uranographic and in which there is a connection with the ancient Christmas day or the day of re-birth for Osiris or Horus in the Moon; or, again, the mention of Boreas, which in mythology is the personification of the North wind and the son (in later mythology) of Astraeus and Aurora, and the interesting points involved, and which are set forth in Gerald Massey's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 378.

In fact, there is so much of interest in the subject that several papers could easily be devoted to it. Moreover, the writer hopes that some of the Brethren who have time will take it up where it has been left and include such details as will give a connected story with the original. In fact, I have given several references which I trust will prove of interest to investigators.

When I say that there is a real connection with the degree of most excellent Master, the Royal Arch degree, with the degree of select Master, with that of Ark Mariner, and with the 7° (Provost and Judge), as well as the 13° and 14° (Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite), it may cause interest sufficient to make a further investigation.

Although shorn of its original setting, and reduced to a rather ridiculous form—a plaything for the frivolous—yet I am convinced of its ancient origin, the whole field of which is full of the deepest interest to Freemasons.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT writes in reply:—

The subject being of no great importance it is all the more pleasing to know that the Paper met with the approval of the Brethren who were present when it was read, and the Discussion which followed certainly brought out many points of considerable interest. Bro. Gordon Hills assisted to vindicate the good name of the *original* Order of Felicity and of its successor the Order of the Anchor. His remarks upon the 'Language of the Order' were very welcome, but it must be remembered that this in the case of the Order of Felicity was very much more than the incorporation of a few technical terms, and it would be difficult to find anything really comparable to so elaborate a System used in the working of Degrees in Open Lodge. The Banquet customs which obtained in Freemasonry are not by any means a parallel usage although it is possible that the Order of Felicity may have adopted and developed the idea borrowed from those customs, or, as is

¹ See P. Foncart in *les Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxv., Pt. II., 1895, entitled "Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Eleusis"; also Elizabeth Lee's Translation of G. C. C. Maspero's *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), p. 61, *et ante* as to shipwreck, etc.

² See Andrew Lang in *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol. ii., 289.

³ See Dr. A. Churchward, *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*, pp. 294-5 (1st ed.).

equally likely, Freemasons when enjoying the relaxation which accompanies Refreshment after their Labours in Lodge were content to lighten the proceedings by a partial imitation of the customs of the would-be rival Society. The impression that the Order of Felicity was no more than a mere frivolous pastime was strengthened by Bro. Vibert's instructive explanation of the true significations of some of the French terms employed, *e.g.*, 'Mousse' and 'Patron.' An English parallel (not *translation*) to the term 'Mousse' is the familiar but now obsolete 'Powder-Monkey.' 'Skipper' is a much better translation for 'Patron' than 'Shipmaster' or 'Captain.' The use of 'Mousse' and 'Patron' certainly implies that the Degrees associated with them were of a more or less mirth-provoking type. It was far from my intention to suggest that there is any real similarity between Freemasonry, with the serious and noble idea underlying it, and the host of ephemeral Orders and Societies which pretended to be its rivals. The latter achieved no more than a passing success in the effort to fritter away time agreeably, and they have long since passed away while our Order is full of life and vigour. This was well expressed by Bro. Lawrance. But so far as they were acquainted with them those who created these 'rivals' did imitate or copy the usages and customs and more particularly the organisation and externals of the Masonic Order. Bro. Hextall has noticed a general similarity between the Signs of the Order of Felicity and those which are described in the early so-called 'Exposures' of Freemasonry published in England, and he made the interesting suggestion that France in those primitive times looked across the Channel for her Fictions as well as her Facts. I hope that Bro. Hextall will follow up the idea and that he will take an early opportunity of communicating to us the result of his enquiries. Bro. Shadwell's communication draws attention to the fact that I failed to mention that the *Maçonnerie d'Adoption* officially recognised by the governing body of the French Craft in 1774 did make use of *Ordre de la Félicité* as a second title, and hence the confusion in the minds of many Masonic students who have written concerning *Maç. d'Adoption*. Bro. Shadwell's references to the Ancient Mysteries are full of interest, but a possible explanation is that those who in or about 1740 'founded' the *Ordre de la Félicité*, being persons of education and well aware of the great advantage of conferring upon their new institution a flavour of antiquity, were careful to see that the resemblances traced by our Brother should appear in the Ritual they then framed. The suggestion that a comparison of the *Felicity* Degrees with certain of our own 'additional' Degrees might lead to important results is worthy of consideration.



THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1920.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Gordon P. G. Hills, I.P.M., as W.M.; Lionel Vibert, as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; R. H. Baxter, I.G.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P., Steward; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M.; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. Richard H. Holme, Arthur Heiron, P. H. Emanuel, Fred. S. Terry, Robert Blake, Joseph H. Stretton, James Scott, A. Gilchrist, Thos. L. Found, J. H. Hawley, F. de P. Castells, A. Presland, W. Young Hucks, Walter Dewes, D. D. Webb, Robert Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., C. F. Sykes, Geo. W. Sutton, Robert F. S. Colsell, P. H. Fox, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, James R. Potts, Fred. Armitage, H. W. Barnes, H. L. Gorringer, J. Walter Berry, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, W. J. Williams, A. J. Collier, James Powell, P.A.G.R., Percy H. Horley, B. A. Smith, John Lawrance, John B. Nichols, C. Gough, H. M. Baker, L. Hemens, A. M. Stables, H. Mills, J. M. Bruce, M. Simpkin, Seymour Bell, P.G.D., and E. B. H. Chappell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. M. Walsh, P.M., Hiram Lodge No. 2416; L. W. Saunders, Blagdon Lodge No. 659; Hugh L. McDougall, S.D., United Military Lodge No. 1536; George Stainer, Lord Chas. Beresford Lodge No. 2404; J. E. Suter, Panmure Lodge No. 715; Rev. Frederic B. Bruce, Three Grand Principles Lodge No. 441; J. Burns, Secty., Victory Lodge No. 3986; and W. D. Oliver, P.M., Novocastrian Lodge No. 3361.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. E. Conder, P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; William Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; S. T. Klein, P.M.; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D., P.M.; John T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, W.M.

Three Lodges and thirty-seven Brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY called attention to the following Exhibits by Bro. CHARLES GOUGH, to whom a vote of thanks was unanimously passed:—

Series of Masonic CERTIFICATES issued in favour of Louis John George Ferrier, Lieutenant Royal Engineers, who was born in Singapore in 1840. The documents disclose a curious Masonic record which may be summarized as follows:—

- | | | |
|-------|-------------|--|
| 1865. | 1st Nov. | Initiated in Zetland Lodge No. 608, English Constitution, at Fort Beauford, Cape of Good Hope. |
| 1866. | 7th Feby. | Raised in same Lodge. |
| 1867. | 15th Augt. | Exalted in St. Andrew's Chapter (R.A.) No. 118, Scotch Constitution, at the Cape. |
| 1869. | 23rd Feby. | Visited Lodge de Goede Hoop, Dutch Constitution. |
| 1869. | 5th July | Joined Lodge of St. John, No. 828, English Constitution Grahamstown. |
| 1869. | 23rd July. | Admitted to Rose Croix in Dutch Chapter at the Cape. |
| 1871. | March. | Joined Pentangle Lodge No. 1174, Chatham, Kent. |
| 1872. | 14th March. | Visited Royal Gloucester Lodge No. 130, Southampton. |
| 1874. | 4th July. | Admitted to membership of Rose Croix under English Constitution, in London. |
| 1874. | 21st July. | Received degrees of Royal Order of Scotland, in Edinburgh. |
| 1875. | Feby. | Joined Churchill Lodge No. 478, Oxford. |
| 1875. | 5th March. | Joined University Lodge (Mark) No. 55, Oxford. |
| 1875. | April. | Joined Grand Metropolitan Chapter (Rose Croix), in London. |
| 1875. | October. | Admitted to 30° in London. |
| 1876. | | Admitted K.T. and K.M. in Cœur de Leon Preceptory, Oxford. |
| 1876. | 27th Decr. | Visited Hannibal Lodge No. 224, Irish Constitution, St. George's, Bermuda. |
| 1877. | 23rd Jany. | Visited Atlantic Phoenix Lodge No. 224, English Constitution, at Bermuda. |

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER read the following Paper:—

THE ARCHITECTURAL STYLE OF KING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

BY BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER, P.Pr.G.W., East Lancs.



THE Temple of King Solomon plays so important a part in our Ritual that no apology is required for introducing any matter concerning it to a Lodge of Freemasons, and particularly to such a Lodge as this, although some apology may, indeed, be necessary for the fragmentary and incomplete character of my Paper.

I am not at all concerned, in the meantime, with the date of the introduction of the Solomonic legend into either the lore or ritual of the Craft. I shall only remark that there is an indication of it in the *Cooke MS.*, of early fifteenth century transcription, which is generally regarded as preserving the oldest text of all copies of the *Old Charges*.

We have previously had in our *Transactions* such useful Papers as that by Bro. Prof. Swift P. Johnson, entitled *Seventeenth Century Descriptions of Solomon's Temple*,¹ Bro. W. H. Rylands' *Schott's Model of Solomon's Temple*,² and an allusion to another model in Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley's *Rabbi Jacob Jehudah Leon*.³ Bro. Canon Horsley's Paper, *Some New Light on the Old Pillars which stood in front of the Porch of Solomon's Temple*,⁴ ought also to be mentioned.

There are two contributions to the legendary lore of the temple in Bro. Rev. W. E. Windle's *The Testament of Solomon*⁵ and *Legends concerning the First Temple*,⁶ by Bro. John Yarker.

Under the heading of *Notes and Queries* several paragraphs are to be found, such as *The Masons' Hall at Jerusalem*,⁷ *Network on J. & B.*,⁸ *The Rebuilding of Jerusalem*,⁹ and *Origin of Pillars to Solomon's Temple*.¹⁰ An interesting reference to a *Report of the Grand Lodge of Iowa*, which contains an article on the Pillars of the Temple, is also to be found under the heading of *Chronicle*.¹¹

None of these papers and notes, however, helps us very much in forming an idea of the general appearance and architectural style of the famous building, and my purpose this evening is to lay before you some of the ideas of educated architects and others on the subject.

I think that the most reliable account we have of the Temple is that contained in the FIRST BOOK OF KINGS. There are, of course, further descriptions in the SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES and in other parts of the BIBLE, such as the BOOKS OF EZRA, ESDRAS, and EZEKIEL, but these last may, for the most part, be regarded as referring to later buildings on the site of the original structure, for it must be remembered that after the destruction of the original temple it was rebuilt by Zerubbabel and later again by Herod. The temple which Ezekiel saw in a vision is generally regarded as being the Temple of Solomon, and some authorities, in attempting problematical restorations, have relied almost entirely on the writings of that Prophet.

It may not be unprofitable to epitomise the information, relating to the building, from the FIRST BOOK OF KINGS. From this account we find that the "House" was 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high, with windows of narrow lights; the "Porch" 20 cubits long (the length in this case being the breadth of the house), and 10 wide, the height not being stated; round about the walls of the house, both of the temple and the oracle, were grouped chambers, 5 cubits in height, of which

¹ *A.Q.C.* xii., 135.

² *Ib.* xiii., 24.

³ *Ib.* xii., 150.

⁴ *Ib.* xxi., 6.

⁵ *Ib.* xiv., 172.

⁶ *Ib.* xxi., 261.

⁷ *Ib.* ii., 122.

⁸ *Ib.* viii., 160.

⁹ *Ib.* xvi., 257.

¹⁰ *Ib.* xxi., 270.

¹¹ *Ib.* xvii., 177

the nethermost were 5 cubits broad, the middle 6, and the uppermost 7; that is to say the chambers were in three tiers or storeys with the walls reduced in thickness to form off-sets for the support of the floor and roof timbers. The door for the middle chamber (whatever that may mean) was on the right (? South) side of the house approached by winding stairs.

The stone for the house was made ready before being taken to the site and was covered over internally with beams and boards of cedar, which in turn were carved with figures of cherubim and palm trees, and knops and open flowers, and overlaid with pure gold. The floor of the house was of planks of fir.

Of the dimensions first given the 60 cubits in length seems to have included the oracle, which we afterwards find stated to have been a cube of 20 cubits, so that the ceiling could not have been level through if the previous height of 30 cubits for the house be correct. The "Oracle" was separated from the house by a partition of gold chains. For entering the oracle there were doors of olive tree of which the lintels and the side posts were a fifth part of the wall. The door of the temple had posts of olive tree a fourth part of the wall. Next we find that the *two* doors of the house were of fir tree, although only one had been previously mentioned, and it is now quite clear that there really were two doors, as the description goes on to say "the two leaves of the one door were folding and the two leaves of the other door were folding." The inner court is stated to have been built of three rows of hewed stone and a row of cedar beams, a form of construction it is very difficult to understand.

Two famous brass pillars, each 18 cubits high, were placed *in* the porch and a line of 12 cubits did compass either of them about, which I take it is equivalent to saying (assuming the translation to be correct) they were 12 cubits in circumference. They had chapiters (or capitals) 5 cubits high with nets of checker work and nets of chainwork, seven for each. The description of the enrichment of the capitals is obscure, but in addition to the network there are stated to have been lily-work on the belly and two hundred pomegranates.

Supplementing this description we find from the SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES that the porch was 120 cubits high. The height of the oracle, which both accounts give as being 20 cubits square, is not here stated. There is a big discrepancy in the height of the pillars, 35 cubits being now given. Not only so, but the pillars are now plainly stated to have been *before* the temple.

I cannot help thinking that some of the dimensions given in CHRONICLES are exaggerated. The porch was hardly likely to have been 120 cubits high, and although the 35 cubits of height for the pillars would have been a more fitting proportion for a cast column, it does not fit in so well with the other measurements.

Much controversy has taken place as to the position of the pillars; some authorities, standing by the KINGS, I. version that they were *in* the porch, claim them to have been supports for an entablature, or superstructure of some kind; whilst others relying on CHRONICLES, II. assume them to have been quite detached and therefore serving no structural purpose. For my own part I see no reason for any disagreement on the point. The pillars could quite well have been *in* the porch as well as *before* the temple.

Leaving all such questions aside for the time being, I should like to point out the impossibility of reconstructing the building from the Biblical narrative. For instance, where were the doors to the oracle? Were they in the partition of chain-work? If so, the lower part of it must have been of stone, for the posts are stated to have been one-fifth of the thickness of the wall. Again, we are told that the building had windows of narrow lights. Where were they placed? As the building was surrounded by chambers in three tiers, on three sides (so I understand the reading) there could have been no height for a clerestory to the oracle, which was only 20 cubits high. In connection with these chambers an idea occurred to me when looking at some geometrical drawings of the Tabernacle in which the guy ropes were naturally marked on the plan. Their positions formed around the sides of the tent a series of squares which struck me as having been the prototypes of

this arrangement of chambers, for it must be remembered that the Tabernacle was the forerunner of the Temple and served as its model. That again is an argument against such an unlikely feature as a porch 120 cubits high. Not only so, but it is quite evident the account was not written by an expert. We know, only too well, unfortunately, how, even at the present day, architectural descriptions of modern buildings, in the daily Press, absolutely fail to convey any intelligible meaning to the professional architect, although, in all fairness, it must be conceded they contribute to his amusement. By the way, how are the statements to be reconciled that no sound of hammer or axe or any tool of iron was to be heard in the house whilst it was building, and that the nails weighed fifty shekels of gold? Could they possibly have been driven with some tool *not* made of iron? I hardly like to suggest that they might have been screws.

An exhaustive study of architectural monuments contemporary with the temple is necessary to arrive at any idea of its appearance. For the sake of the un-instructed in these matters I may say that it is possible with reasonable accuracy to determine the date of the erection of any building, for architecture, down to the commencement of what has been called the battle of the styles, was a living art developing along well defined lines in different countries, according to the nature of the climate and the building materials available.

The Jews were, unfortunately, never a building people, and we have, therefore, to rely upon the monuments of other Eastern tribes; civilisation in these days, of course, not having extended to the West. This is exactly where the biggest difficulty faces us, for we have to remember that there were several peoples, all practising their own style of building, who might possibly exercise a leading influence. Hence we have to consider the contemporary architecture of Egypt, Greece, Assyria and Phœnicia, which last is probably the most likely of all to have been adopted, but of which, I regret to say, only a few small fragments remain.

According to the chronology given in the authorised version of the Bible we should not be far off the mark if we were to say that the Architect was slain three thousand years after the creation of the world. This makes it clear that no Roman model could have had any influence on the builders of Solomon's Temple as that empire was only founded in the eighth century B.C., but the Etruscans or predecessors of the Romans have left some remains of their architectural activities, which should not altogether be left out of account.

As it is by no means my intention to attempt any restoration of my own I think I may fairly now, after these preliminary observations, pass on to the compilation of a list of authors in whose works may be found illustrations and descriptions of "that stately edifice whose regal splendour and unparalleled lustre are stated to have surpassed all imagination," merely renewing my apology for the incompleteness, and in many cases want of definiteness, of my references. Possibly some of my professional confreres, of whom there are so many in both circles of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, may be able to add considerably to the information.

THE BROTHERS PRADI.

The earliest serious attempt I have been able to trace of a restoration is by the Brothers Pradi or Villapandi in a three volume folio work, published at Rome, 1596-1604, entitled *Explanationes in Ezechielem*. I cannot speak from my own knowledge, not having seen the book, but Ferguson, the great architectural historian, describes it as the most artistic of the restorations; that is, of course, down to the time of his writing in 1878.

BERNARD LAMY.

Here, again, I cannot pass any criticisms. I only know that a book *De tabernaculo fœderis de sancto civitate Jerusalem, &c.*, by the above author was published at Paris in 1720.

JAMES FERGUSSON.

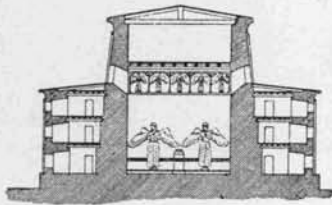
This great architectural authority has made no fewer than three attempts at restoration, firstly in his *Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art*, 1849, secondly in *The History of Architecture*, 1865, and lastly in *The*

Temple of Solomon:

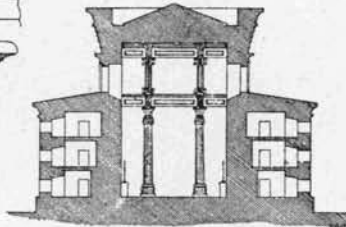
Commendatore Canina's Design:

E. C. Robins' F.S.A. Design:

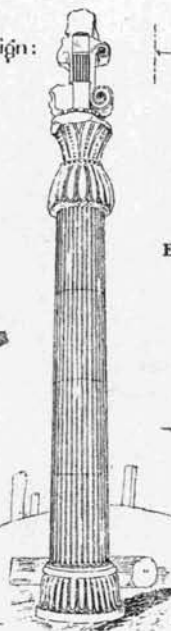
Prof. Wilkins' Design:



Section



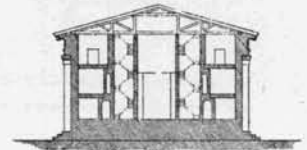
Section



Sketch of Column at Persepolis:



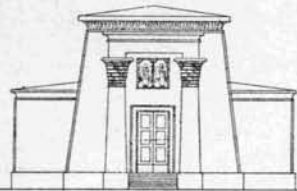
Elevation of the Temple at Restum:



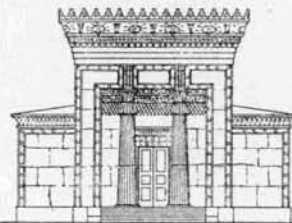
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Elevation



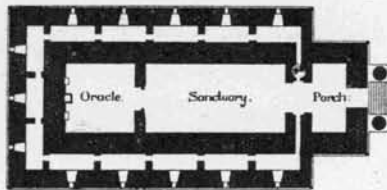
Elevation:



Elevation:

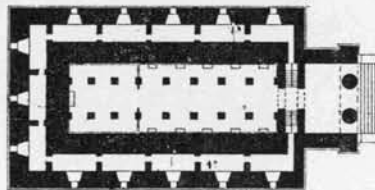
Scale 1/2" = 1' of Cubits

Scale 1/2" = 1' of Cubits



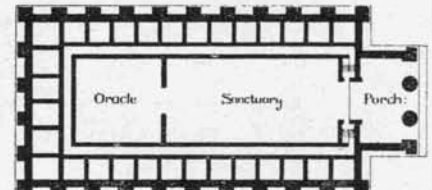
Ground Plan:

Scale 1/2" = 1' of Cubits



Ground Plan:

Scale 1/2" = 1' of Cubits

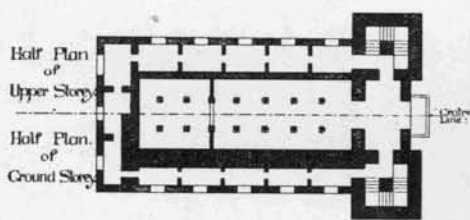


Ground Plan.

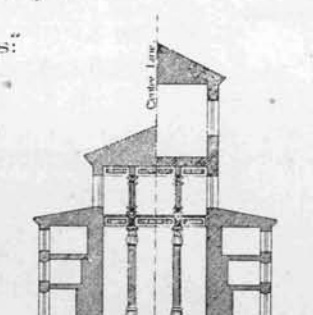
Scale 1/2" = 1' of Cubits

Fergusson's Third Design:

from the "Temples of the Jews:"



Plan:

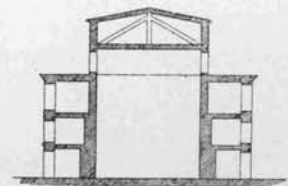


Without Upper Room; With Upper Room

Section:

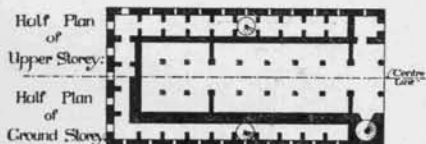
Fergusson's First Design:

from the "Principles of Beauty in Art:" for the Temple of Solomon:



Section.

Fergusson's Second Design:



Plan:

from the

"History of Architecture:"

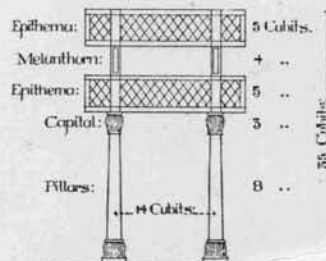
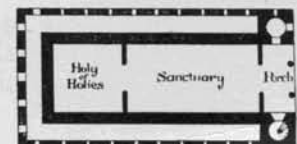


Diagram explanatory of Screen supported by the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz in front of Solomon's Temple:



Plan

Temples of the Jews, 1878. In all cases, however, he has restricted himself to plans and sections, relying on argumentative description for the settling of other points.

It is instructive to follow the development of these three plans. In the first case we have a plan on the simplest of lines, a continuous oblong divided into three parts, the Holy of Holies, the Sanctuary, and the Porch with the pillars *inside* it, surrounded again by another oblong with a continuous passage, instead of chambers properly so-called, round three sides, the corners at the East end being filled in with square spaces (? towers) having interior circular chambers, one of which contains a spiral stair similar to that so much in use in gothic churches. I am afraid there is no likelihood of such a feature dating from 1000 B.C. The second plan follows the lines of the first except that here the passages have been split up into a multiplicity of very small rooms (possibly following the lines of Josephus, who was not very reliable, being prone to exaggeration), two of which have spiral staircases introduced, and the addition of two rows of pillars internally, introduced apparently without any authority, except the supposed difficulty of carrying a roof of 20 cubits span—surely not by any means an impossible task. The two great pillars again appear *in* the Porch. The third plan is rather a break away from its predecessors, having the chambers elongated, only thirteen being placed on each level instead of twenty-three in the previous example, and the stairs introduced only in two Eastern towers, running round square newels, without winders, but which, I think, nevertheless, may be quite properly described as winding. The pillars of the Porch disappear entirely, and the author introduces an elaborate argument in favour of a structure similar to what is known in Indian architecture as a toran, of which more anon. The author states that the only analogy to the chambers of the Temple is the arrangement at the Birs-Nimroud.

The table of the dimensions of the various temples of the Jews is so useful that I venture to reproduce it as an appendix.

PROFESSOR WILKINS.

In his essay on *The Temple at Jerusalem, the type of Grecian Architecture*, Professor Wilkins has produced a design in the form of a Greek temple with a projecting portico having two supporting pillars and a curious arrangement of hanging chainwork suspended from the cornice. Although I do not for one minute believe it gives us anything like the appearance of the building it is supposed to represent, it is, nevertheless, not very far removed from the possibilities of the case.

MR. HAKEWILL.

The design of this author was published in 1851, and whilst also representing a Greek Doric temple, it has the addition of a peristyle, going much beyond the ideas of Professor Wilkins. Surely such a feature is an impossibility, but the ingenuity with which the author argues his theories and twists his translations can only leave us gasping in astonishment. So far as my reading of history enables me to judge, such a temple could only have been possible some five hundred years after Solomon's time, unless indeed the Greeks had based their models on the Temple at Jerusalem instead of *vice-versa*.

COMMENDATORE CANINA.

I am indebted to a small but nicely illustrated pamphlet, *A Review of the Various Theories respecting the Form and Style of Architecture of the Temple of Solomon*, 1886, by the late Mr. E. C. Robins, for knowledge of this and the two preceding designs, and also for further notes on many of the other restorations. Speaking of Canina's design, he refers to it as the most rational example of the Egyptian theory, and in this I am in full agreement with him. The two great pillars, although in a measure outside the Porch, are still supports for an entablature, and the more I examine this subject the more convinced I become that to treat them as detached obelisks is quite wrong. The names themselves are sufficient to stamp them as having had some structural function to perform.

There is just one point that I would raise concerning all the sections of the building, so far illustrated, and that relates to the thickness of the walls. Why, in all cases, are the outside walls of the chambers carried up straight through the whole three storeys? Is it not likely that they would be reduced at each floor level in the same way as the wall of the temple itself? An offset at each level of eighteen inches (assuming that to be the length of the cubit) on one side only would be more than the necessities required, whilst nine inches on each side would be reasonable.

REV. MR. THRUPP.

This reverend gentleman did not altogether appreciate Canina's restoration, and in 1855 published a book containing some singular speculations, illustrated by a plan of his own. His conception was that Solomon's Temple closely resembled an Egyptian fane.

COUNT DE VOGUÉ.

My knowledge of this author's design is limited to what I have been able to gather from other writers. Robins gives a fairly good description of it. According to him the main facade consisted of a large Egyptian pylon with an opening 20 cubits square in the centre containing the pillars Jachin and Boaz. The Sanctuary being only 17 cubits high, with an upper chamber over, is, like the oracle, quite dark. A detail of one of the pillar capitals of this design is illustrated in the book of MM. Perrot and Chipiez, hereafter mentioned.

COUNT DE SAULCY.

This French archæologist, I believe, was also the author of a reproduction of the Temple on paper, but I am sorry to say I have not been able to see it. All I know is that it was also based on a study of Egyptian art.

THENIUS

is the name of an author, given by Perrot and Chipiez, stated to have produced a restoration of the Temple during the "Egyptian mania" on a Theban model, but beyond this I have no further information.

E. C. ROBINS.

A strong supporter of the Asiatic theory, this author has produced a design based on an Assyrian model. Although a keen admirer of Fergusson, he has not been led away altogether by that author's very definitely expressed views. He retains his pillars as supports for a portico, but, unfortunately, in my opinion, has filled the interior of the oracle with pillars which are quite unjustified. This author's conclusions and design, although very remarkable and ingenious, have somehow failed to impress me as being in accordance with the possibilities of the case.

TIMOTHY OTIS PAINE.

Solomon's Temple and Capitol, &c., an illustrated work by this author, appeared in 1866, but this is all the information I have been able to glean.

PERROT AND CHIPIEZ.

In a wonderful work, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria, and Asia Minor* (English edition, 1890), these two distinguished Frenchmen, the former an archæologist, the latter an architect, have produced the most elaborately illustrated design of the temple it has been my lot to inspect. True, it is based on Ezekiel's vision, but that is supposed properly to describe the first temple. This is the first serious attempt, so far as I am aware, to reproduce a typically Phœnician structure. The method by which the so-called trellis plan has been compiled reminds one of the Oriental tracing board described in Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke's Paper.¹ Jachin and Boaz are shown as detached obelisks, surmounted by capitals of elaborate design, terminated by what I think may be fairly technically styled finials. Clever though the details of these pillars be I cannot

¹ A.Q.C. vi., 99.

help feeling that, although supposed to be of Phœnician design, they really partake more of a French character. I was much interested to notice that in the tracing boards recently presented to the Lodge of Research, Leicester, and illustrated and described in the last volume of *Transactions* of that Lodge, the two pillars in the second degree board were copied, to a certain extent, from the design of M. Chipiez. The authors naturally base their conclusions for the detached positions of their pillars on certain evidence which they adduce, but I am not at all satisfied that the examples quoted from the Carthagénian stela and the bottom of the ancient glass bowl are representations of pillars at all. They might equally well be candlesticks or almost any other similar objects we cared to imagine.

In describing some exploration work in Jerusalem, in connection with the Temple, the authors state that the corner-stone at the S.E. angle of the Sanctuary, although not the longest, was certainly the heaviest seen in the Sanctuary wall, weighing over one hundred tons!

C. N. McINTYRE NORTH.

Wisdom, Strength and Beauty is a folio work by Bro. C. N. McIntyre North, which contains a re-constructed design of the Temple and so far as I am aware is the only example compiled principally for the benefit of Freemasons. A strong Saracenic influence pervades the design, mingled with a touch of modern Renaissance. The two pillars stand detached outside the porch, but inside the large front entrance, which is surmounted by a pointed arch, stands a screen or toran copied apparently from Fergusson. It gives one a fair idea of that author's theory, and although I do not think it at all likely that such a feature ever existed, in connection with the Temple, we cannot altogether ignore the suggestion. It will be noticed that this design explains the difficulty about the two entrance doors. These did not stand side by side, but one in front of the other in the thickness of the wall, so that there was only one doorway with two pairs of folding doors to it.

GEO. SHAW AITKEN.

In the *Journal* of the Royal Institute of British Architects for 26th April, 1913, this Edinburgh architect gives, along with an essay on the subject, a plan and isometric view of the Temple of Ezekiel which reminds one somewhat of a modern workhouse infirmary. The pillars are again outside the porch, but following the example of Canina he makes them supports for an entablature to a portico. The pillar on the left hand *facing* the entrance is called Boaz and that on the right hand Jachin. Bro. Thorp long since pointed out that these names should be reversed. Two staircases are shown in the central side chambers. There are no winders, though the stairs necessarily wind round a newel in a series of flights. It is singular that only one of the staircases has an opening to the House, and that the one on the South side. How the other is approached is not at all clear.

REV. W. SHAW CALDECOTT.

A book called *Solomon's Temple* by this author was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1907, but I need not now say much about it as Canon Horsley read a paper on it in this Lodge some time ago.¹ It contained the principal views from the book illustrative of the author's ideas which I can hardly, however, think even approached anything like the appearance of the structure under consideration.

OTHER BOOKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

In addition to all these designs which I have enumerated, further information as to the probable architectural style of Solomon's Temple may be gleaned from plates in illustrated editions of the BIBLE, the *History of the Jews*, by Flavius Josephus, pictures of Biblical incidents, Professor Hosking's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the *History of Phœnicia*, by George Rawlinson, *Mission de Phénice*, by Joseph Ernest Renan, and the *Recovery of Jerusalem* by our own distinguished Past Master, Sir Charles Warren.

¹ A.Q.U. xxi., 6.

MODELS.

I have already referred to the models of Schott and Rabbi Jacob Jehuda Leon. Another which I saw publicly exhibited in Manchester a few years ago I am able to show a post-card view of. Carelessly at the time I neglected to make any notes, and so am now unable to give the author's name or any particulars concerning him. Perhaps some Brother will be able to make good the deficiency. It may be permissible to include under this heading the Palace of the Escorial at Madrid, which Herrera built for Philip II. of Spain. According to Fergusson, it is supposed to be a reproduction of the Temple, although, as he says, the most unsatisfactory of all. I quite concur, for I must confess I should never have suspected any such idea unless my attention had been called to it.

The conclusion which I think we must all reach is that in the light of our present knowledge it is quite impossible to arrive at a correct solution of the problem, although we must express our indebtedness to the various authorities who have spent so much skill and labour in elaborating their own theories.

APPENDIX.

DIMENSIONS OF THE TEMPLES OF THE JEWS.

Parts of Temple.	Tabernacle of Moses.	Temple of Solomon.	Temple of Ezekiel.	Temple of Zerubbabel according to Bible.	Temple of Herod according to Josephus.	Temple of Herod according to Tamud.
Holy of Holies	Length	10	20	20	20	20
	Width	10	20	20	20	20
	Height	10	20	20	20	20
Holy Place	Length	20	40	40	40	40
	Width	10	20	20	20	20
	Height	15	30	30	30	40
Porch	Depth	5	10	10	10	11
	Width	10	20	20	20	—
Verandah	Width	5	—	—	—	—
Chambers	Width	5(?)	5	5	5	5
Chambers and Gallery ...	Width	—	12½	20	20	25
Total of Temple	Length	40	90	90	90	100
	Width	20	45	60	60	60
	Height	15	60	60	60	100
Inner Courts	Length	100	200	200	200	187
	Breadth	50	100	100	100	135
Outer Courts	Length	—	100	100	333	400
	Breadth	—	100	100	100	500
Sanctuary	Length	—	—	3000	—	—
	Breadth	—	—	3000	—	—

Figures in italics are by calculation or from other authorities.

A cordial vote of thanks for the paper was unanimously passed, comments being offered by Bros. Gordon Hills, Herbert Bradley, W. B. Hextall, C. F. Sykes, Lionel Vibert, and W. J. Williams. The Secretary exhibited, from the Lodge Library, the books of Villalpandus,¹ Timothy Otis, Paine, and C. N. McIntyre North, which were referred to in the paper.

Bro. GORDON HILLS said:—

In offering an apology for the fragmentary and incomplete character of his paper, Bro. Baxter seems to admit a disappointment at the result of his enquiries into the *Architectural Style of King Solomon's Temple*, which I must confess I share. There is a very considerable amount of material available for the student who has the time and opportunity to deal with it, and yet it is very difficult to get beyond theories to facts, but I think our Brother is at any rate to be congratulated on his candour and courage in admitting the baffling nature of the evidence, so far as he has considered it, and on his caution in not attempting to propound a correct solution without further knowledge.

Bro. Baxter refers to papers and notes relating to the Temple which have appeared in our *Transactions*; amongst these should be a definite mention of Bro. W. Simpson's notes on "*The Masonic Hall, Jerusalem, and Masons' Marks on the South East Corner of the Haram Wall* (ii., 122, 124), accompanied by illustrations, and of Bro. Dr. C. J. Ball's description of *The two Brazen Pillars* in his paper on *The Proper Names of Masonic Tradition* (v., 139). Our Brother then promises to lay before us "some of the ideas of educated architects and others" . . . "of the general appearance and architectural style of the famous building." This is followed by an outline of the Biblical account, and we are told that "an exhaustive study of architectural monuments contemporary with the temple is necessary to arrive at any idea of its appearance" . . . "hence we have to consider the contemporary architecture of Egypt, Greece, Assyria and Phœnicia, which last is probably the most likely of all to have been adopted, but of which, . . . only a few fragments remain." Then follows a very incomplete list of writers and authorities on the subject, in which some items are not described at all, and in other cases the particulars are but meagre, so that we are left with very little matter for criticism or discussion.

I feel that Bro. Baxter has not done justice to the sources of information and has allowed his efforts to be swamped by the magnitude of the task he undertook. For indeed he has touched the fringe of a very big subject, sufficient to tax the powers of one who has made it a life-long study. Recognising these circumstances, whilst my own special knowledge of the subject bids me emulate our Brother's example of caution and modesty, I will yet venture to make a few suggestions on some points, on which I think he might have carried the matter a little further, on the lines he has indicated.

The idea of arriving at a correct representation of the Temple, or indeed of any ancient building, is really a comparatively modern conception, and until recent developments of archæological science in exploration and research was quite beyond possibility. Mediæval ideas and representations of Jerusalem or King Solomon's Temple were pictured according to the architectural style of the day, just as the characters of Holy Writ appeared in the costume of the period, and we recollect that it is not so long since Shakespeare's characters played their parts in strangely incongruous attire. The descriptions in the Sacred Books, in Josephus and at much later dates, were not designed to enable their readers to plot out plans and elevations, or draw full-size details of the ornaments, but to convey in a manner suitable to the comprehension of those times an idea of the unequalled magnificence and dignity of the Temple of the Most High. We are, as Bro. Baxter justly observes, faced with "the impossibility of re-constructing the building from the Biblical narrative."

We find the building described on Roman, Greek, and Egyptian lines, as the study of archæology progressed, but it was not until the beginning of the last century that "travel in Palestine changed its form from the enthusiasm of

¹ The front Elevation of the Temple, as published by John Senex in 1723, appears in *A.Q.C.* xii., 150. It was evidently adapted from Villalpandus.

pilgrimage to the colder spirit which belongs to research," and the possibility arose of arriving at leading facts as to the main features of the site, let alone any details of the buildings that might be unearthed. In 1833 access was gained to the Temple area and a survey made, but the great impulse to scientific research really dates from the labours of Dr. Robinson and his friend Dr. Eli Smith in 1838. The story of those before and since who have laboured on this task is a most interesting page of history recording many names to be held in high honour and grateful memory, but I cannot even attempt to deal with it. There is, however, a particular connection in which this Lodge has a peculiar and intimate interest, and that is in the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund, from which it surely is not too much to say that the most important and leading discoveries on the subject have resulted. This work was started and its early stages carried out under the active leadership of our first Master, Bro. Sir Charles Warren, many of whose achievements were recorded by the skilful pencil of another of our chiefs so well known as 'Crimean' Simpson, whilst our other Past Masters Bros. Sir Walter Besant and W. H. Rylands have borne their parts in less prominent capacities in support of this Fund and its work. It is indeed greatly to our loss this evening that ill-health prevents Sir Charles Warren from taking an active part in our proceedings. Yet another of our Past Masters, Professor T. Hayter-Lewis, was a diligent student of this subject, which resulted in his *Holy Places of Jerusalem*. A great advance in our knowledge of Eastern architecture resulted from the opening up of Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian sources of information from 1843 onwards, and more lately much light has been thrown on Mediterranean civilization by the discoveries of Cretan culture traced back at least to 3500 B.C. For general readers, much of the information afforded has been made available, but, thinking of this Lodge in particular, we may remember that our Past Master Bro. Rev. Dr. C. J. Ball published what has been acknowledged as "a great pioneering work" on the subject in his *Light from the East*.

The pamphlet by Mr. E. C. Robins (1886) which Bro. Baxter refers to gives much valuable information, and is especially of interest in that which it affords as to Mr. Fergusson's views. As an architectural historian on facts, his authority is of the highest, but on theories he is not so safe a guide, as was proved when his plans of the Temple area, like those of other students, such as Williams, Porter and Lewin, came to the test of the facts revealed by Sir Charles Warren and his successors. A most useful appendix is supplied by Professor Kerr's very able analysis of the Biblical account.

The paper on *The Temple of Ezekiel*, by Mr. G. S. Aitken, as published in the *R.I.B.A. Journal*, evinces much study and ingenuity bestowed upon the subject, reinforced by such authorities as Dr. Hastings' *Biblical Dictionary* and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Several very interesting points bearing upon King Solomon's Temple are dealt with, but seeing that the building described is an ideal Temple on an ideal site, not the actual one, not intended to be built, and representing many features not incorporated in any of those actually built, theories founded on the visionary building may be very far removed from facts.

An attempt to supply Bro. Baxter's omission of any definite reference to the results of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, shows a weak point in our Library—that we have not a complete set of these valuable publications—a want which I hope has only been mentioned to ensure that this want shall be supplied. In 1874 the Fund published a most useful handbook *Our Work in Palestine*, giving briefly the main results up to that period, and *The Latest Light in Bible Lands*, by Mr. P. S. P. Handcock, M.A., Lecturer to the Fund (S.P.C.K., 2nd edition, 1914), brings the information further up to date in similar form. A vast amount of research is concisely presented in the articles in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia* (1915) edited by Dr. James Orr, bringing the latest discoveries into focus. Bro. Baxter, happily for us, has confined his remarks very closely to the Temple itself, with very slight reference to its Courts and Enclosures. Thus we are saved the necessity of going into many elaborate theories about the site and its surroundings, nor are we launched into the consideration of the symbolism of the building except quite incidentally.

It is with the *Naos* itself that we are concerned, standing within the inner Court of the Holy Site or *Hieron* which comprehends the whole enclosure of the precincts, now—as extended from time to time—known by the Moslems as the *Haram esh Shereef* or *Noble Sanctuary*. The site of the *Naos* is now, we may say *finally* agreed to have been to the West of the Dome of the Rock, the building which covers the rocky base upon which the Altar was erected of old. One peculiarity is that the inequalities of the site which surround this central building have been overcome from the first by erecting series upon series of underground arches. These added to as the enclosure has been enlarged, with in addition 33 water tanks, many of large size, render the site practically honeycombed with subterranean chambers.

The student who attempts the consideration of the descriptions given in the Bible is at once seriously handicapped unless he has a competent knowledge of the language of the original and also some critical appreciation of the value of the texts, and so I must apologise for my own shortcomings in these qualifications. However, doing the best I can according to my opportunities, it seems to me that a commentary and the comparison of the Revised Version of the Old Testament afford some useful hints upon some of the points upon which Bro. Baxter has commented.

The middle storey of the chambers which abutted on the Sanctuary and Holy Place was approached by a door on the South side—

The door for the middle chamber *was* on the right side of the house: and they went up with winding stairs into the middle *chamber*, and out of the middle into the third. (1. Kings vi., 8.)

At the beginning of the verse, for *middle* an alternative reading is *lowest*, which describes where the door was: right *side* may read right *shoulder*, which seems to locate the stairs at the *end* of the Aisle near the Porch. The principal doors at the entrance to the Temple seem to have been sub-divided by being hinged in two leaves for each of the two folding doors. 'Winding' stairs does not necessarily necessitate a circular form, but there is plenty of evidence that the craftsmen of those days understood the practical construction of ascents by steps. The word *knops* means *gourds* alternating with the flowers in the decoration.

The description does not say that the door-posts were a fifth or a fourth part of the thickness of the wall; but the measuring when explained is that the entrances,—*i.e.*, the doors, door-posts, and side pilasters,—occupied one-fifth or one-fourth of the wall space, being four or five cubits out of the 20 cubits of the whole. The Hebrew word translated, "*lintel*," is of uncertain meaning as an architectural term, but its common significance is "a ram," whence it has been suggested that it refers to the horn-like form of volutes, a constant feature in Assyrian ornament and later of the Greek Ionic Order.

Clearly there was a partition to divide the Oracle from the rest of the building, and the chains, festoons of knobs and open flowers were subsidiary ornaments probably at the head of the opening. We read in II. Chronicles iii., 16, that chains were made "as in the oracle" and put on the heads of the two pillars.

The three rows of paved stone and row of cedar beams are very generally accepted as a fitting description of the enclosure of the inner court by a wall of three courses high with timber construction as in vogue in the East. By some the mention of the timber is held to imply a cloister with pillars and roof of timber construction.

I think Bro. Baxter's remark that there is no difficulty in harmonising the description of the two great pillars as having been both *in* the porch and *before* the Temple is much to the point. Whatever may have been the symbolism of any details which were adopted from the architecture of other nations when used elsewhere they were here introduced by the Israelite leaders in "the spirit of their own Faith and made the vehicle of great spiritual truths." It did not require any great effort of imagination to adopt such a device as two columns to support a porch, and their names denoted their use, whilst their removal would aesthetically, if not practically, have involved the ruin of the feature they supported as much as when Samson brought about the collapse of the Philistine Temple at Gaza. That their names and signification allude to the Deity is the reason that

such emphasis is laid upon them, and clearly their symbolism is much accentuated if they were constructural as well as ornamental adjuncts. A great deal has been written in this connection about the monoliths of frequent occurrence in the Holy Land and elsewhere known there as *mazzebahs*, from the descriptions of which it seems to me that monuments of several distinct purposes are often confused or included under the same name. We also have comparisons suggested with so-called pillars in connection with Temples of Astarte or Venus, which appear to me to be erections, as Bro. Baxter says, very like a gigantic candlestick, including a basin to receive libations and adapted to rites which survive to this day in India. One cannot claim *all* these *different* sources as the original of Jachin and Boaz. Herodotus tells us that there were *two* pillars *in* the Temple of the Phœnician Hercules at Tyre, one was of refined gold and the other of smaragdus, which Bro. Dr. Ball explains as "a highly polished green marble." These surely are more likely to have suggested the idea of the pillars of Jerusalem—if any suggestion was necessary—than the uses of the other cult. The personification of *strength*, the main characteristic of the deified hero, could naturally and without offence be transferred to the Establisher of all things. The Phœnician sailors making their way Westward from the Mediterranean, called Gibraltar and its twin peak of the African shore Calpe and Abyla, the Pillars of Hercules, these two being supposed to have originally formed one mountain which he wrenched in twain. The pillars at Tyre seem to have been *in* the Temple, and, from the old legend, to have had the association of door-posts or adjuncts to a porch-way, as at the entrance to the Mediterranean. The contemporary Tomb or Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ had a pillar on either side of the door-way covered with scrolls and frets of ornament like metal work. The first step to render a doorway of importance at almost any stage of art is to add columns, which are really ornate door-posts too elaborate to be of use to hang the doors to, or in a position where no door is required, so that I do not think the introduction of the two pillars needs any far-fetched precedent to explain them, and that a symbolism should be attached to them was inevitable under the circumstances of the building.

Mr. Aitken gives a very intelligible description of the capitals of the pillars:—

The capitals were bowl-like in form (I. Kings vii., 41), apparently resembling some of the later Byzantine capitals, and these bowls were covered with net or lattice work; and as the net work, being 4 cubits high or so, would present a monotonous surface, it was relieved by seven rows of wreathed chain work. The summits of the capitals had "pommels," or what we may understand as some kind of volute, provided to carry the plan outline of the capital ball from the circle to the square. From each of these pommels were suspended, after the manner of a festoon, two rows of pomegranates, one hundred in each row, or, according to the description in Jeremiah lii., 23, ninety-six towards the four winds—in other words, that number on each face, leaving four over on each festoon for suspension from the pommels. This combination of details is reasonable, and would form a capital in harmony with the sturdiness of the shafts and possibly full of symbolism.

The photograph of a "Basket-work Capital" at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with which Bro. Rev. Canon Horsley illustrated his paper on this subject some years ago (*A. Q. C.* xxi., 8) gives an excellent idea of such a capital in the Byzantine style. The capitals at Solomon's Temple, on these lines, would seem to be prototypes of the Corinthian Order.

Mr. Aitken has his own theories about the arrangement of a series of friezes in metal, wood and stone above the columns and attached to the porch. The Chinese looking erection of columns and superstructure which was one of Mr. Fergusson's solutions of this feature, whilst it seems at first view to carry us very far afield in its origin, may remind us that the Sumerians, who were the first civilized inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria, appear to have been a Tartan race. Our Bro. Dr. C. J. Ball is author of a learned treatise on the resemblance between the ancient Sumerian writings and those of the Chinese.

I quite agree with Bro. Baxter that the Biblical account lends no sanction to any columns besides Jachin and Boaz in connection with the Temple itself. Where such were employed in the palace buildings they are definitely described.

There are discrepancies between the accounts in the Books of Kings and Chronicles as regards the dimensions, and in some cases the figures are lessened, in others increased. This is a point in which errors are certain to occur in transcriptions, which are apt to be further complicated by emendations made by the scribes in perfect good faith. Thus *seven nets* for each chapter of the columns in the earlier account may really have only been *a net* as it appears in the Greek version.

The discrepancy between the length of the columns in the two accounts is explained by the later historian having given the height of the two shafts as a 'running' measurement in one dimension. The idea of the writer was to express size by length and superficies, and not to give exact figures.

Mr. Robins points out that in the later account we have the statement that the wings of the cherubim adorning the walls of the Oracle were twenty cubits long, and it then appears that this dimension is arrived at by adding together the four wings of the two figures, each wing being five cubits in extent. The porch is described thus:—

And the porch that *was* in front of the house the length of it was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the height *was* an hundred and twenty: and he overlaid it within with pure gold.

Applying the same explanation to the statement, that each side of the porch, 30 cubits high, was overlaid with pure gold, we obtain a height of 120 cubits *in all*,—intended to give an approximate idea of the amount of gold—just as by adding together the four wings or the two heights of the columns the other dimensions, an increase of those mentioned in the Book of Kings, are arrived at. Thus the accounts are not contradictory although at first sight it so appears.

The difference in the height between the three storied aisles and the main building explains the position of the windows as in a clerestory, whilst the Oracle was expressly purposed to be in "thick darkness" (II. Chronicles vi., 1), as was also the case in the Tabernacle. The descriptions of the window openings may be noted; they are described as "broad" within and "narrow" without, or "skewed" and "closed" as in the margin of the Authorised Version, and the rendering in the Revised Version describes them as "of fixed lattice work," *i.e.*, not to be opened or shut.

With regard to Bro. Baxter's reference to the ropes which stayed the Tabernacle being the originals of the divisions of the chambers adjoining the Sanctuary, we may observe that in the earliest description (I. Kings vi., 5) the word translated "chambers" implies in the first case *aisle* or *side-building*, but when the word is repeated a marginal note explains that it means, in the original, *ribs*,

he built aisles round about . . . and he made ribs round about.

The repetition in the text is by way of explanation.

It may be usefully noted that when Joshua entered Canaan he set up the Tabernacle at Shiloh, where residences for priests were adjoined, and it assumed so permanent a character that it was called "the temple" (I. Samuel iii., 3). Thus David and Solomon had the actual prototype of the Temple before them on which, according to the inspired designs, to found the general disposition of the new Sanctuary and its adjuncts.

And now allow me to endeavour, briefly and very inadequately though it be, to sketch the architectural environment at this period.

When the Israelites of the Exodus entered the Promised Land about the end of the thirteenth century B.C., they were a tent dwelling people preparing to enter into their heritage in the sphere of the Semitic races. They found the country inhabited by peoples who had arrived at a considerable advance on their own state of civilization, some of Hamitic origin, others near kinsfolk of their own race. The Tell el-Amarna tablets, giving the correspondence of the Pharaohs of those days with their tributaries, enumerate the spoils taken from the Princes of Canaan,—

elaborate furniture, jewelry, gold, silver and precious stones, rich embroidery and other evidences of an advanced and highly developed culture applied rather to the luxuries than the necessities of life. The invaders found themselves faced with well fortified towns, whose remains "great and walled up to heaven" have been unearthed in recent times, as, *e.g.*, at Taanach, Megiddo, and Gezeh. The inhabitants of these cities dwelt in houses of brick or mud and timber, sometimes in caves, or rather rock dwellings. The influence which Egypt had exercised on the earlier civilization of Syria had waned, the enterprise of the Phœnicians had achieved their independence, and it was the art and culture of the Mediterranean as well as what afterwards developed into Assyrian and its sister arts which was to be obtained through those pioneers of that day. The Phœnicians were middlemen in the distribution of the luxuries of the times, and art so far was applied rather to these than to the refinements of building, which had not progressed in Palestine much beyond the demands of necessity. Skill in timber construction was the natural outcome of their maritime pursuits, and good masonry to construct their citadels, sea walls and quays was also a necessity for their existence. The history of the occupation of the country by the Israelites shows their difficulties in cohesion accentuated by their tribal nature, and the broken territorial character of the country, and explains how by force of circumstances the nation did not achieve such an establishment as would enable it to cultivate architecture as distinguished from the maintenance of necessary fortifications and engineering works in connection with water supply and the like. Yet we need not doubt the probability that a latent architectural power did exist, waiting the opportunity to develop, such as the remains of their Idumæan kindred exhibit in later times at Petra. Thus it was that when peace at last seemed within their grasp, resort was had to Hiram of Tyre for artificers to raise the work of the sanctuary from the level of engineering to architecture, but possibly the skill with which the difficulties of the site of the Temple enclosure were surmounted are more impressive to the modern mind than would be the gorgeousness of the embellishments of the metal workers. King David had given long and earnest consideration to the inspired schemes for the building of the Temple, and had gathered together skilled workers, accumulated treasure and materials, and prepared wrought timber and masonry for its construction, before Solomon took up the charge laid upon him. It has been suggested that all along building operations had been distasteful to the Israelites, from their association with Egyptian bondage, and that it was upon the subject races in the Holy Land that the labour of such operations devolved. The account of King Solomon's organization of the work seems somewhat to bear this out. There is a difference drawn between those *bondsmen* who worked as bearers of burdens and hewers in the quarries, who were survivors of those nations Israel was not able utterly to destroy, and the levies of *freemen* of the nation. It is particularly to be noted that of the *Children of Israel* were the *chief officers* that Solomon appointed. The position was like that of a mediæval ecclesiastical building where the rule of the order, and necessities of the ritual determined the plan, and it was the task of the builders to translate it into the architectural expression of the period. When we arrive at this stage, about the year 1000 B.C., we find that to the East Assyrian architecture had not yet reached its highest expression, and further West that the kindred Mediterranean style reaching back to 3500 B.C. which has left such extensive ruins in Crete had become decadent. The foundations upon which Greek art was to be superimposed were being laid by a kindred school of culture, the well known remains of which at Tirryns and Mycenæ are to be seen in fortifications, buildings of megalithic masonry, and tomb-like erections depending, as in the Treasury of Arteus, for their enrichment on ornamentation of brass or bronze plating and rude carving. The description of the nails for the work of the Temple recalls those which still remain at Mycenæ.

Mr. Ferguson thus described the era of King Solomon's Temple:—

We must recollect this was the bronze age of architecture. Homer tells us of the brazen house of Alcinous. The treasuries at Mycenæ were covered internally with brazen plates, and in Etruscan tombs of

this age, metal was far more essentially the material of decoration than carving in stone, or any other of the modes so frequently adopted. The altar of the Temple was of brass, and the molten sea supported by twelve brazen oxen. The bases, the lavers, and all the objects and implements in metal work were in reality what made the Temple so celebrated, and comparatively little was done to the mere masonry by which we should judge of a Christian church or any modern building.

What, however, distinguished the workmanship of King Solomon's Temple above the other metal coloured buildings of its time was the profuse use of *gold*, the most precious of all.

The volute or spiral ornament which distinguishes the Ionic capital was, as I have mentioned, a characteristic of Assyrian and kindred art; we get suggestions of its use at Jerusalem at the doorway of the Oracle, and at the caps of the two pillars. Professor Flinders Petrie in his recent excavations at Lackish brought to light a number of low relief slabs originally part of the doorways of a considerable building enriched with a volute ornament. This decoration is, however, applied as if it were an exotic novelty hardly understood. These remains have a special significance as being perhaps the only authentic *detail* of the Solomonic period yet recovered. The decorations of the Temple at Jerusalem have their more modern counterparts—in the decorations of the palaces—of the dates annexed or later—at Nimroud (900 B.C.), Khorsabad (722 B.C.), and Koyunjik (702 B.C.), at Pasargadae (560 B.C.), and Persepolis (521 B.C. and later) examples of which may be studied in the courts of the British Museum. A passage in Mr. Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture* (1859), p. 188, describes a platform of masonry at Pasargadae:—

Whatever it supported, the building has disappeared, and the structure is only remarkable for the beauty of its masonry and the largeness of the stones with which it is built. These are bevelled not only at their joints but often on their faces with the same flat sinking as is found in all the Jewish works at Jerusalem, and sometimes in Greek buildings of the best age.

Dr. Thomson, in *The Land and the Book* (1881), gives an illustration of similarly bevelled stones, of large size, at Tyre:—

One nearly seventeen feet long and six and a half feet thick [which] rests just where the Tyrian architects placed it thousands of years ago.

Other similar stones quarried from the ruins of the earlier town on the shore have been used in the construction of the mole which connected the later city with the main land.

These particulars may be compared with a description of the masonry investigated by Sir Charles Warren at Jerusalem. Of the actual Temple itself we have not a stone that can be recognised, the description is of the enclosing wall of the Temple area known as the "Haram esh Shereef" or "Noble Sanctuary," but these particulars give some idea of the masonry which David and Solomon made use of:—

The masonry of this wall presents several marked and very important differences of work. These as we shall shortly see may be divided into five. The stones are thus prepared:—In the first instance they are dressed square on the upper and under surface and at the two ends: the dressing is in many cases so true that a knife cannot be inserted between the two stones. They are placed one above the other, each stone being set half an inch to an inch farther back, so that the wall is not perpendicular, but stands at a slight angle—the great advantage being that buttresses and other supports are not needed. No mortar or cement has been used. The faces are dressed with what is known as a "marginal draft"—*i.e.*, the central portion of the stone projects from a marginal cutting of 2in. to 4in., or even more, broad. The projecting base is left rough in what appear to be the oldest portions, and is smoother in others. This marginal drafted masonry

is found all around the Haram Area below ground, and in a few places—especially at the Jews' Wailing Place—above. It has been called the Jewish bevel, and may be seen at Hebron, and at the Palace of Hyrcanus (now Arak el Amir), in the foundation of the wall encircling the Temple at Hebron, and in many old buildings in Jerusalem. It has been seen also on the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.

It was on drafted masonry of this description at the base of the South-Eastern portion of the enclosing wall of the Sanctuary that the Masons' marks were found of which a full description has appeared in our *Transactions* (*A.Q.C.* ii., 124). To conclude the description of the masonry:—

There are altogether five distinct kinds of masonry, denoting, *perhaps*, five distinct periods of workmanship in the Haram wall:—

1. Marginal drafted masonry with a rough face, found chiefly along the eastern wall
2. Marginal drafted masonry with a smooth face, found chiefly along the western wall.
3. Ashlar of large stones with smooth faces, without marginal drafts.
4. Ashlar of small stones, without marginal drafts.
3. Common rubble masonry.

The average height of the older stones is 3ft. 3in. to 6ft. Their length varies considerably. The longest stone is 38ft. 9in. long.

(*Our Work in Palestine*, pp. 36-8.).

It seems that these descriptions agree with those of the Biblical account when it tells us—"And the King commanded, and they brought great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house, and Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stonesquarers" (I. Kings v., 17, 18).

There is a marginal note to the word *stonesquarers* indicating that the word in the original is "Giblites" or "men of Gebal," a town near Lebanon. From Ezekiel we learn that this town also provided craftsmen of special skill in ship building. The force of the expression is that they were specially skilled, some in that respect and some in masonry, so much so that a particular kind of work was well known at the time as their speciality, thus there is the possibility that these large drafted stones were the craftsmanship of the stone squarers of Gebal.

It was only for thirty years that the Temple stood in its pristine beauty until it was despoiled to buy off the Egyptian invader Shishak. Repaired and despoiled, outraged and restored, the building passed through many vicissitudes before its destruction in 586 B.C.; then, until the rebuilding of 536-515 B.C., it would seem there was no Jewish temple, but the discovery of papyri at Elephantine in 1901 has given evidence that a Jewish settlement had their temple there before 525 B.C. Perhaps, this was for a little while the only Jewish one standing upon this island in the Nile at Assouan on the Southern frontier of Egypt. This foreign temple excited the animosity of the Egyptian Priests of Khnub, whose temple adjoined it, and in 408 B.C. they burnt and pillaged the building, which is described as having pillars of stone, five gateways of stone, bronze doors with hinges, a roof of cedar, and basins of gold and silver.

Josephus tells us that when Onias fled to Egypt from the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 154 B.C., he obtained permission from Ptolemy and Cleopatra to erect a temple after the pattern of that at Jerusalem—only on a small scale—for his co-religionists at Leontopolis in the Delta. Dr. Flinders Petrie claims to have identified and has thoroughly explored the remains of this building, and it is interesting to know that he found architectural detail of a rude Corinthian type suggestive of Babylonian influence, still as it were carrying on the tradition of the style of the original building we have been discussing.

I agree with Bro. Baxter in thinking that Mr. Robins' Assyrian design falls very far below the ideal one imagines for the Temple of King Solomon. It is an ingenious conception, but fails to carry conviction from an architectural point of view, largely because one is well aware that it is made up of so many features borrowed from such different sources and of later dates; but, so far as the general proportions go it is a reasonable representation of the Biblical description. It is on these lines that we must picture it to ourselves—a simple, dignified structure, not larger than a small English village church, and somewhat of its outline, standing out very white on its eminence. Within it was profusely adorned—almost lined with gold, a promise of which appeared on the façade, with its golden doors and gold lined porch flanked by the ornate twin pillars of brass, in front of which stood the altar and its accessories of the same metal.

To attempt to make any definite restoration of the building is to launch out into a bewildering whirlpool of theories. What really is of consequence is the great ideals for which it stood, the faith which built it, and the condescension of the G.A.O.T.U. Who accepted its dedication—these are real concerns of a speculative Freemason of to-day, and they are set forth in the simple but majestic language of the V.S.L. so that we wayfaring men, though unlearned, shall not err therein.

Bro. W. B. HEXTALL said:—

I have no comment to make on Bro. Baxter's painstaking paper; but may draw attention to an item which has apparently not been alluded to. The *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* for 1839, at pages 261-2, gives an account of a Manuscript described as having just then been completed after a labour of more than twenty years, its subject being "that most justly celebrated of all edifices—the Temple of Jerusalem . . . as built by Solomon, considering even its "most minute detail, the calculations being determined to parts so small as the "sixth of an inch"; stating that all prior works had been examined, and that the MS. was a condensation of the labours of more than 300 authors. The employment of Rabbins as translators had imposed much cost on the un-named compiler, who estimated his total outlay at no less than £10,000, and who was then seeking a purchaser, or to publish by subscription; being willing to accept a moderate sum because of "the necessity for his return to Rome." An attempt was made to trace this MS. in *Notes and Queries* of August 6th, 1910, but without result. If Bro. Baxter can get upon the track of it, or of its subsequent publication, appreciable addition to the literature concerning Solomon's Temple might result.

An article in Mackenzie's *Royal Masonic Cyclopædia*, page 694, under the heading "Stone, Cubical," may be worth reference on the subject of the Temple.

Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I am not an architect, and, therefore, cannot approach this discussion with any professional authority. Neither have I had the privilege of reading Canon Horsley's paper on the Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott's book, *Solomon's Temple*. Still, I think this author's suggested reconstruction has been too cursorily disposed of by Bro. Baxter. The book is a sequel to *The Tabernacle; its History and Structure*, by the same author, and in these two volumes Mr. Caldecott certainly appears to establish two points which touch materially the subject of Bro. Baxter's paper.

First, that the Hebrew measures of length were identical to those of Babylonia, three cubits being used, viz.:—

	Palms.	Equivalent in English inches.
1. The Art work cubit	3	10.8
2. „ Building „	4	14.4
3. „ Surveying „	5	18.0

a palm being equal to 3.6 inches.

This point is arrived at as the result of the translation of the Senkereh mathematical tablet found at Larsa in 1850 by Mr. Loftus.

The second point which Mr. Caldecott brings out is that the Temple itself stood upon a platform of stones. The plan of building temples upon raised platforms arose in Babylonia as a necessity owing to the natural condition of the soil near great rivers. This plan was copied by the Assyrians and adopted when building the Temple at Jerusalem.

In a preface to Mr. Caldecott's book *King Solomon's Temple*, the idea of the building rising from a platform is accepted by Dr. Sayce, professor of Assyriology at Oxford, himself an authority on Eastern monuments and archæology.

These two points, relating to the measures used in the Temple building and a platform upon which the Temple was raised, are so well considered by Mr. Caldecott that when brought to the test of application to the Temple building according to the specifications as set out in I. Kings and II. Chronicles some harmony can be evolved out of what otherwise is confusion.

If the appendix to Mr. Caldecott's book was not reproduced in *A.Q.C.* when Canon Horsley read his paper, I venture to think it would be an acceptable addendum to the account of to-night's proceedings when issued.

Bro. Baxter thinks that the porch could hardly have been 120 cubits high. Certainly in Caldecott's reconstruction where this height is allowed it does not appear to be out of proportion to the rest of the building, and, in fact, upon comparison bears about the same relation to the height of the main building as does the Belfroi at Bruges to the Halle of which it is a part.

Bro. Baxter points out that the Jews were never great builders, and that the monuments of other Eastern peoples must be relied upon in the endeavour to elucidate the problem of the architectural style of the Temple. To his list of contemporary architecture I would suggest the addition of that of Babylonia. It was from there that the original ancestors of the Jewish race sprang. Josephus says that the Egyptians and Phœnicians bore ill-will towards the Jewish race, but adds it was otherwise with the Chaldeans.

In his concluding remarks Bro. Baxter speaks of an exhibition of models which he saw a few years ago at Manchester, but is unable to give the author's name. If this was the same exhibition as that which took place in London some time ago I have postcard views of the models and the pamphlet which was published in explanation of them.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS (Arcadian Lodge 2696) said:—

When I received the Summons and noted that the subject was "The Architectural Style of King Solomon's Temple" I looked to see what books I had bearing on the topic, and among them found a book by the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller, entitled *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*.

The first edition of this book (which is a folio with numerous engraved maps and plans) was published in 1650. Although it is not mentioned in the paper of Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, it includes an important section and two engraved plates descriptive of Solomon's Temple and its appurtenances, and deals with the subject in the commonsense, painstaking, and witty method which all who know anything of Thomas Fuller's writings have had occasion to admire.

In the course of his remarks he appears to have made good use of quite a number of the then known authorities, for while basing his conclusions chiefly upon the Bible, he refers also to Josephus, to the Rabbins, to Ribera, to St. Jerome (who for a long time dwelt in Palestine), to Eupolemus, Tremellius, Villalpandus and the Venerable Bede.

Several items which appear to have presented difficulties to Bro. Baxter are investigated by our author with some degree of minuteness.

For instance, referring to the golden nails mentioned in our Brother's paper, he says:—

The weight of the nails used in this room was 50 shekels of gold (II. Chron. iii., 9) which Ribera understands not collectively of them all (the most seeming sense of the text) but that each of them severally weighed so much. I dare not say that Solomon particularly reflected on them in that his expression "the words of the wise are as goads and as nails fastened by the Masters of the assemblies" (Eccles. xii., 11). But here the query will be, how could they be of pure gold, seeing nails of such refined metal will not drive, but flat, because of the extraordinary softness and pliability thereof? It is answered, either they were rivetted into holes fore-prepared of purpose or else they were stiffened with some mixture of silver or copper, not for cheapness, but the greater usefulness thereof. Be it here once for all observed that where utensils of the Temple are termed of pure gold, understand it so pure as the end for which they were intended would permit. Otherwise some necessary alloy of baser metal made them not only serviceable for but more durable in that purpose for which they were employed.

Fuller also deals with the question as to the gradual widening of the upper stories in the porch or front of the Temple, consequent on the narrowing of the main walls as they were carried up higher. Other supposed inconsistencies in the stated dimensions of various features in the building receive consideration, and frequently elucidation by our author, and occasionally, when he meets with a difficulty he cannot solve, he frankly confesses it.

There is, however, one thing which occurred to me in the course of perusing Fuller's book, namely, that it is not at all unlikely that the compilers of our Ritual had his book before them and used it as part of their materials. The volume was highly spoken of, and the writings of the author were well known, and looked upon as, to some extent, authoritative.

Let me mention a few points which seem to justify this suggestion.

He speaks of Hiram as Solomon's architect. Hiram is not so spoken of in the Bible. He is represented rather as being the chief artificer in metals.

Yet in a certain place in one of our ceremonies it is said of Hiram that at the construction of the Temple he was the principal architect.

Again, in another passage, Fuller refers to the Sanctum Sanctorum as penetrable but once a year for the high priest. In another place the names, and the separate and conjoint significations of the names of the two pillars in the porchway are dealt with.

Further, in one of the small illustrations inserted on the large plate of the Temple, there are representations of the two pillars surmounted with spherical balls; and, although the engraving is not very clear, it seems to me that the artist intended to indicate on those spheres maps of the celestial and terrestrial globes. One of the spherical balls clearly shows lines similar to those used to indicate longitude.

Fuller seems to have been in some way influenced by the language or atmosphere of Freemasonry for in another work of his, on the Crusades, entitled *The Holy Warre*, the first edition of which was published in 1639, we find this phrase: "But in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things be done by the *Square and Compass*." Probably this is one of the earliest instances in English literature where the Square and Compass are brought into such significant juxtaposition. (I quote from my copy, page 241, which is the second edition, published 1640.)

Returning to the main subject of the discussion, it would seem that many writers have exercised themselves in guessing at the source which served as a model for the style of the Temple. Some confidently assert Egyptian origin; others Assyrian. Bro. Fort Newton asserts the Phœnician origin, and Josephus (who in this case seems unreliable) alleges a Grecian origin, although the Parthenon was not built until about 500 years after the Temple. For my own part, there seems to be little need for all these guesses. It is distinctly stated in the Bible (see I. Chron. xxviii., verses 11 and 12): "Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch and of the houses thereof and of the treasures thereof

and of the upper chambers thereof and of the place of the mercy seat, and the pattern of *all that he had by the spirit*, of the Courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things," and so forth.

This in substance tells us that David himself not only prepared vast stores of materials, but, what is of more importance from an architectural standpoint, he gave to Solomon the equivalent of a complete set of working drawings for the building on which he had set his heart, but which he was not permitted to erect. Surely, in face of this, we have no need to go here and there to surmise from what country the design came. Why should not David have had the design imparted to him direct from on High? Is there anything antecedently improbable in this? He is one of the greatest poets the world has ever known if (as some of us still believe) many of the Psalms were written by him; he was also a great military and kingly genius, and in many ways has left a lasting impression on the history of his own ancient race, and of the world; and perhaps the subsequent history of architecture owes more to him and to the Temple he projected than has hitherto been conceded.

Note.—It may be interesting to add in reference to the possible connection of Thomas Fuller with Freemasonry that on looking further into Fuller's writings I have discovered that he refers to Elias Ashmole as "His worthy friend." The facts are shortly these:—

Fuller was born 1608 and died 1661. Elias Ashmole was born at Lichfield 1617 and died 1692. He was initiated into Freemasonry in October 1646.

In Fuller's *Church History of Britain until 1648* (published 1655) are two engravings of Lichfield Cathedral. This is the only Cathedral so honoured. Each of these plates has the Arms of Ashmole as a tribute to him for bearing the expense of the engravings. Fuller also appends some curious Latin verses; in one column of which he personates the weeping prophet and in the other the smiling historian grateful to his brother antiquarian at whose expense the drawing had been finished and the plate engraved.

The Latin verses are:—

Lichfieldensem Ecclesiam	Sed qualis Olim floruit
En, lector, pictam graphicè	Ut innotescat posteris,
Qua Sol in orbe Anglico	Tam sacro cadaveri
Aspexit nihil venustius	Hoc monumentum, sumptibus
At cujus nunc, prohdolor!	ELICE ASHMOLE positum:
Deformitate splendidæ	Qui redivivum suscitât
Ruinæ vex superstites	Phœnicem e cineribus
Sic deflevit.	Sic gratulatur

T. F.

Thus it appears that Ashmole's interest in Masonry was not exclusively speculative, but that he was concerned in the work of our operative brethren, and further that he aided Fuller in one of his publications. It almost necessarily follows that he would have been acquainted with his friend Fuller's account of Solomon's Temple. It is not an extravagant inference that he would have called the attention of other members of the craft to the writings of Fuller and their bearing upon operative and traditional Freemasonry with the result that certain features found in Fuller's book have now a place in our ritual.

It may be added, as a confirmatory footnote, that in Fuller's *Pisgah Sight of Palestine* there is a Map of Canaan in the time of Abraham, and the scale of miles drawn on that map is embellished with the Compasses and Square. Several other maps in the book exhibit the Compasses, but I think only this one shows the suggestive combination.

Bro. HENRY LOVEGROVE writes:—

It is remarkable that really so little has been written about so famous a building; Fergusson thinks that a great deal of nonsense has been written. In such an excellent library as that of the Royal Institute of British Architects there are only two or three books on the subject, and they are in German.

Over the whole building the idea of the Tabernacle prevails, all the dimensions being doubled for the Temple. The use of the cube prevailed and most authorities claim that the space of the cube for the Holy of Holies was free from columns. It has been stated that there were four columns, and in the Holy Place, which was double the length, there were eight columns.

The dimensions of the two great pillars must be wrong; let anybody draw them of the sizes stated, and the impossibility of casting such a work would be evident.

I am of opinion that the columns stood clear of the building, as it would be impossible for the spherical termination according to tradition to have supported the upper portion of the building; the abacus must for that purpose of necessity be flat, and the pomegranates and lily work must have been between the astragal and the abacus where foliage is introduced into Gothic caps. The porch, which was not a porch, is stated in the 2nd Chronicles to be 120 cubits high, which must be wrong, as such a tower could not have stood on a sub-structure only 20 cubits long and 10 wide; besides, it would have dwarfed the building proper.

From the little I know of Hebrew characters it seems easy to make a mistake in the alteration of a stroke. I can never believe that Methusaleh lived 969 years.

In the same way I cannot believe that so many thousands of men were employed on a building about the size of one of Wren's churches. I am inclined to think that these men were mostly Phœnicians with some of other nations, and that very few Jews were employed. Slaves were not allowed to work in the Temple but may have performed some duties as labourers outside the building.

Now as to style, I believe that the exterior was very simple. There could have been no arches, as the arch, etc., was practically unknown; but a few were found in the construction of the pyramids, and later both semi-circular and pointed arches were found.

It is generally supposed that the Egyptians were ignorant of the true principle of the arch, and only employed two stones meeting at a certain angle. I am convinced that all architecture came from Egypt and was developed in different directions in the various countries into which the art spread.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes in reply:—

Although my paper did not meet with unqualified approval when read in Lodge I am not without hope that when published in the *Transactions* and suitably illustrated it may prove to be of more than general interest, for illustrations in a connection of this kind are far more expressive than lengthy descriptions. I had to bear in mind that I was not addressing a society of architects but a body of Freemasons, who however interested in the subject, could not possibly follow a complicity of technical details.

My thanks are certainly due to Bro. Gordon Hills for having cleared up some doubtful points. As James Fergusson long ago explained, we cannot hope to reach anything like an adequate solution without the assistance of a trained architect thoroughly well versed in the language of the original text of the Bible, and even then only if the original writers were qualified to give a proper description. It is gratifying to know that I have the support of Bro. Gordon Hills in most of my conclusions. His own explanation of the height of the Porch is ingenious, and carries conviction.

Bro. Herbert Bradley pointed out that I had omitted from my list of models the one exhibited by Bro. Joseph Young at the Leicester Lodge of Research in 1911. This was certainly very careless of me, for I have in my collection a copy of the Leicester *Transactions* for that year which includes photographic reproductions of the exterior and interior of the model. So capable an architect as the late Bro. S. P. Pick expressed his appreciation of the success of the design, which had the peculiarity of *square* pillars in the Porch—a solution which I do not think any other author has attempted.

There are few papers read in our Lodge which Bro. W. B. Hextall cannot amplify, and his note on the curious manuscript relating to the Temple, and now unfortunately lost, is of considerable value.

Bro. C. F. Sykes has kindly lent me a pamphlet descriptive of the model exhibited in Manchester and other places a few years ago, from which it appears the author of the design was Rabbi Aaron Cohen, of Jerusalem. So far as the contention of Bro. Sykes as to the height of the Porch is concerned, I think it has been effectively answered by Bro. Gordon Hills.

Bro. W. J. Williams refers to the representation of the Temple in *A Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, 1650, by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller. I have consulted this work, but regret that the design can hardly claim to fall within my classification of attempted solutions by educated architects. The question of the origin of the Masonic Ritual does not fall within the scope of the paper, but I am sure we all appreciate the investigations of Bro. Williams into the connection between the Rev. Dr. Fuller and our early speculative Brother, Elias Ashmole.

The comments of Bro. Henry Lovegrove hardly need any reply. I do not think there were any pillars in either the Holy Place or the Holy of Holies, and the idea of the Pillars of the Porch having spherical terminations is due, in my opinion, to a mis-translation.

In conclusion, I must return thanks for the vote of appreciation accorded to me and for the comments which the Brethren taking part in the discussion have made, all of which have, undoubtedly, added something to our knowledge of a rather obscure subject.





SUMMER OUTING, JULY 1920.

BRISTOL AND MALMESBURY.



THIS year's Outing, the first since the War, was in more than one respect unique. It was made the occasion for the performance of a programme of Masonic music, probably the most representative that has ever been brought together; the visitors witnessed an exemplification of Bristol working, which was for most of us a novel experience; and a new departure was made in that the last evening was devoted to a lantern lecture by a member of the Lodge. By a particularly happy coincidence our W.M. is a Bristol mason, and a member of the Robert Thorne Lodge, under whose banner we met on the Thursday evening; while Bro. Cecil Powell, the President of the Bristol Masonic Society for the year, is a P.M. of Quatuor Coronati. The kindness of our welcome can never be exceeded, and we felt it a particular distinction and compliment that the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Wor. Bro. E. H. Cook, not merely greeted us on the first evening, but was present at every gathering during the Outing.

THURSDAY, 15TH JULY.

Seventy-eight Brethren met at the Grand Hotel, most of whom had come down from London, and lunched on the train. A number of local Brethren belonging to the Outer Circle joined our party on arrival, and throughout our stay readily put their services at our disposal as cicerones, thus enabling us all to pass easily from each point of interest in the City to the next.

LIST OF VISITING BRETHREN.

F. J. Asbury, of London, P.Pr.G.D.C., Surrey; H. W. Barnes, of London, P.M., 1637; A. J. Bevan, of London, 1637; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; F. Boniface, of London, 2694; Herbert Bradley, of Bournemouth, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W., 2076; W. H. Brown, of London, Past Grand Steward; J. M. Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.W., North'd.; Guy Campbell, of London, P.M., 3339; C. Coles, of Port Elizabeth, P.M., 2886; G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Robert Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.; R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, 12; A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.D., W. Lancs.; E. H. Dring, of Sutton, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; C. D. Eaton, of Birmingham, P.G.St.B.; L. A. Engel, of London, L.R.; G. H. Fennell, of London, L.R.; S. J. Fenton, of Birmingham, 3232; David Flather, of Rotherham, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., W. Yorks; Edward T. Forster, of Stockton, P.M., 509;

G. H. Ganson, of London, 3071; Alfred Gates, of Sherborne, P.Pr.G.D., Dorset; J. T. Gaunt, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Durham; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; W. B. Hammond, of Birmingham, P.Pr.G.W., Worcester; Arthur Heiron, of London, P.M., 18; Gordon P. G. Hills, of Cookham, L.R., P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., 2076; R. H. Holme, of Newcastle, P.Pr.G.W., Northumberland; John Holt, of Yarm, P.Pr.G.D., Durham; P. H. Horley, of London, L.R.; R. J. Houlton, of London, P.M., 733; Henry Hyde, of London, L.R.; J. Inkster, of London, 2634; Thomas Jones, of Woodford, L.R.; H. C. Knowles, of London, P.A.G.Reg.; F. W. Le Tall, of London, P.M., 2913; H. McLachlan, of London, L.R.; J. R. McLaren, of London, P.M., 3156; H. T. Mainwaring, of Brenchley, P.M., 2660; W. L. Mildren, of Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.G.Sup.W., W. Lancs.; G. D. Mowbray, of Stockton, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Durham; C. A. Newman, of Oundle, 607; Dr. George Norman, of Bath, P.Pr.G.W., Somerset; Andrew Oliver, of London, 2416; James Parsons, of London, P.M., 2941; Percy Plowman, of London, P.M., 15; Henry Potter, of London, L.R.; Cecil Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; F. A. Powell, of London, P.G.St.B.; A. Presland, of London, 1637; S. W. Rodgers, of London, P.M., 15; W. H. Rushton, of Exmouth, 413; H. W. Sexton, of Norwich, P.Pr.G.Sup.W., Norfolk; H. C. Shellard, of Dublin, Asst.G.Sec., Ireland; B. A. Smith, of New Malden, 1962; W. H. Smith, of Ross, P.Pr.G.W., Hereford; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec., 2076; F. W. Spalding, of Norwich, P.Pr.G.W., Norfolk; J. W. Stevens, of London, A.G.Sup.W.; Major A. Sutherland, of London, P.Dis.G.W., Egypt and Soudan; F. G. Swinden, of Birmingham, P.A.G.D.C.; R. C. M. Symns, of Budleigh Salterton, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; E. Tappenden, of Hitchin, P.M., 901; S. Tappenden, of London, P.M., 901; W. C. Terry, of London, 1962; John Thompson, of London, L.R.; J. E. S. Tuckett, of Marlborough, P.Pr. G.R., Wiltshire, W.M., 2076; Percy Turner, of London, P.M., 2765; L. Vibert, of Bath, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, J.D., 2076; J. P. Watson, of London, P.Pr.G.S.B., Cumberland & Westmorland; W. Watson, of Ross, P.Pr.G.Pt., Hereford; E. H. Watts, of Newport, Mon., 683; Dr. C. Wells, of Maidenhead, P.G.D.; Com. E. Wildy, of London, P.Dep.G.S.B.; and G. C. Williams, of London, P.M., 25.

Also the following members of the C.C. resident in Bristol:—

L. C. Barker, Prov.Asst.G.Sec.; Col. T. M. Carter, P.Prov.G.St.B.; J. A. Coles; Dr. E. H. Cook, Depy.Prov.G.M., P.G.D.; Thomas Cox, P.Prov.G.D.C., Somerset; E. H. Desprez; W. N. Gilbert, P.Prov.S.G.D.; Meyrick W. Heath, P.Prov.S.G.W., Prov.G.Sec.; Hubert W. Hunt, P.G.Organist; G. Langford, P.Prov.G.Reg.; Chapman J. Middleton; H. Rogers, P.Prov.J.G.D.; S. V. Rolleston; J. Scholar, P.Prov.G.Reg.; W. S. Skinner, P.Prov.G.Sup.Wks.; A. L. Stanton; Lewis Stone; G. W. H. Tanner; W. K. Thomas, P.Prov.S.G.W.; A. J. Tonkin, P.Prov.S.G.D., Somerset; Dr. I. Walker Hall, P.Prov.G.D.; A. E. Wells, Prov.G.Swd.B.; and J. C. Wing.

After a brief interval, our first visit was paid to:—

THE COUNCIL HOUSE.

The Brethren were received at the Council House by Wor. Bro. A. C. S. Paul, P.Prov.S.G.W., Bristol, who, on behalf of Bro. the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, extended a hearty welcome to the ancient City. Bro. Paul explained that His Lordship was unavoidably absent, being engaged upon official business.

The first Mayor of Bristol was Adam le Page, who held office in 1217. The Council House was erected in 1704, but the greater part was demolished in 1827 and the present building erected to take its place. The magnificent Civic Regalia had been laid out for our inspection in the Great Council Chamber, and a most interesting Lecture describing the various objects was given by Bro. A. C. S. Paul, who is the Deputy City Treasurer. The following is a list of the Exhibits and a synopsis of the information given:—

Four Swords.

1. "Mourning Sword." 14th century. Probably obtained in 1373, when Edward III. conferred a new Charter upon the City. It has two shields side by side, one with the Royal Arms as borne by Edward III., "France ancient and England quarterly," the other with the Cross of St. George on a diapered field.

2. "Pearl Sword." Scabbard of Elizabethan date. Gift of Sir John de Wells grocer and Mayor of London in 1431.

3. "Lent Sword." About 1450 (Henry VII.). On side of pommel is engraved:
 "This sworde we did repaier
 Thomas Aldworth being Mayor."

The Scabbard decorations are of date 1594. Thomas Aldworth was Mayor in 1582-3. He was of the same family as the husband of the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth, the celebrated Lady Freemason.

4. Fourth Sword. 1752 Bought for £188. 16. 3.

Eight Silver Maces. Bought in 1722.

City Treasurer's Mace. Copper-gilt. 17th century.

Water Bailiff's Oar. Purchased in 1745. The City has Admiralty jurisdiction over the Avon and the Holmes.

Lord Mayor's Chain of Office. Gold. Bought in 1828 to replace an older chain, at a cost of £236. 16. 6.

Deputy Water Bailiff's Chain of Office. Silver. 1758.

Four Waits' Collars and Badges. On the backs are scratched or engraved names and dates of divers holders, the oldest being 1683. Shields and collars are of Queen Mary's time.

City Trumpeters' Instruments and Badges. Added to the Corporation in 1715.

Bason and Ewer, Hall-mark for 1595-6. During the Riots in Bristol in October, 1831, the rose water bason was stolen by James Ives, who cut it up into 167 pieces and offered them for sale to Mr. Williams, a Bristol silversmith. Ives was arrested and sentenced to 14 years transportation. All the pieces were recovered with the exception of two small bits, and they were riveted on to a silver plate. After completing his sentence Ives returned and asked to be shown the bason, when he expressed great admiration for the skill with which his own ravages had been repaired!

Grace Cup and Cover, date 1574. Silver-gilt, the gift of William Byrde. Belongs to the Charity known as "Queen Elizabeth's Hospital," founded by John Carr in 1586.

Two great silver-gilt Tankard Flagons. Amongst the finest specimens of these vessels in existence. Given by John Dodridge, Recorder of Bristol in 1658.

At the conclusion of Bro. Paul's lecture, the W.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge expressed the thanks of the Brethren for the cordial welcome extended to them by the Lord Mayor, and to Bro. Paul for the admirable lecture to which they had just listened. To this Bro. Paul replied, and the Brethren were then allowed the privilege of a closer inspection of the Swords and other exhibits and also of the famous collection of Portraits and ancient MS. Charters and Records.

BRISTOL AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

He who would see Bristol aright, should always have in mind the wealth of romance entwined in its long and varied history. Perhaps there is no spot within its boundaries where we may feel that the past and present are meeting around us more clearly than the outside of the Cathedral. There, standing with our backs to the sacred edifice with its Norman associations, we can observe the busy stream of modern traffic, which connects the city with its beautiful suburb of Clifton by the steep, but stately, approach of Park Street.

The Cathedral was one of the six new ones constituted by Henry VIII. out of the revenues of the dissolved Religious Houses, its Charter being dated 1542. Previously Bristol had formed part of the large diocese of Worcester, but then gave its name to the one newly established (which originally included Dorsetshire). Thus also it became a city. It had been made a county of itself by Edward III. in 1373, on the petition of the Mayor and Commonalty, who set forth "the great inconvenience which they often sustained by being forced to travel to Gloucester and Ilchester through deep and

dangerous roads for the purpose of attending the county courts and on other legal occasions." ¹ Bristol was to have "the usual officers of a county, Sheriff, Eschaetor, and Coroner; that is, the Mayor was to be its Eschaetor; the Sheriff was created anew; and a Coroner was there already; and the two Bailiffs were left as before." ¹ One of the reasons influencing the king to grant the charter was that, in consequence of heavy losses lately sustained in his wars in France, he was sorely in need of money, and was glad to receive the sum of 600 marks paid by the inhabitants of the town. The dignity and title of Lord Mayor was conferred upon Bristol's Chief Magistrate on the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday in 1899, and the office of Sheriff still continues.

It should perhaps be explained that the River Avon from some little way above Bristol to its mouth was the boundary between Gloucestershire and Somerset, and Bristol Bridge connected the two counties. Formerly the water at the quays rose and fell with the tide, and the smaller ships used to lie at low water upon the mud, being, of course, constructed to bear the strain. At one time the Corporation allowed no vessels of more than 100 tons to come up further than Hunroad, a mile from the Bristol Channel, and often they were unloaded at the excellent anchorage at Kingroad, at the mouth of the river. Early in the nineteenth century the Avon was diverted through what is termed the "New Cut," and its old course has been dockised under the name of the "Floating Harbour," and hence shipping is seen right in the middle of the city.

The situation of Bristol in ancient times was a very strong one, for it lay at the angle formed by the tributary river Frome when joining the Avon. At the base of the triangle a formidable castle was built, which bore no small part in the history of the country. In 1247 a great improvement was carried out in the port by the excavation of a new channel for the Frome, (which rises near Tewkesbury and approaches Bristol from the East), through land purchased from the Monastery of St. Augustine and still called "Canons' Marsh." This must have been a remarkable feat of engineering at that time, and it resulted in many additional acres being enclosed within the defences of the town. Nowadays the principal work of the port is done at Avonmouth, which, as its name implies, is situate at the mouth of the river, about six miles from the city. The Corporation of Bristol have spent upwards of £7,000,000, and possess very fine docks there. It has been a cause of great satisfaction to the citizens that they possessed a property which proved of immense service to the country during the War. Very large quantities of stores and equipment of all kinds, including many Tanks, were shipped at Avonmouth for France.

Bristol continued to be a Bishopric from 1542 until 1836, when a change was made in the arrangement of the See, and the city became part of the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. After an Act of Parliament had been passed for the purpose in 1896, Bristol again became a Bishopric, included within which is the northern portion of Wiltshire. The Brethren in going to Malmesbury were thus visiting a detached part of the diocese of Bristol. The first Bishop under the new scheme was Dr. George Forrest Browne, still happily wonderfully vigorous, the author of a most interesting life of St. Aldhelm of Malmesbury. The present Bishop, Bro. Dr. George Nickson, is now (in 1921) the Senior Warden of the Jerusalem Lodge, No. 686.

THE CATHEDRAL.

Until its constitution as the Cathedral Church of the diocese in 1542, the building had been the Minster of the Monastery of the Black Canons of St. Augustine, which was founded in 1142 by Robert Fitzharding. Robert was the son of Harding, who was said by some chroniclers to have been the son, or, at least a descendant, of a Danish king, and held the office of Præpositus of Bristol in the time of Edward the Confessor and afterwards under the Normans. The Saxon lord of the Honour of Gloucester, of which Bristol formed a part, was Brictric, and Harding probably governed that portion of his possessions as his representative. The story goes that when Brictric, who was a nobleman of great wealth and consequence, was sent on an embassy by King Edward to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, unfortunately for him, the Earl's daughter, Matilda, fell in love with him, and he did not return her affection. Afterwards she married William of Normandy, and, when the opportunity came, and she found herself Queen of England, she induced her husband to give Brictric and all his possessions into her hand. He was accordingly seized, and died a prisoner at Winchester, while she had his lands. In later years Bristol was in the dower of the Queens of England. The representation of the head of one of them, Philippa, wife of Edward III., who was well and deservedly loved

¹ Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*.

by the Bristol people, appears in at least three of the churches in the neighbourhood.

Robert Fitzharding was an ancestor of the great family of Berkeley, and was granted the castle of that name. He was entrusted by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, with the care of Henry II. in his boyhood for four years, placing him under one Matthews, a schoolmaster, "to be instructed and trained up in civil behaviour." This Earl of Gloucester, who was the illegitimate son of Henry I., was the most illustrious Englishman of his age, and the principal champion of Matilda in her wars with King Stephen. Both he and the King having been taken prisoner by the opposing parties, an exchange of the one for the other was made. He was one of the builders of Bristol Castle and the founder of the Benedictine Priory of St. James, as well as the patron of the Knights Templar in the town. Henry II. thus lived for some time in Bristol, and afterwards showed much consideration for the place, for on his return from his successful campaign in Ireland, he presented Dublin to the townsmen. According to an inscription carved upon the beautiful old Norman Gateway standing at the West of the Cathedral, the King was jointly founder of the Monastery with Fitzharding; but this is in a part which has evidently been added some two or three centuries after his time, and the truth of the statement is doubtful.

The extent of the buildings belonging to the Monastery was large, but much of them is in ruins or has disappeared. The portion of the Cathedral West of the Transepts was built about fifty years ago. There had been a nave in former days, and its foundations have been discovered, but for several centuries there had been none. A good deal of restoration has been carried out in the Choir with excellent effect. The chief peculiarity of the Cathedral is the uniformity of the height of the vaulting, both in the centre and side aisles, although there is considerable difference in the style of construction. The East window is of striking design, the subject being the "Stem of Jesse." Part of the glass is ancient, but some modern pieces had to be used to replace breakage. The Elder Lady Chapel is of a beautiful character. The principal remains of Fitzharding's work are the Chapter House with its notable Norman ornament and its vestibule, the great gateway, and the entrance to the Abbot's lodging in the Lower Green.

The Monastery of Bristol might, but for the timidity of those in authority, have become far richer and more important than it did. When Edward II. had been foully done to death in Berkeley Castle, the Abbot of Bristol, as well as those of Malmesbury and Kingswood, refused, through fear of Queen Isabella and her party, the request to give him sepulture within their churches. The Abbot of Gloucester, on the other hand, received the remains with every honour, and his minster became a popular shrine for pilgrims.

It may be remarked that the members of the Beaufort Lodge, No. 103, celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation (in 1908) by attending a Masonic service in the Cathedral, and by defraying the cost of opening up the entrance from the North Transept to the "Newton Chapel" there. In July, 1919, the Brethren of the Province in large numbers assembled in the Cathedral for a most impressive Service of Thanksgiving for Peace.

THE MERCHANT VENTURERS.

The most glorious page of Bristol's history is her share in building up our great Empire. In this there is a particular connection with the Cathedral, for it was through the preaching within its walls of Richard Hakluyt, (1552-1616), one of its Prebendaries, (now called Canons Residentiary), that the merchants of Bristol were moved to despatch expeditions of discovery. As one result of his exhortation, Martin Pring was sent out with the *Speedwell*, 50 tons, and the *Discovery*, 20 tons, to explore the coast of America, north of Virginia. He discovered the shore of Massachusetts, and named one part "Whitson," in honour of the leading Bristolian of his day. This, being the landing place of the Pilgrim Fathers, was afterwards named "New Plymouth." Long before Hakluyt's time, of course, Cabot, sailing from Bristol in the *Matthew*, discovered the continent of America in 1497. In 1610, John Guy, a Bristolian, was sent out with a party to colonize Newfoundland, now the oldest part of the Empire Overseas, as its first Governor.

There had been a Guild of Merchants in Bristol for a very long while, and in 1551 Edward VI. granted a charter to them under the name of the Society of Merchant Venturers. This, the only surviving Bristol Guild, is held in high appreciation in the city. For its original work there is now no need, but its members devote their energies to helping education, especially technical, and other good causes. The old race of

merchantsmen who traded with their own vessels, chiefly (in the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries) to the West Coast of Africa—has disappeared from the port. At one time the sea called those who, besides loving adventure, were prepared to fight at any time for the honour of their country and the defence of their religion, and many a captain came back to Bristol with rich spoils from the Spanish Main. Later on “the triangular voyage,” as it was termed, which usually occupied about a year, was popular. On this, goods were carried for barter to Africa, slaves from thence to the West Indies, and then sugar and other tropical productions brought home. This, in course of time, changed to a less reprehensible form of commerce. One other notable achievement was accomplished in the port, when, in 1842, the *Great Western* was sent to New York, being the first steamship to cross from England to America. Tradition says that Defoe learnt the story which he told so well as “Robinson Crusoe” from Alexander Selkirk, (who had been rescued from Juan Fernandez in 1709 by Woodes Rogers, a famous privateering captain of Bristol), at the “Cock and Bottle” Tavern in Castle Green.

THE VISIT TO THE CATHEDRAL.

The Brethren had the advantage of the guidance of Canon J. G. Alford, C.B.E., and the Ven. Dr. Talbot, Archdeacon of Swindon, who showed them round the Cathedral and its precincts and pointed out the various features of interest. At the conclusion of the visit, the W.M., in a short speech, proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Canon Alford and Dr. Talbot for their great kindness.

COLLEGE GREEN.

College Green, on the North of the Cathedral, is still much the same as it was when it belonged to the Black Canons. In those days, however, it must have been a quiet place, far from the haunts of men, with green hills behind it. The Manor of Billeswick,—that is, Bella Vica,—in which it stood, must then have been a beautiful neighbourhood.

There is a story of one of the Abbots, who delighted to rest his ample form beneath a certain tree on the Green, that, when he died, his brethren buried him in his favourite spot, and thereafter that tree, seeming to renew its strength, became finer and taller than any of its fellows.

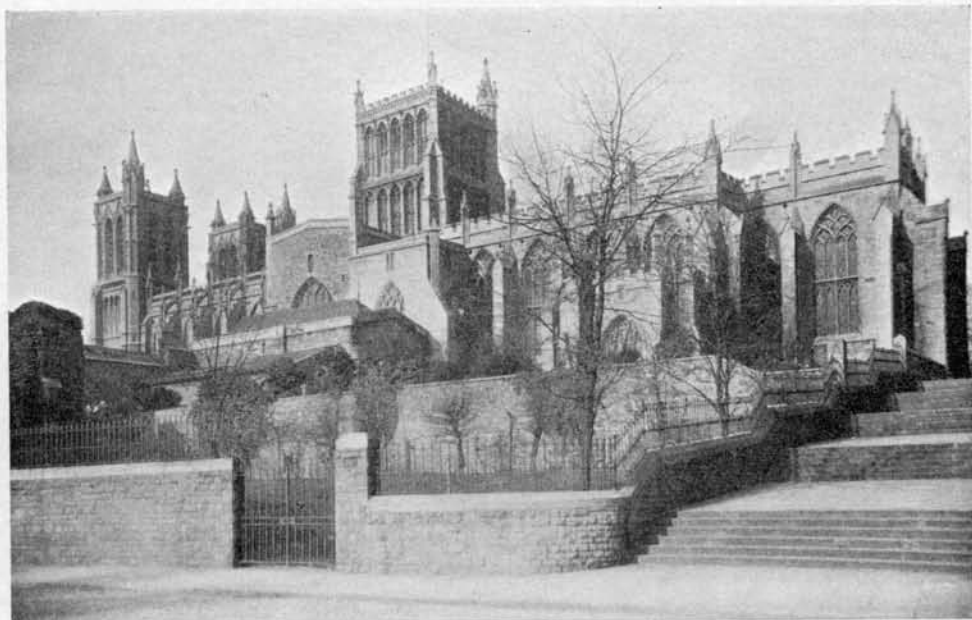
In 1486 the College Green was the scene of a stately ceremonial, which is thus described by Ieland:—“King Henry VII. was received with due procession by the Abbot and his convent within the walls of St. Augustine's Church, and on the morrow, when the king had dined, he rode on pilgrimage to St. Anne's in the Wood. And on Thursday next following, which was Corpus Christi Day, the king went in procession about the Great Green, then called the Sanctuary, whither came all the processions of the town also; and the Bishop of Worcester preached in the pulpit in the middle of the aforesaid green, in a great audience of the mayor and the substance of all the burgesses of the town and their wives, with much other people of the country. After evening the king sent for the mayor and sheriff, and part of the best burgesses of the town, and demanded of them the cause of their poverty, and they shewed his grace that it was by reason of the great loss of ships and goods, which they had suffered within five years. The king comforted them that they should set on and make new ships, and exercise their merchandise as they were wont to do, and his grace would so help them by divers means, like as he shewed unto them, so that the mayor of the town told me they had not heard these hundred years from any king so good a comfort, therefore they thanked Almighty God that had sent so good and so gracious a sovereign lord. And on the morn the king departed to London ward.”

[This occurred only a few months after Henry had won his crown on Bosworth Field, and when his throne may have appeared none too safe.]

The King paid another visit to Bristol four years later, but was then in another frame of mind; for he exacted a benevolence from the town and made “every man who was worth £200 pay 20s. because men's wives went so sumptuously appareled.”

THE CIVIC CROSS.

The cross in the middle of College Green is a replica of the “High Cross” which formerly stood at the spot, (still the centre of the modern city), where the four principal thoroughfares, (namely, Broad, High, Wine and Corn Streets), meet. It is said to have



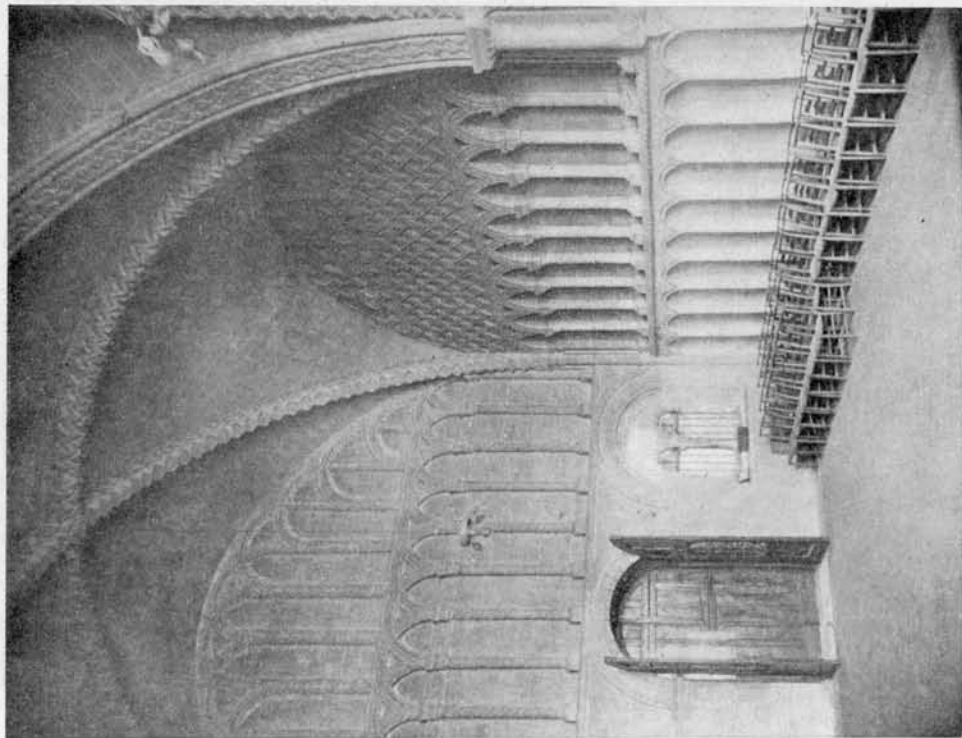
A. C. Powell.

Bristol Cathedral from the South-East.

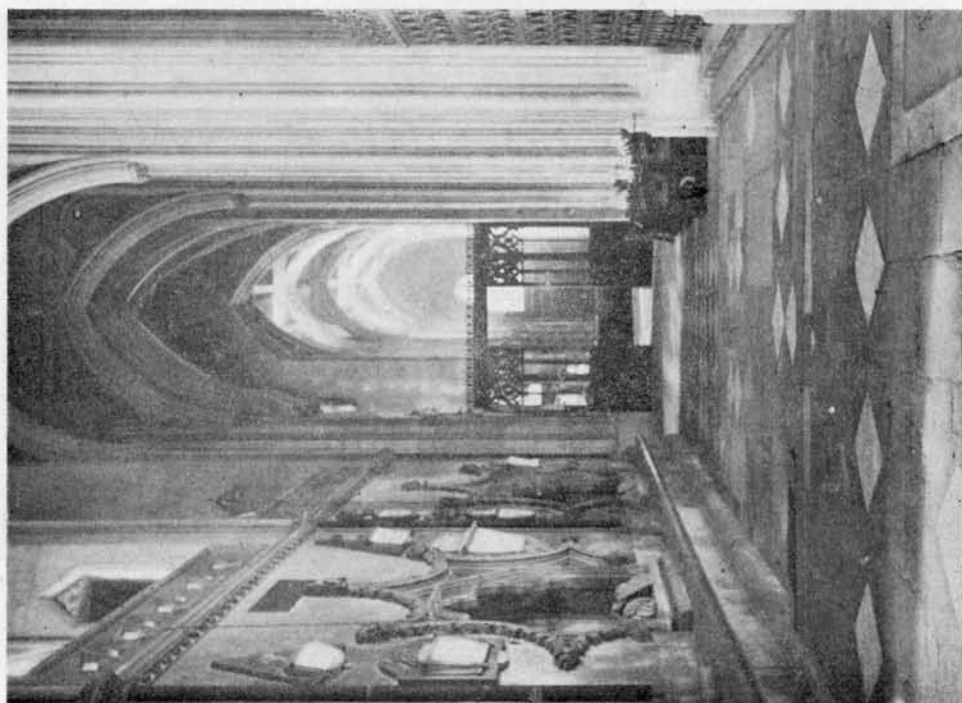


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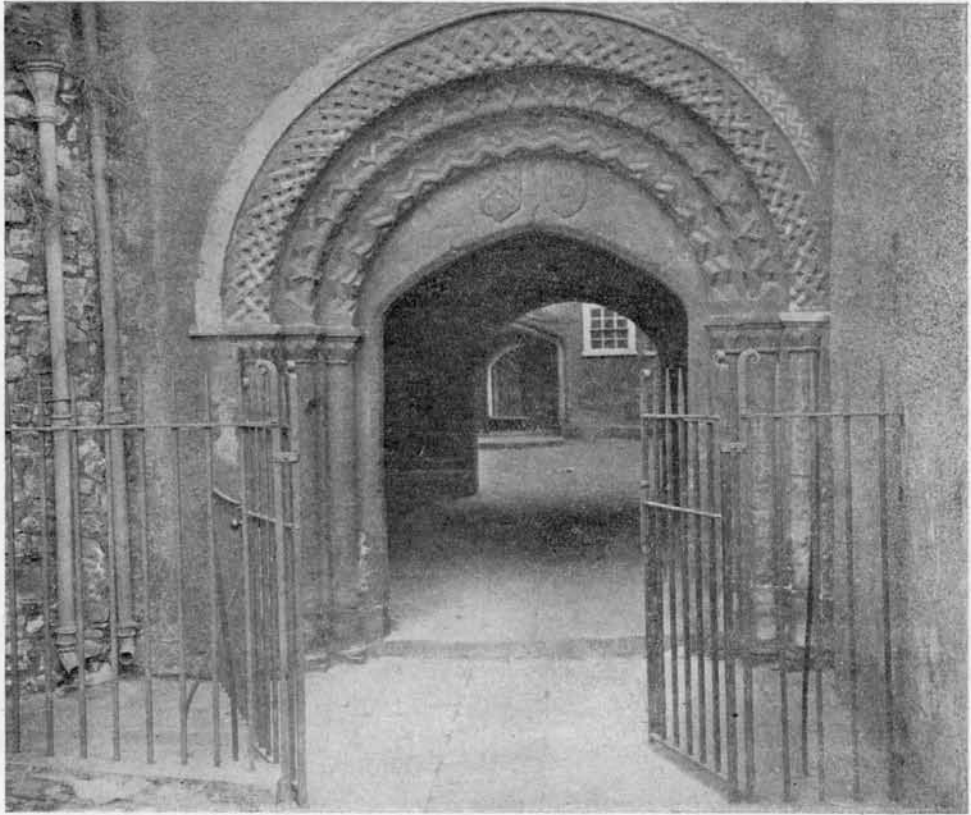
Bristol Cathedral from College Green.
Shewing the Civic Cross.



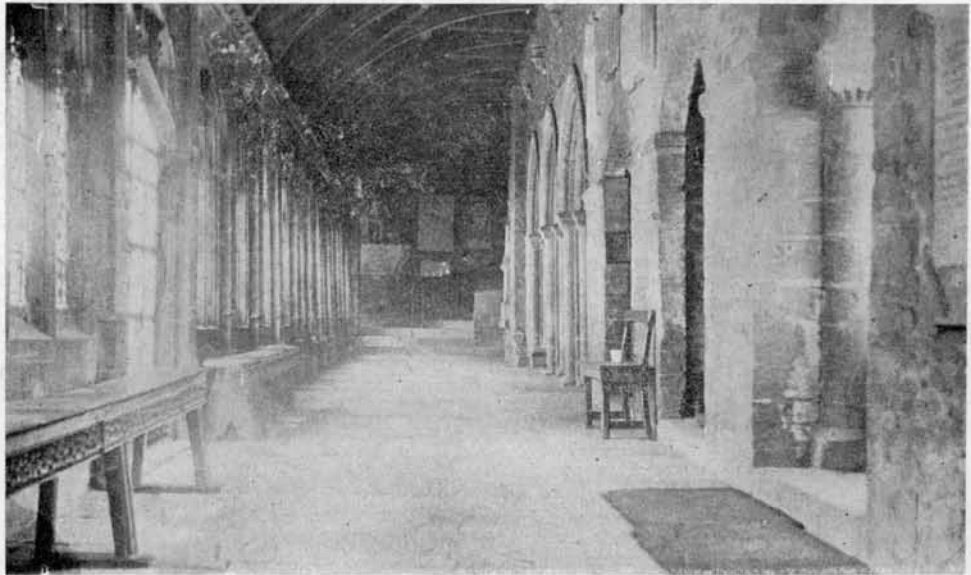
A. C. Powell. The Chapter House.



A. C. Powell. Shewing also examples of the Decorated Tombs in the Wall. Bristol Cathedral.



A. C. Powell. Entrance to the Abbot's Lodging. Bristol Cathedral.



J. F. H. Gilbard. The Cloisters. Bristol Cathedral.



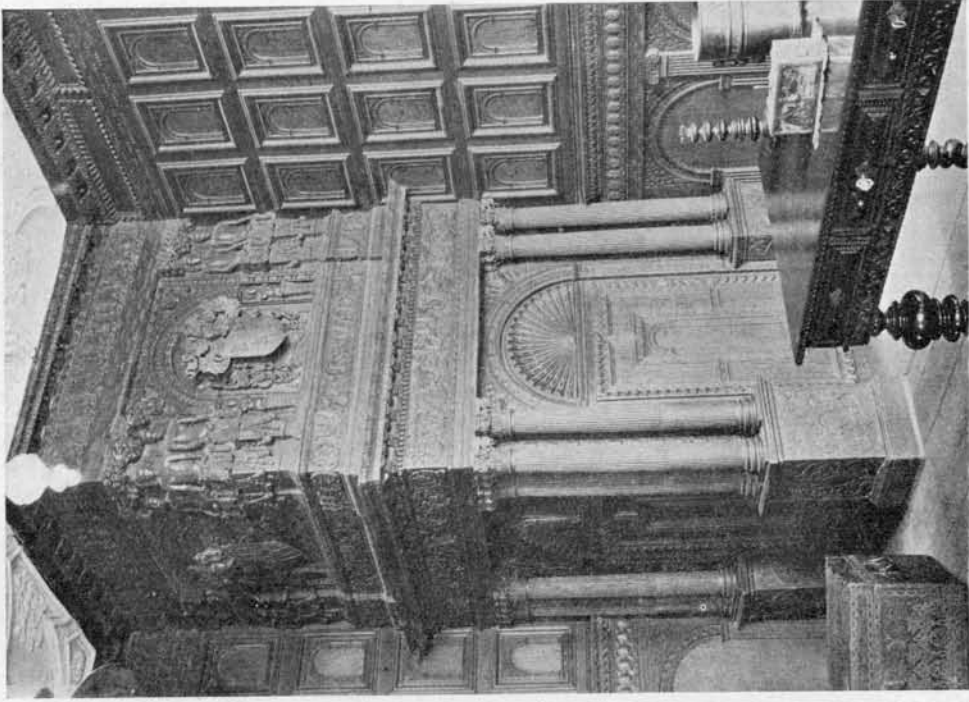
A. C. Powell.

Fireplace at the Red Lodge.

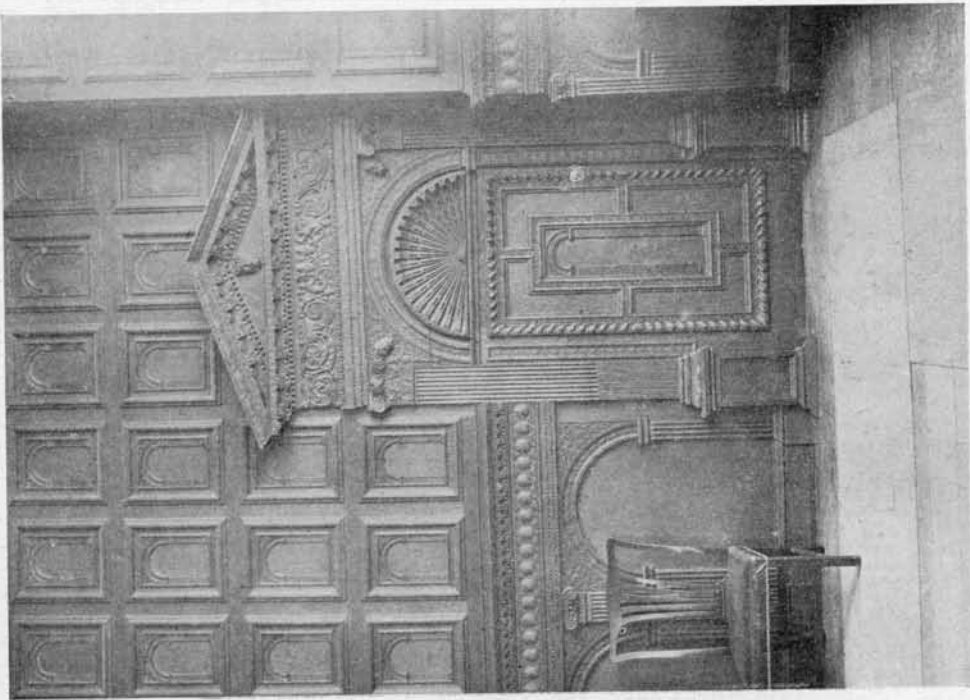


Coates & Co.

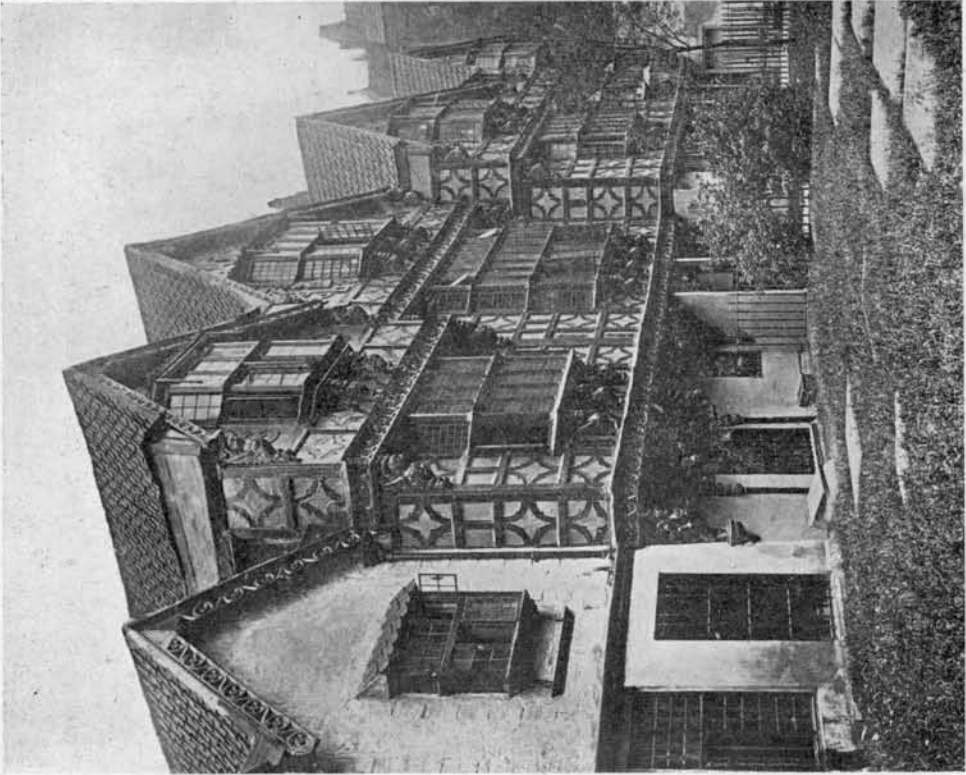
The Freemasons' Hall, Park Street, Bristol.



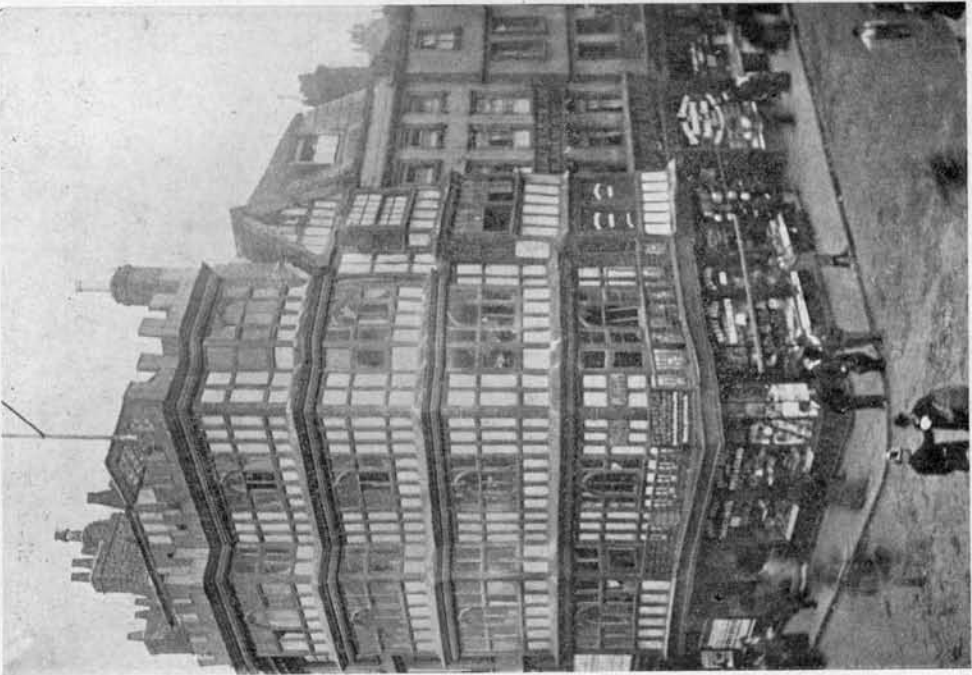
A. C. Powell.
At the Red Lodge.



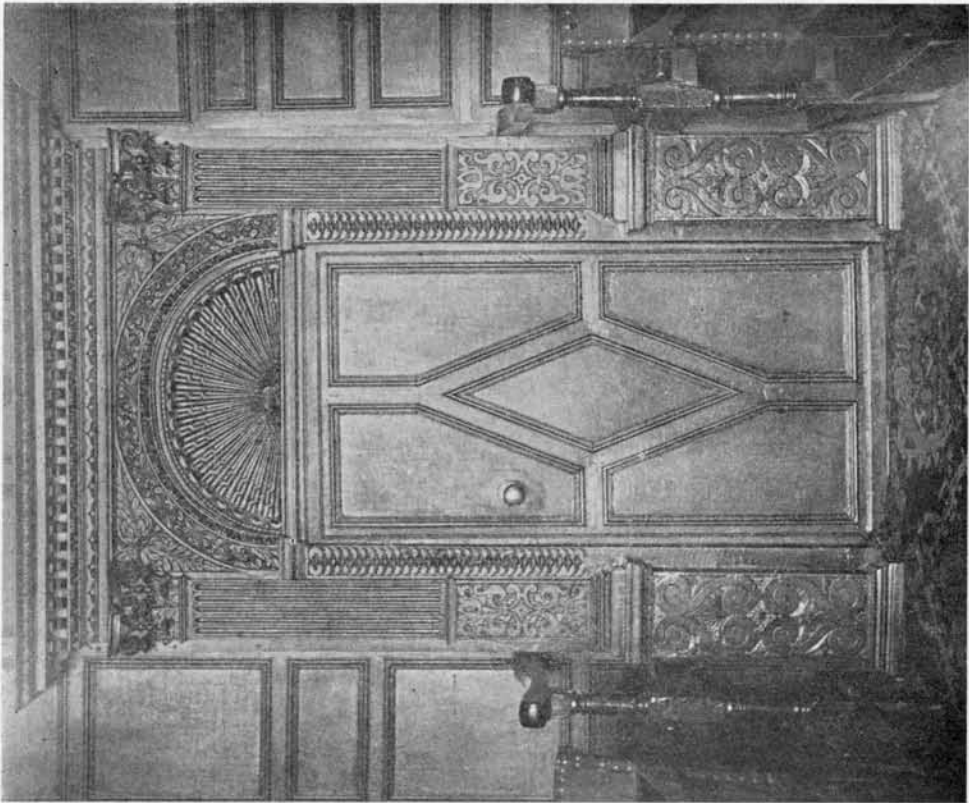
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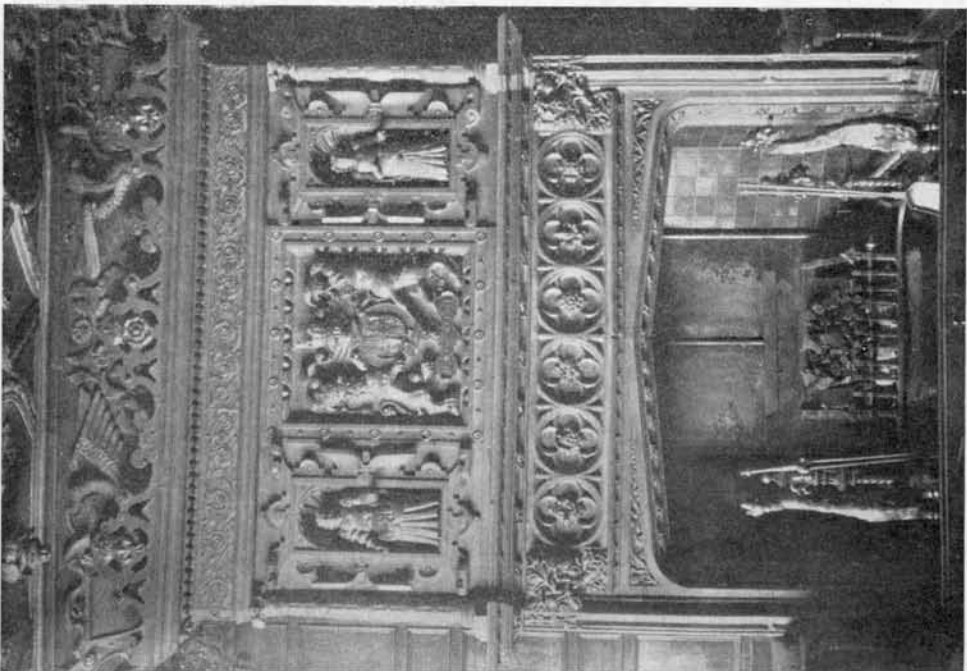
Coates & Co. St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol.



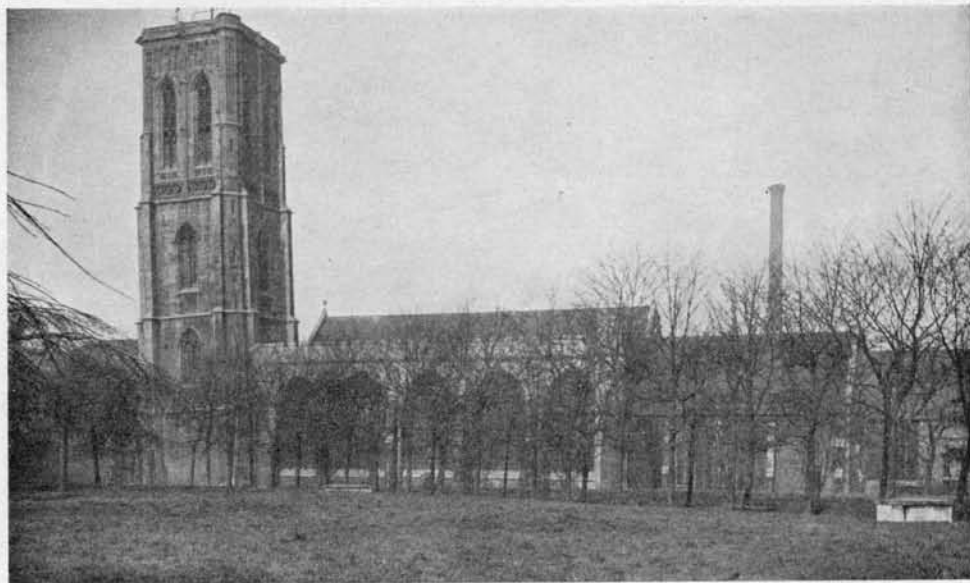
A. C. Powell. The Dutch House, Bristol.



A. C. Powell. Door (in Black Oak).
In the Old Court-room of St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol.

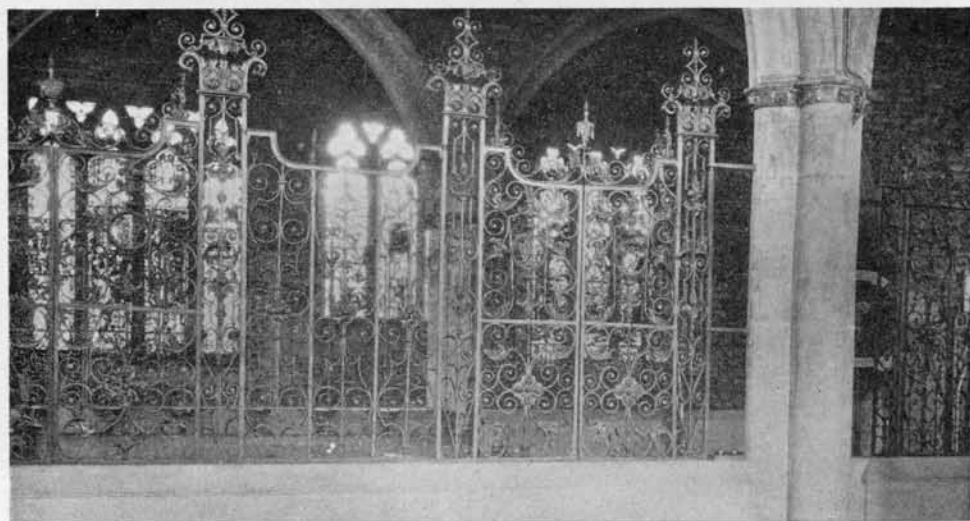


A. C. Powell. Fire Place
In the Old Court-room of St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol.



A. C. Powell.

Temple (or Holy Cross) Church, Bristol.



A. C. Powell.

Iron Screen in Temple Church.

been erected, out of gratitude, by the burgesses to commemorate the granting by Edward III. of the charter constituting Bristol a county. At one time it was painted, the colours being vermilion and blue picked out with gold. So lavish was the adornment that, according to the taste prevailing, it was claimed no cross in the country could rival it for beauty.

In 1733 a silversmith, living in the half-timbered "Dutch House," (which is stated by tradition to have been constructed in Holland and then brought to Bristol in 1676 and set up in its present position), close by, complained that his life and dwelling were in danger with every high wind through the swaying of the cross, and it was consequently taken down. Later on it was erected in College Green, but in 1768 it was moved to Stourhead, in Wiltshire, where it still exists.

The present structure was first erected at the river-end of the Green, the foundation-stone being laid by the Mayor, with the assistance of the Brethren of the Province. In 1888 it was, however, removed to its present position in the middle of the Green, to make way for the statue of Queen Victoria.

THE RED LODGE.

There was a Broder of Orderys Whyte,
 Hee songe hys masses yn the nyghte;
 Ave Maria, Jesu Maria.
 The nounes al slepeynge yn the Dorture,
 Thoughte hym of al syngeynge Freeres the Flowre,
 Ave Maria, Jesu Maria. *Chatterton.*

After leaving the Cathedral, the Brethren visited the Red Lodge, which stands upon part of the site of the extensive garden of the Carmelite Friary (founded in 1267). Climbing the somewhat steep hill on a hot day, we can well imagine how excellently it was placed, with its Southern aspect, for producing goodly crops of fruit and vegetables—and, perchance, "precious-juiced flowers." Leland says, "the White Freres places ys very fair," their house being situated where the Colston Hall (the principal place of meeting in the city) is now, that is to say, rather below the Red Lodge. The site of the Convent was purchased at the Dissolution by the Corporation, but was afterwards acquired by Sir John Young, a prominent Bristolian, who built the "Great House" where it stood, and also (in 1590) the Red Lodge—as, it is supposed, a summer residence. In the "Great House" he entertained Queen Elizabeth in 1574.

In 1854 the Red Lodge was bought by Lady Byron, the widow of the poet, for the purpose of a reformatory for girls. This was placed under the management of Miss Mary Carpenter, a notable Bristol philanthropist. The work was carried on there for more than half a century, but was given up in 1919. Hearing through Mr. Pritchard that the house was for sale, Bro. Alderman Fuller Eberle, to whom numberless good and kindly deeds are due, succeeded in engaging sufficient interest for its purchase and presentation to the city of Bristol. Its care has been entrusted to the "Bristol Savages," and in their hands everything will be done to preserve it in the best of order for the admiration and delight of the citizens. The Brethren of No. 2076 were amongst the earliest visitors after the completion of the necessary overhauling. The rooms of the Red Lodge are splendid specimens of Elizabethan design. The carving upon the walls, and especially upon the beautiful entrance to the principal apartment, and the fire-places, are particularly fine.

The Brethren were received most kindly by the President of the Savages, Mr. C. W. Thomas, who is, by the way, one of the most talented as well as most popular of Bristolians, and a nephew of our genial Bro. W. K. Thomas.

After the sumptuous tea provided had been thoroughly enjoyed, the President, wearing his chain of office, expressed his pleasure at the visit of the Brethren in a delightfully humorous speech, and the reply was entrusted by the W.M. to Bro. E. H. Dring. Bro. Fuller Eberle and many other prominent "Savages" were present, and also Mr. J. E. Pritchard, lately President of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, to whom we are indebted for many valuable suggestions in framing the programme of the "Outing." These gentlemen kindly acted as guides, and gave a most interesting account of the beautiful old mansion and its contents.

THE WALLS OF ANCIENT BRISTOL.

On their return to the Grand Hotel, in Broad Street, the Brethren passed down the curious Christmas Steps¹ and through St. John's arch, formerly a gate of the city, and the only one now remaining. The line of the ancient walls can easily be observed just inside. To the left there used to stand the Frome Gate, celebrated for its defence against Prince Rupert in 1643 by women of Bristol.

At the end of High Street another church, 'St. Nicholas,' was over another gate of the city, but it was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. Every night at nine o'clock can be heard from its steeple the bell telling the hour, the number of the day in the month, of the month in the year, and the year in the century. There is a story that money was left for this purpose long ago by a man who had lost his way in the country then dangerous for benighted travellers. Hearing the bell of St. Nicholas he was able to direct his course to safety. This custom was said to have been never relaxed until the late War. Even when, a few years ago, owing to repairs, the usual bell could not be rung, some young men used to go up into the steeple each evening with hand bells.

THE MASONIC PROVINCE OF BRISTOL.

The first country Lodges to be mentioned in the Engraved Lists are six which appear in that of 1725. No. 29 met at the *Nag's Head*, (in Wine Street), Bristol; but it is probable it was working for some time before it was recognized by the Grand Lodge—on March 27th, 1724, if that date is intended to refer to the Nag's Head Lodge, which was erased in 1736. Other Lodges were formed later on, some to exist only a short time. In 1784, Brother Thomas Dunckerley was appointed Provincial Grand Master of both Somerset and Gloucestershire (as well as other Provinces). At that time the Six Lodges comprising the Province of Gloucestershire were then all situate in Bristol. In the following year he founded a Lodge at Gloucester, and in 1786 Bristol was constituted a Province of itself at his request. The Royal Gloucester Lodge and the Provincial G. Lodge of Gloucestershire were then one and the same thing. The services to the Order performed by Bro. Dunckerley were invaluable, and highly appreciated. He was also Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch, and at the request of the Knights Templar of the city he accepted the office of Grand Master of that Order of Masonry and thereupon constituted and organized the Grand Conclave (predecessor of the Great Priory) in London.

After Bro. Dunckerley's death, in 1795, the Province passed through a difficult period, but for the last hundred years its history has been prosperous and happy. Indeed, enjoying such favourable conditions, it would be sad if its Brethren could not dwell together in unity. It has been particularly fortunate also in the succession of wise rulers, who have guided its course faithfully and well.

FREEMASONS' HALL IN BRIDGE STREET.

The most important and beneficial change ever made in the Province was the removal of its Lodges from various taverns to meet in a Hall of their own.

The history of Freemasonry in Bristol might very well be divided into two periods, namely, that in which the Lodges met in taverns, and subsequently, when the Province has possessed a Hall of its own.

Efforts were first made in 1812 to procure a building for Masonic purpose, and a house on the Broad Quay was fitted up accordingly, but after a very short time the lease had unfortunately to be given up. Premises were then purchased in Bridge Street, and prepared and decorated under the direction of Bro. Henry Smith, the D.P.G.M., an amateur artist of great taste and skill. An unusual, but convenient, custom, which seems to have originated in the limited accommodation in Bridge Street, is still observed in the Province. As there was no place in the building outside the Lodge-room large enough to take the greater portion of the Brethren at the installation of a Master, those who had attained to that position retired with him to the small "Gothic" or "Templar" Chapel (the furniture of which may be seen in the present "Chapel").

On May 1st, 1818, the Hall was dedicated. "On the previous evening," wrote Bro. Henry Smith, "the Creation was performed by forty performers in the Great Hall at which the ('Provincial') Grand Lodge and Brethren appeared in full costume, and attended by his worship the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and about Two Hundred Ladies and Gentlemen of the first respectability."

¹ They probably noticed the quaint inscription: "This Streete was stepped done & finished September 1669."

It must have been difficult to seat so many in the room, which only measured 33½ft. by 26½ft., although possibly the performers were placed in the organ-gallery. Besides Haydn's "Creation," Bro. Percival's "Masonic Ode" was performed, and the latter was repeated at the consecration next day.

An organ with twelve stops (which had cost £300 when built by Brice Seede for George Daubeny, M.P., in 1763) was purchased for the Hall in Bridge Street for forty guineas, and the sum of £30 was spent in putting it into proper order.

FREEMASONS' HALL IN PARK STREET.

The house in Bridge Street was the Masonic home of the Bristol Lodges for more than half a century; but at length it was found to be too small for the requirements of the Province. For several years the Brethren had been considering how best to procure improved accommodation, and eventually bought a piece of ground to build on. Just afterwards the premises of the "Bristol Institution for the advancement of Science and Art" came into the market, owing to removal, and were purchased by the D.P.G.M., Bro. W. A. F. Powell. His action was entirely approved by the Province, and the new "Freemasons' Hall," as it then became, was dedicated by Lord Limerick, the Provincial Grand Master, on February 2nd, 1872, "about 400 Brethren" being said to have been present.

The building had been erected by public-spirited Bristolians for the purposes of a museum, exhibitions of Art, and lectures upon science and other intellectual subjects, and was opened in 1823. There was a Library, and the greater portion of the space now flooded over and occupied as the dining-room, was the lecture theatre. Many of the leading scientific men of their day have addressed audiences there, and some important discoveries have been communicated to the world from this place. The upper storey, including the present Lodge-room, was used for exhibitions of fossils, objects of interest in geology and natural history, and sometimes of pictures. Over the entrance, beneath the portico, is an allegorical frieze,¹ representing the Arts and Sciences and Literature being introduced to the City of Bristol by Apollo and Minerva. This was the work of Bro. E. H. Baily, R.A., F.R.S., the eminent sculptor, who was born in Bristol in 1788, and was presented by him. His beautiful statue, "Eve at the Fountain," now in the Art Gallery, was formerly placed in the building. Brethren will recollect his statue of the Duke of Sussex at the Freemasons' Hall in London. He was also the sculptor of the figure of Nelson in Trafalgar Square.

The decorations on the ceiling above the stair-case, depicting four Cardinal Virtues, were brought from Bridge Street. They were designed by Bro. Edward Bird, R.A., a member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, and painted upon floor-cloth. The circular centre-piece, representing the "Copernican Solar System," was too much injured by smoke to be removed.

The premises in Park Street have proved highly convenient, but, owing to the expansion of the Order, they are scarcely capable of fulfilling all the demands of to-day. Fortunately it was found possible in 1919 to acquire the adjoining house, and it is intended to make another Lodge-room, with a complete set of subsidiary rooms there, as soon as building operations are again allowed. It will still be practically possible for the chief characteristic of Bristol Masonry to be preserved, and for the whole Province to continue to meet under one roof.

The organ, which was formerly in Bridge Street, was enlarged and improved in 1915. At the "opening" by Bro. Hunt, occasion was taken to make a presentation to Bro. R. G. Parminter, P.M., 1388, P.Prov.G. Organist, who had then held the position of organist to the Governors of the Freemasons' Hall for thirty-three years, and is still happily continuing.

At present there are fifteen Craft Lodges in the Province, living harmoniously under the genial rule of R.W. Bro. George A. Gibbs, M.P., who has been Provincial Grand Master since 1909, and his esteemed Deputy, Bro. Dr. E. H. Cook, P.G.D. There are also in Bristol five Royal Arch Chapters, three Mark and one Royal Ark Mariner Lodges, and a Royal Arch and a Mark Province. Bristol is the home of the "Camp of Baldwyn," which includes the Knight Templar Preceptory, and the Rose Croix Chapter of that name. The Preceptory, together with the Coteswold Preceptory of St. Augustine, at Cheltenham, forms the Provincial Priory of Bristol and Gloucestershire, while the Rose Croix Chapter constitutes, by the terms of the "Treaty" of 1881, a "District" under the Supreme Council, 33°.

¹ Illustrated at the beginning of this account of the Summer Outing.

THURSDAY EVENING.

In the evening a Special Emergency Meeting of the Robert Thorne Lodge, No. 3663, was held at the Freemasons' Hall in Park Street, in honour of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Robert Thorne (son of Robert Thorne who is said to have fitted out the good ship *Matthew* in which Cabot sailed from Bristol and discovered North America) was born in 1492 and served the office of Mayor in 1515. He was elected M.P. for the City in 1523. He founded the Bristol Grammar School, under Letters Patent from King Henry VIII. under the Great Seal of England dated 17th day of March, 1532, bequeathing for that purpose the dissolved Priory of Saint Bartholomew. Here the School was carried on until about the year 1769, when an Act was passed "to enable the Corporation of the City of Bristol to exchange the building of the Hospital, called Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, for the building called St. Bartholomew's in the said City &c." Under this Act the two Schools, the Grammar School and the Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, exchanged homes, and the former entered into possession of the more commodious buildings erected in 1702 behind the Church known as St. Mark's of the Gaunts (the Lord Mayor's Chapel) in College Green. The Grammar School was again moved in 1879 to the magnificent new buildings in Tyndall's Park. The present Headmaster is Bro. J. E. Barton, M.A., of the Robert Thorne Lodge. Among the alumni of the School may be mentioned William Henry Goldwyer, who entered it on 29th June, 1771. He was born in 1763 and died in 1820. He was a distinguished physician and surgeon and particularly successful as an oculist. He was the Founder and first Honorary Surgeon of the famous Bristol Eye Hospital (1812), and in gratitude for his services he was presented with the Freedom of the City. He was one of the most prominent Freemasons in the West of England, and ruled the Province of Bristol from 1808, and the Camp of Baldwyn from 1810, until his death.

The Robert Thorne Lodge, No. 3663, was founded by eighteen Old Boys of the Bristol Grammar School by warrant dated 16th April, 1913, and the Consecration took place on 14th June following. There are now 64 members, all Old Boys, Masters, or Governors of the School.

By kind permission of the W.M. of the Lodge the visitors were seated before the commencement of the proceedings and so they were enabled to witness the Opening Ceremony according to Bristol Working. There were 41 members of the Lodge present, and 159 visitors, including our party, so that after the entry of Provincial Grand Lodge the magnificent Lodge Room, one of the finest in the kingdom, was exactly filled. But there was no overcrowding, and the perfection of the arrangements throughout was the subject of universal admiration. The Lodge was opened in due form at 7.50 p.m. with the following Officers:—

W.M.	Bro. G. S. Pakeman, P.Prov.G.Purst.
I.P.M.	„ R. J. Culverwell, P.Prov.G.A.D.C.
S.W.	„ C. W. Stear, P.Prov.G.Org.
J.W.	„ J. S. Edbrooke
Treas.	„ H. W. S. Neville, P.Prov.J.G.W.
Secy.	„ G. Langford, P.Prov.G.Reg.
D.C.	„ T. Goulding, P.Prov.G.Sw.B.
S.D.	„ R. H. Price
J.D.	„ F. J. Langford
A.D.C.	„ W. Hunter
Org.	„ R. G. Parminter, P.Prov.G.Org.
I.G.	„ H. E. B. Harris

After the visiting G.L. Officers had been saluted in due form, the Wor. Dep.Prov.G.M., Bristol, Dr. E. H. Cook, P.G.D., Eng., attended by the Officers of Prov.G.L., was announced, and entered the Lodge with due ceremony.

The Dep.Prov.G.M., after the usual official enquiries had been made and suitably answered, proceeded to offer a most hearty welcome to the Visiting Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and to express the hope that they would have a very pleasant sojourn in the ancient City of Bristol. Our W.M. replied, and the W.M. of the Lodge, on resuming the Chair, also welcomed the Visitors, and then announced that the business of the evening was to raise Bro. Rev. J. W. D. Stancombe. It is an open secret that the Lodge authorities had been

so good as to re-arrange their ordinary programme of ceremonies so as to be able to work this particular degree on the present occasion, and the Visitors were duly grateful to them.

At the Banquet we once more felt how real and generous a welcome was being extended to us. Nay more, as the canonical hour of ten approached an announcement was made that even the Licensing Authorities had appreciated the special circumstances of the occasion, and were putting the clock back an hour in our favour. Happy Province, where even the Law can be administered, or may we say adjusted, with so truly fraternal a sympathy!

The Brethren of No. 2076 will be interested to learn that in commemoration of their visit Bro. George Langford, P.Prov.G.Reg., and P.M. and Secretary of No. 3663, has presented to the Province for use in the III^o a splendid deep-toned bell bearing the following inscription:—

NE PERIRET MEMORIA
SOCIETATIS ILLUSTRIS
CUI NOMEN FECERUNT
QUATUOR CORONATI
NOSTRAM APUD SOCIETATEM
ROBERTI THORNE
IDIBUS JULIIS MCMXX
FRATERNO ACCEPTAE HOSPITIO
DEDIT GEORGIUS LANGFORD

A Past Master writes as follows:—

I had previously enjoyed the opportunity of attending some Masonic functions at Bristol so that I was prepared for a very interesting experience on the occasion of our reception by the Robert Thorne Lodge, but I gladly acknowledge that my general impression after the ceremonies was that I had never witnessed any ceremony which held my attention more closely or stirred me more deeply. The absolute finish of the whole of the work of the Lodge reduced me to the condition of mind of the Queen of Sheba when she found that 'the half was not told me.' In the first place I was struck with the easiness and dignity with which the honours were accorded to the Dep.Prov.G.M. and his attendant Officers. One saw in that respect the advantage which such a Province as Bristol gains over those spread over widely scattered areas; the Bristol Brethren know one another and are used to performing ceremonies together. Then as to the special ceremony of the evening, it would not be proper to write more than that the working was more elaborate and more dramatic in its execution than that generally in use,—in fact, it is closely akin to that of the American Lodges of which an exemplification has recently been given in London. The I.P.M. has a prominence in the proceedings which our modern working has lost. The Bristol Use is clearly a survival of pre-Union working, and I daresay that proximity to Ireland, and sympathy with Irish usages in the Craft may have been one element which led Bristol Masons to adhere to time-honoured customs when uniformity was generally enforced at the Union of the English Grand Lodges. At any rate, whilst I should deprecate Lodges elsewhere copying Bristol working, and I think that what we are used to is the most suitable in every way for modern working, yet it would be a very great loss if this link with past working were to be abandoned. The ceremony as we saw it at the Robert Thorne Lodge in its Bristol setting, was most impressive,—a precious heritage to be cherished and preserved,—and I strongly advise every Brother who has the opportunity to try and see the Bristol working, which we all found most inspiring and interesting.

FRIDAY, 16TH JULY.

It was a very great pleasure to have with us during our expedition to Malmesbury Bros. F. S. Philpott, Pr.S.G.W., Meyrick Heath, Pr.G.Sec., A. Dodge, Pr.G.Treas., W. K. Thomas, P.Pr.S.G.W., and W. N. Gilbert, P.Pr.S.G.D. A commendably punctual start was made, and char-a-bancs took us through the Southwolds to our destination, returning by Beverston. We were fortunate at each stopping-place to have the benefit of expert local guidance, but the Vicar of Sherston being unavoidably absent during our visit, we were supplied with an excellent account of the Church and district prepared beforehand by Bro. Vibert. To Bro. Vibert we are indebted for the following Notes:—

BRISTOL TO MALMESBURY.

Our route took us through Chipping Sodbury, which is understood to be the Chippinge of Stanley Weyman's novel, and at Old Sodbury we climbed the steep western escarpment of the Southwolds. The country from here to Malmesbury has been a battle-ground from the earliest times, the scene of conflicts between Briton and Roman, Briton and Saxon, and Saxon and Dane; while Stephen, and at a later date the Parliamentary forces, also fought over it. Of the details of the Roman conquest little or nothing is known, but from the Roman camp at Old Sodbury, which itself stands inside a British earthwork, fifteen other camps are visible. Sherston stands within a British earthwork, with a Saxon camp close by, and it has a tradition of a battle against the Danes. Malmesbury was a British fortress before it was an abbey. Beverston Castle was besieged by Stephen, and attacked by the Parliamentarians.

The district was long defended against the advancing Saxons by the forest of Selwood, which stretched from Cricklade and Malmesbury to the sea coast of Dorset, and here lay the three allied British kingdoms of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. But in 577 the West Saxons turned the flank of this great natural barrier and defeated the British at Dyrham, a few miles South from Old Sodbury along the crest of the hills. The three kingdoms fell, and the British of Somerset and Devon were now cut off from their Welsh kinsmen by a heathen enemy. But they seem notwithstanding to have retained as their own the immensely strong site of Malmesbury on which there stood a British fortress, and the men of Malmesbury very soon made an alliance with the Hwiccas, as the Saxon tribe to the North of them came to be called. Thus the British at Malmesbury were for some time Christians between two heathen nations, the friendly Hwiccas and the hostile West Saxons.

We are told by Bede that Augustine arranged to meet the ecclesiastics of the nearest province of the Britons, and that the conference was held on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons. In his book on St. Aldhelm, Bishop Browne brings forward strong arguments for believing that this conference took place near Cricklade, ten miles East of Malmesbury, which would appear to be the one place which satisfies all the conditions. If this is indeed the case, then Malmesbury has a special connection with a central incident of the conversion of Saxon England. But however this may be, it does seem as though it has preserved a continuous history as a Christian settlement all through Saxon times.

It lies just off the Fosse Way, the great Roman road that, starting from Totnes, runs through Bath and Cirencester to reach Lincoln eventually, and it was thus always connected with the lower Avon and the Bristol Channel. And in 637 Maildubh, an Irish ecclesiastic driven from his home by internal dissensions, came to Malmesbury as to a place where he could practise his religion in peace, and there he founded a monastery. The Britons of Somerset and Devon were now gradually driven back by the West Saxons, who broke through the forest of Selwood in 652, but Malmesbury, isolated though it became, was left untouched. The West Saxons were by this time themselves Christians, and Aldhelm, a scion of the royal house of Wessex, was sent to Malmesbury to be educated. In 672 he succeeded Maildubh as the master of the school, and with him begins the period of Malmesbury's greatness. It now became an abbey with Aldhelm as its first abbot, and he built three churches there, as also subordinate monasteries at Frome and Bradford-on-Avon. He died in 709.

It was Athelstan, however, who was the great benefactor of both abbey and town. At the battle of Brunanburgh, in 937, at a critical moment, he called on his kinsman St. Aldhelm to assist him, and a sword was miraculously put into his hand. This may also have been the battle in which he was greatly assisted by the men of Malmesbury, and from which he brought the bodies of his two cousins who had been slain in the fight to St. Aldhelm's church for burial. At all events, he now gave the abbey "many farms, many hangings, a cross of gold, filacteries of gold, and the piece of the true cross which Hugh, King of the Franks, had sent to him. When he died at Gloucester, in 940, his body was brought to Malmesbury and buried there, under the altar of St. Mary, in the tower" (*op. cit.*, p. 220). Part of his gift was a considerable estate, and a charter that is still in force. The conditions are that the commoners shall live within the walls of the town, and that a man can only become a commoner in right of being the son of a commoner, or in right of marriage with a commoner's daughter. The commoners still "dine with King Athelstan" every year. An old commoner who was bedridden was advised by the Vicar that he would be much better cared for in the "House." The receipt of poor's money terminates the common right. The old man painfully raised

himself in bed and said solemnly, "King Arthelstan hath kept I all my life; King Arthelstan shall keep I till I die" (*op. cit.*, p. 217).

The great veneration paid to King Athelstan by the monastery may have a special interest for the Craft. Our earliest narrative, the *Book of Charges*, merely attributes to Athelstan the reform of the masons' laws, for great default found among them (Cooke i., 700). The *Regius Poem* expands this by a reference to Athelstan's great building of castles and churches. The Cooke narrative, after introducing St. Alban and St. Amphabel, has no more than a passing reference to the worthy King Athelstan, whose youngest son is now the reformer. This youngest son becomes Edwin in the later texts. We may suspect that the introduction of Edwin is due to northern influences, and we find St. Amphabel in writers like Matthew of Paris, who was himself a St. Alban's man. But the *Regius Poem* comes from this part of the country, the western midlands, and the special emphasis it lays on King Athelstan's good works suggests that it was composed in some locality which had peculiar reasons for venerating his name. Work was going on at the abbey all through the fourteenth century, and it is accordingly not impossible that our oldest text was put together at Malmesbury itself.

The Danes ravaged all this country and would seem to have destroyed the monastic buildings at Frome, although Aldhelm's church at Bradford-on-Avon is standing to-day. But owing to the prudence of Dunstan (and the sanctity of St. Aldhelm himself), Malmesbury remained unscathed. For Dunstan removed all the relics, and placed them within a plain stone sarcophagus, and the Danes, when they came to pillage, found nothing but the bare shrine. Even this they were prevented from damaging by a miracle. The first who ventured to lay a sacrilegious hand on it was struck down senseless, and the Danes fled, and molested Malmesbury no more.

SHERSTON AND ITS CHURCH.

After the decisive victory of Assandun, in 1016, Cnut set himself to repair the ravages caused by the Danes, and in particular to rebuild the churches they had desecrated. It is probable that the church at Sherston represents one so built. The site must have been an important one from an early date. It is, like Malmesbury, of considerable natural strength, and it lies across the direct line of communication from Malmesbury to the Severn valley, by the gap in the western escarpment at Old Sodbury. That the church is dedicated to the Holy Cross is an additional reason for believing it to be one of Cnut's foundations, and in all probability one that replaced a still earlier Saxon edifice of which, however, there is no record or trace.

There is a tradition of a battle at Sherston, and it is usually stated that this was the indecisive action fought between Cnut and Edmund Ironside in 1016 at "Sceorstan." But one chronicler tells us that from that battle the combatants retired respectively on Winchester and Old Sarum; and the topography of Cnut's campaigns is a subject as to which few would be prepared to make specific assertions. It is a tempting hypothesis (*vide* Brown's *St. Aldhelm*, p. 220), that the battle was the one in which the men of Malmesbury helped Athelstan, and from which the bodies of his cousins were taken to the abbey church, only six miles distant, for burial. But Cnut would hardly select, either for a restoration or for the site of a new church, the scene of a Danish defeat; and, on the other hand, Ironside's battle of Sceorstan was hardly a Danish victory. The question is one to which at present no satisfactory solution is forthcoming. At Sherston itself is preserved, on the outer wall of the south porch, a very early stone figure, which is supposed to represent Rattlebone, the hero of the battle. He slew countless Danes, and when, after being severely wounded, he showed signs of relaxing his efforts, the people urged him on in the following dialogue:—

- People: Fight well, Rattlebone,
 Thou shalt have Sherstone,
 R.: What shall I with Sherston do,
 Without I have all belongs thereto?
 P.: Thou shalt have Wych and Wellesley,
 Easton towne and Pinkeney.

These are all local names to-day, but no one appears to have succeeded in identifying the hero with any actual individual, or with an ancestor of any lord of the manor, and the effigy is in fact that of a priest or bishop, holding a large book to his breast. It may be Saxon, but the drapery rather suggests that the artist was copying the remarkable figures inside the south porch at Malmesbury, which are late Norman in date. In the *Transactions* of the Wilts. Archæological Society, vol. xxxi., Mr. Ponting, in his

article on the church, points out that Rattlebone's corbel was built for him when the porch was constructed, so that he was already regarded with veneration in *circa* 1460. Mr. Ponting describes the figure as clothed in either an alb or dalmatic, with a pallium passed over the left shoulder extending in front nearly to the bottom of the robe.

Sherston Church as it stands to-day is a mixture of many styles and periods. A church is mentioned in Domesday, but it has disappeared. It was replaced by a Norman building in 1160-70, and this would appear to have consisted of a nave of four bays, with one aisle, and to have remained incomplete. Possibly the Saxon chancel was preserved for the time being. Of this Norman church the north wall of the nave remains, and one arch of the southern wall. The font is Norman, and on the outside of the south wall we still have the Norman eaves corbel table. It runs through the parvise, and so much of the masonry of the south wall will, therefore, be the original work.

In 1230-40, a central tower was added, as also the Chancel and north transept. Also the old Norman north aisle was replaced. The fine arches of the transept crossing are still standing, but the tower itself has been rebuilt. The rest of the E.E. work remains, with the exception of some windows that have been replaced by Perpendicular work. Such E.E. windows as are still in existence are fine, particularly the east window of three lights.

At a much later date an ambulatory passage was opened from the Chancel to the Lady Chapel in the north transept. Similar passages exist in other churches in the neighbourhood, *e.g.* at Avebury, and there is one at Beverston. They can hardly be mere hagioscopes. They seem rather intended for the priest carrying the elements to pass from the altar in the transept chapel direct to the chancel, or they may have been used for processions. The other work of Perpendicular period consists of windows in the north aisle and south wall, and a south aisle, so to call it; but it seems rather to have been a series of three chapels, opening respectively to the nave (by the Norman arch), the transept (by the E.E. arch), and the chancel (by a perpendicular arch).

Immediately west of this aisle comes the fine south porch, with its parvise, of the same period.

The tower is a well proportioned structure, but the queerness of the details is sufficiently accounted for by the date, which is 1730-33. Still the parapet is distinctly effective. The vicarage adjoins the churchyard on the west, and built into the wall are five sculptured stones with heraldic carvings and a rebus of a burr growing out of a tun, for John Burtan, who was king's warrener here in 1479. In the vicarage garden is all that remains of the old village cross, its base and one step. The east wall of the north transept has a good early corbel table with grotesque heads. The Rattlebone figure already referred to is on the outer east wall of the porch. This porch has interesting carved bosses in the vaulting, and on entering the church we have the Norman arcade in front of us.

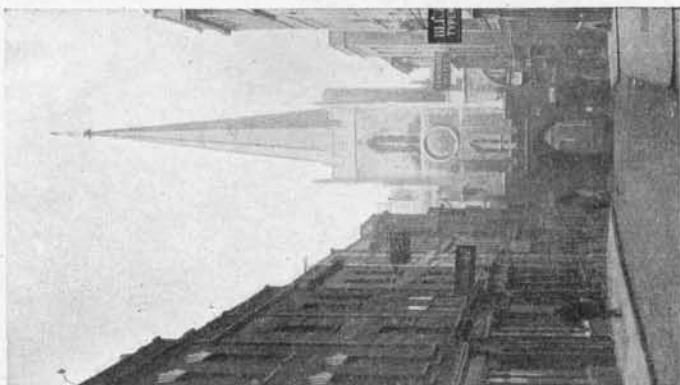
Reference has already been made to the arches of the transept crossing, which are particularly fine. Of the corbel heads, five are original. Two are claimed to be portraits of Henry III. and his consort, Queen Eleanor of Castile. Two others may be portraits of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Simon de Montfort. Sherston was a royal manor, and as such would be in the latter's care as High Steward.

By the kind permission of the Duke of Beaufort, we had approached Sherston through the magnificent park of Badminton, whence a good view of Badminton House was obtained. We now came to Malmesbury, crossing the Fosse Way, in this portion no longer a maintained road, by the site of what was once a Roman settlement, the very name of which is doubtful, and on the ground to-day no vestige of it remains.

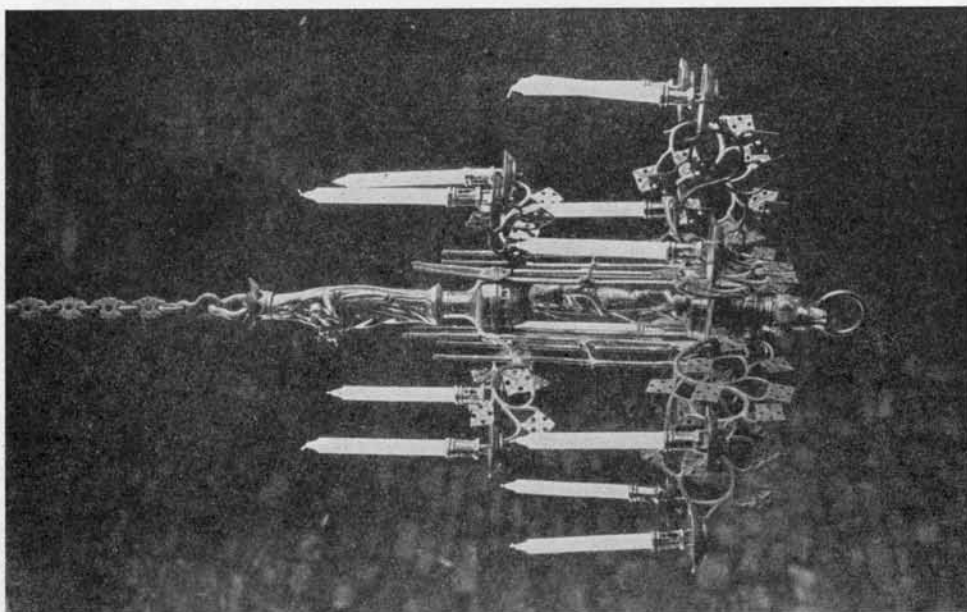
Here we were met by Bro. Harold Brakespear, F.S.A., the architect who has carried out the restoration, and who, as Mr. Hutton says, knows more of the church than any other living person. He was good enough to take us all round the buildings and put his immense knowledge of them at our disposal.

MALMESBURY.

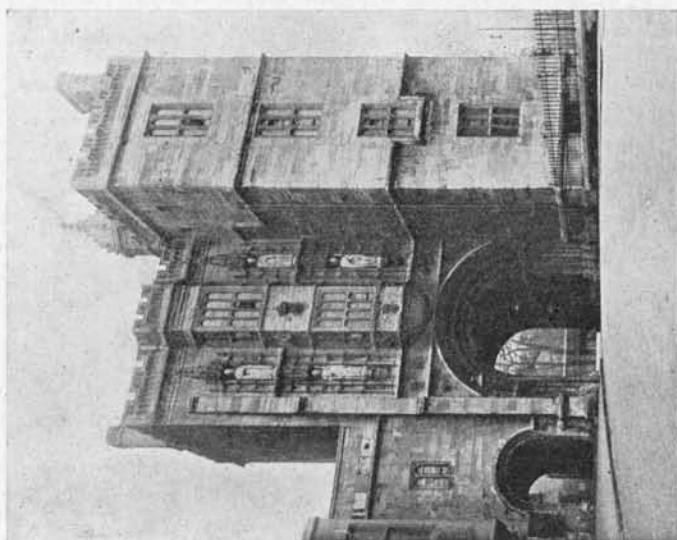
St. Aldhelm enlarged Maildubh's church and re-dedicated it, and in addition to the monastery buildings he erected two other churches close by. King Athelstan rebuilt the monastery, and the old church of Maildubh was apparently rebuilt in the days of Abbot Elfric, 977-982. It is in connection with this structure that we read of a certain Oliver, who at some date before 1060 attempted to fly from one of the towers, having



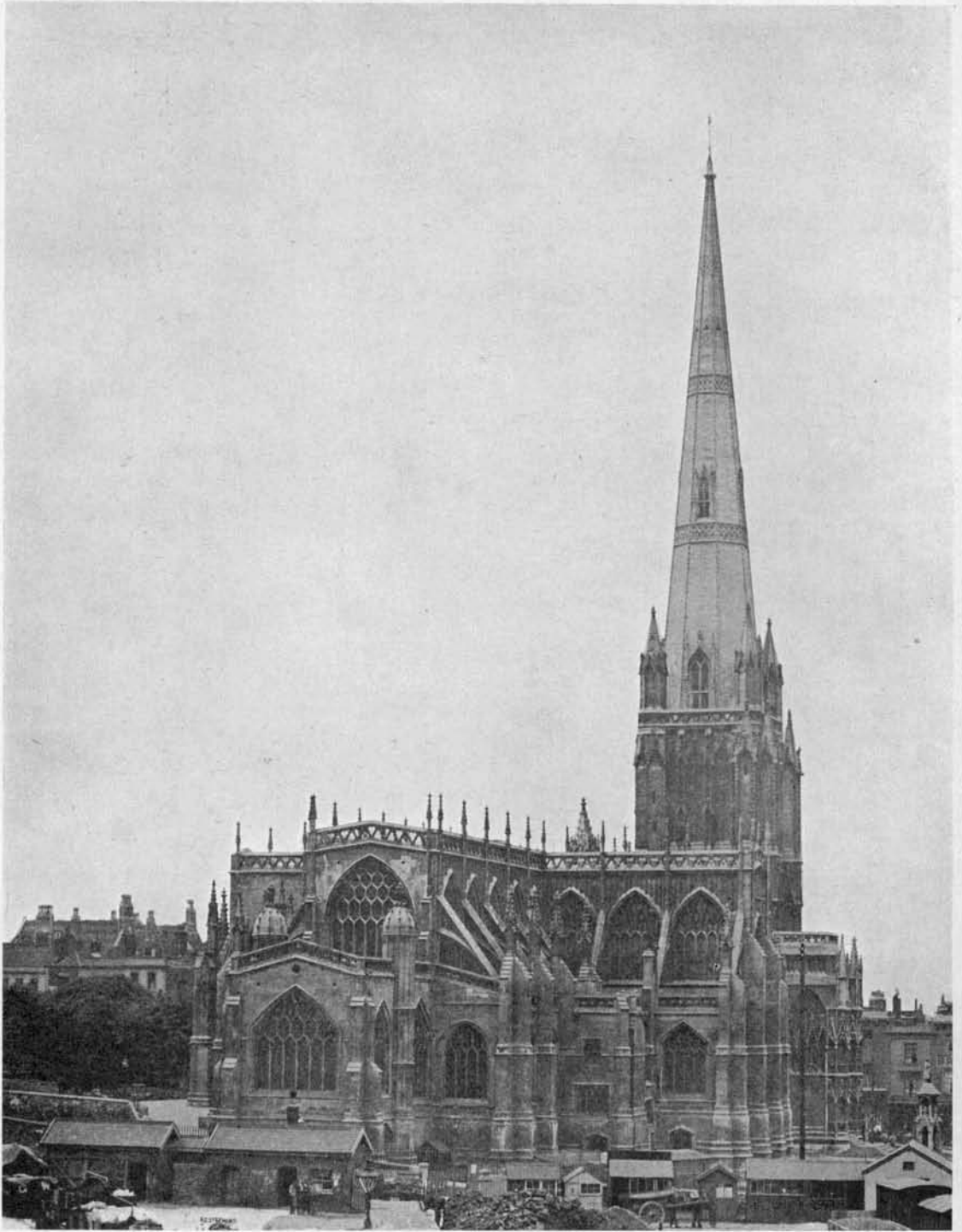
A. C. Powell.
St. John's Gateway from Broad
Street, Bristol.



Coates & Co.
Ancient Brass Chandelier at Temple Church, Bristol.



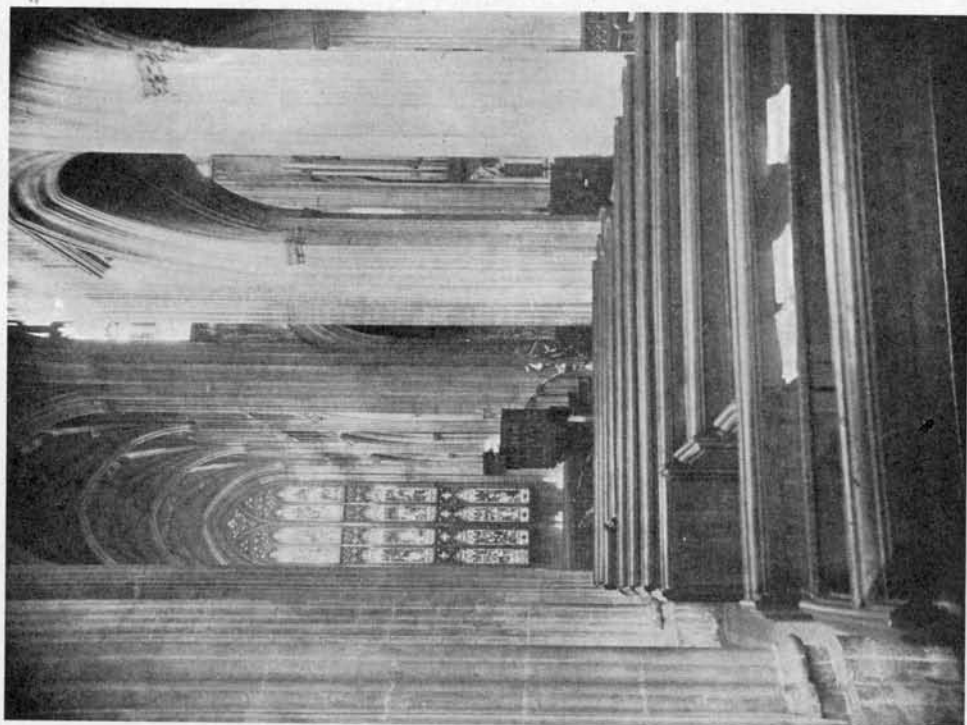
A. C. Powell.
Norman Gateway, St. Augustine's
Abbey, Bristol Cathedral.



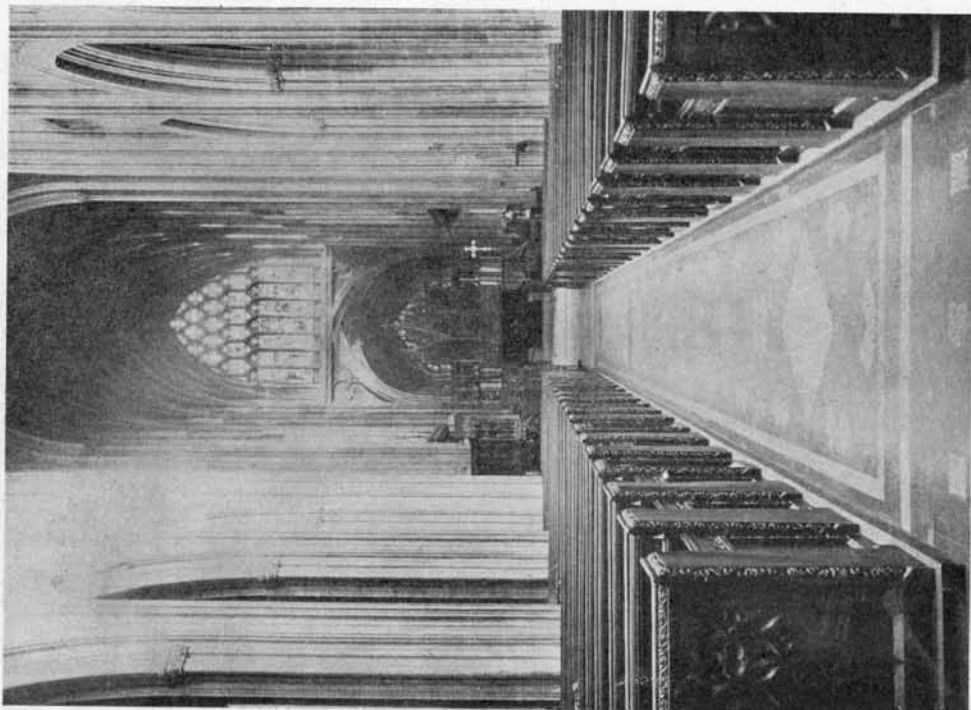
A. C. Powell.

St. Mary Redcliff Church from the North-East.
(The Vicarage appears on the left of the Picture.)

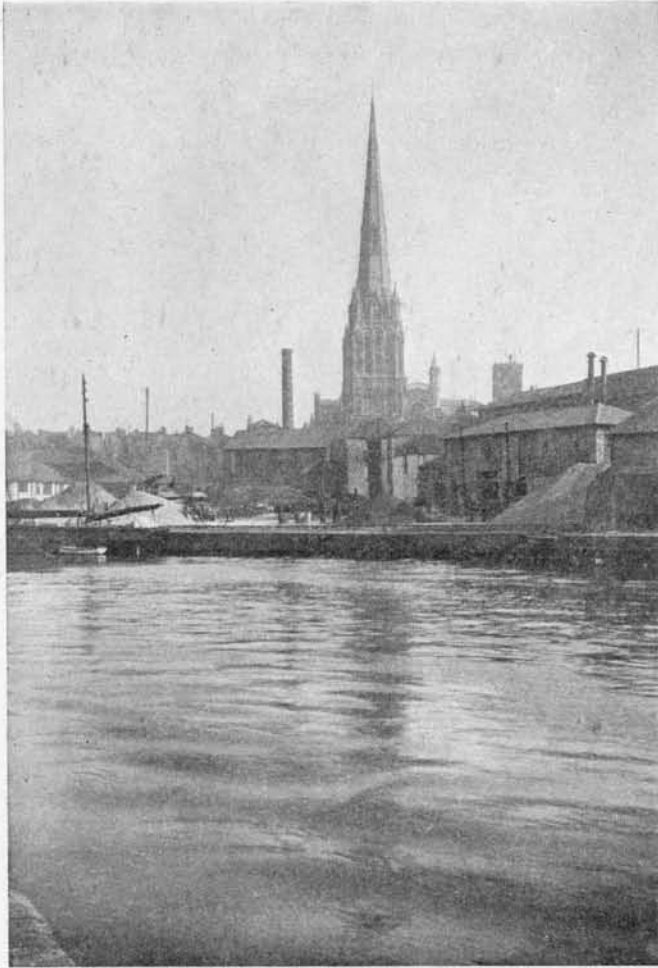
"The pryde of Bristowe and the Westerne Londe."—CHATTERTON.



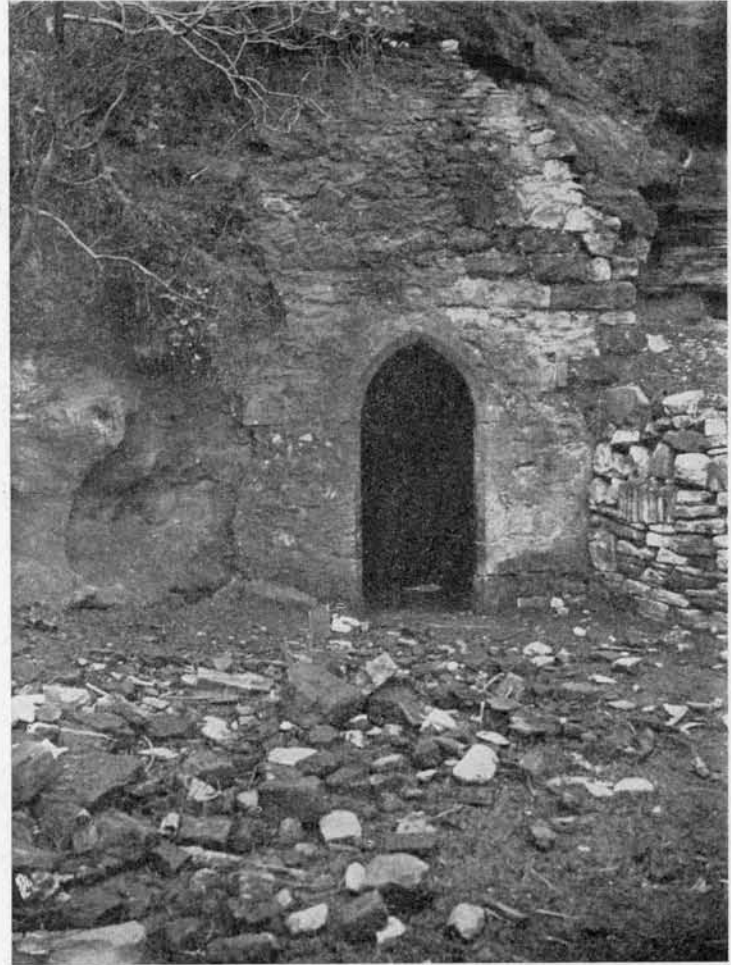
A. C. Powell. Looking towards the North Transept.
St. Mary Redcliff Church.



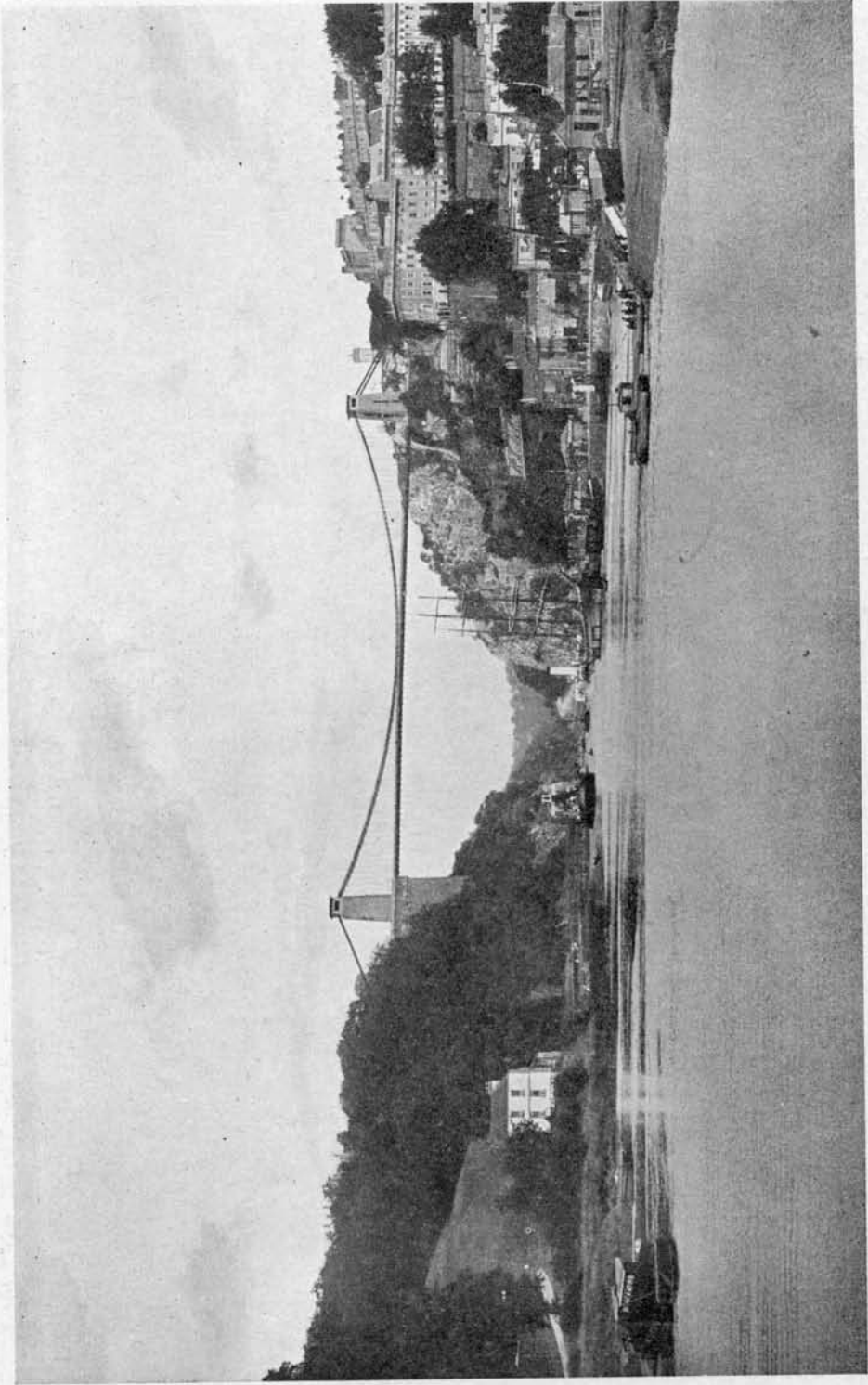
A. C. Powell.
Looking East.



A. C. Powell.
St. Mary Redcliff Church from the Welsh Back.

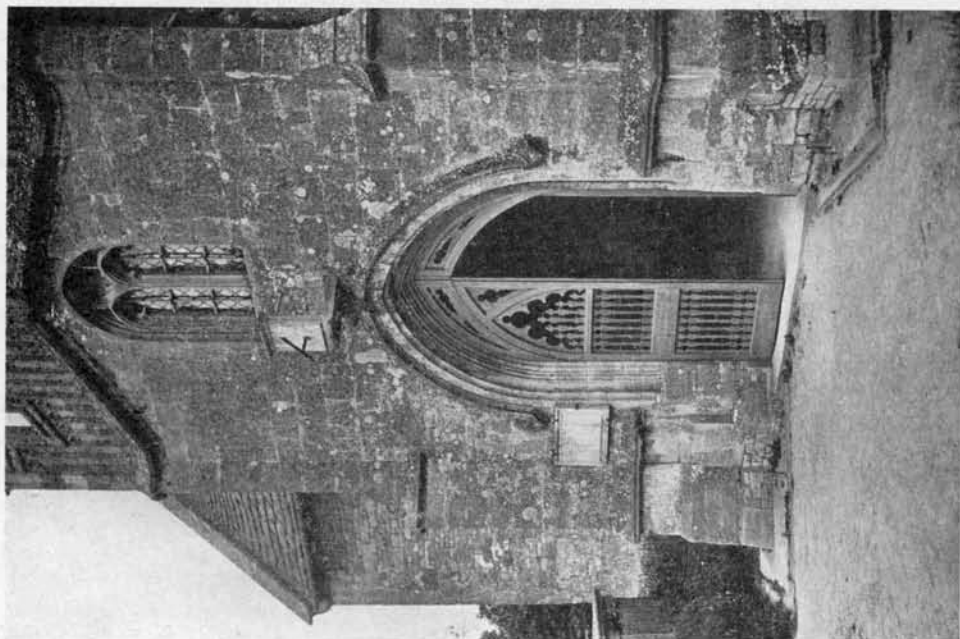


A. C. Powell.
The Hermitage, Redcliff.

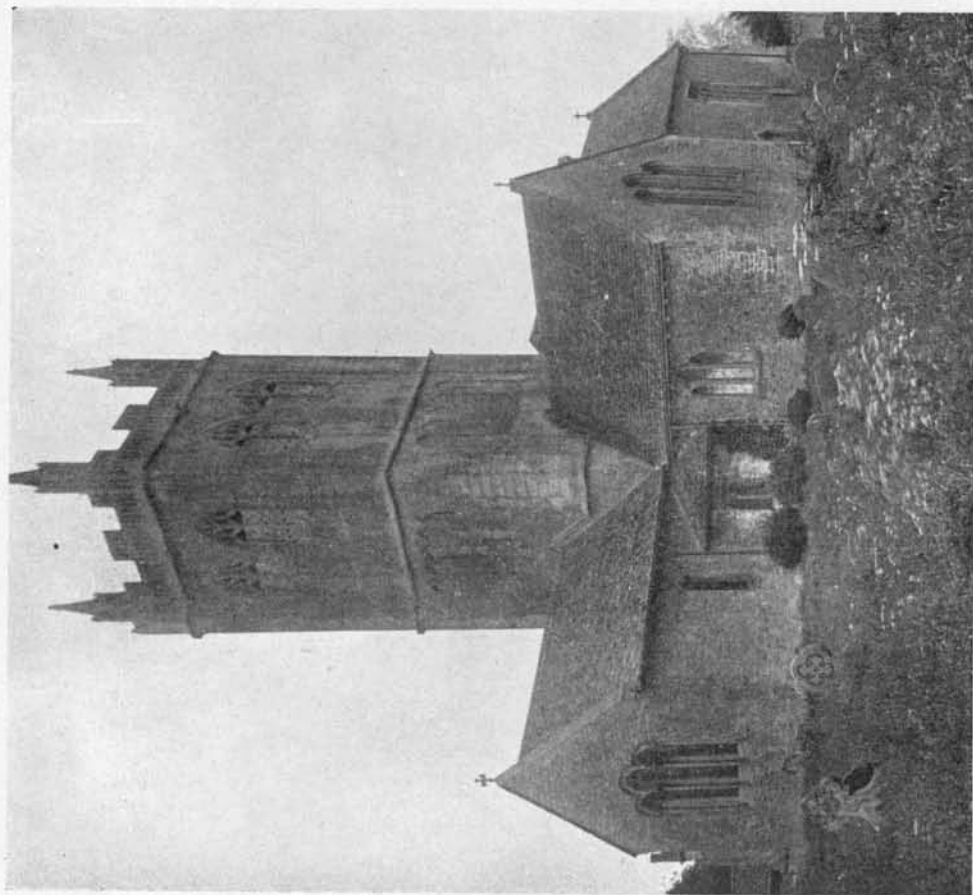


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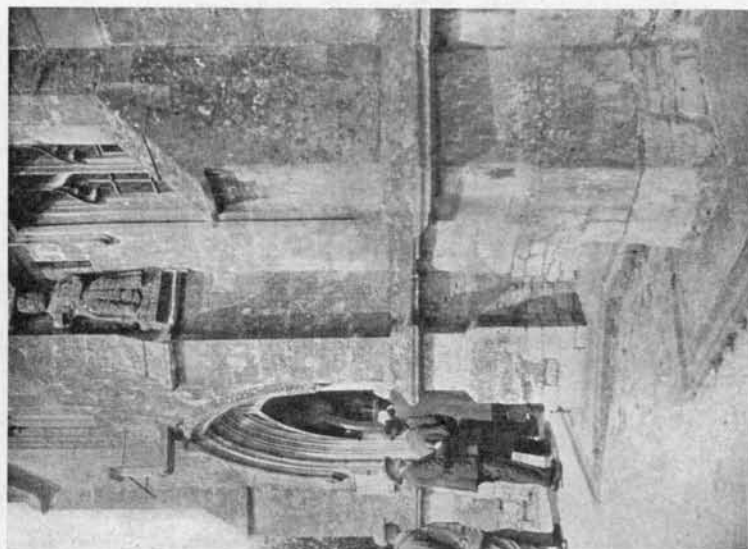
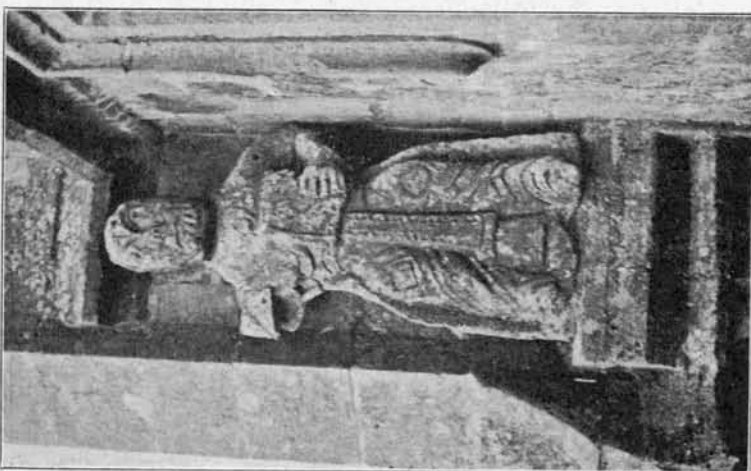
Clifton Suspension Bridge.



A. C. Powell.
Shewing the skewed Sundial.
Sherston Church. South Porch.



A. C. Powell.
Sherston Church from the North-East. Shewing the passage at the
intersection of the Chancel and the North Transept.



J. F. H. Gilbard.
The Statue of 'Rattlebone' and its position in the South Porch of
Sherston Church.



Corbels in Sherston Church.

fastened wings to his hands and feet; but he fell and broke his legs. In the days of Henry I., Roger, the Norman bishop of Sarum, seized the abbey and built a castle over against it, apparently to the east of the present church. But he died in 1139, and soon afterwards the great Norman church was begun, of which little more remains to-day than the six eastern bays of the nave. William of Malmesbury, writing in 1142, speaks of the abbey as excelling in size and beauty any other edifice of the early time in England, and he makes no allusion at all to any contemporary re-building. This seems to indicate that as late as this date the older building was still intact, as the Norman work of which we see part to-day cannot have been finished at so early a date. The style indicates the second half of the twelfth century. But many of the buildings on the hill must have been removed to make room for the new abbey, and when King John granted to the monastery the site of the castle with leave to pull it down, the opportunity was taken for a further extension. The church now consisted of a presbytery and aisles of six bays and apsidal end, N. and S. transepts with an apsidal chapel to each, the magnificent south porch, a nave of nine bays with aisles, and a central lantern tower.

In the fourteenth century a Lady Chapel was added, and the tower was raised and a spire erected on it, while the nave and transepts were re-vaulted and the present clerestory built. A still later addition was a square tower over the two western bays of the nave. The spire fell in the early part of the sixteenth century. At the dissolution of the monasteries the whole structure was purchased by Master Stumpe, a wealthy clothier, who demolished practically everything except the nave, which he made over to the townspeople. Their parish church of St. Peter's was now ruinous; so part was turned into a town hall and the rest was demolished, with the exception of the tower and spire, which remain to-day. The nave of the abbey now became the parish church. But very shortly afterwards the western tower collapsed, and this and a later fall of masonry completed the ruin of the three western bays of the nave, and the northern half of the west front. What was left was itself in a dangerous condition, and had the tower at the south-western corner fallen we should in all probability have lost the incomparable porch. But to-day under Bro. Brakespear's careful and skilful hands the whole fabric of the nave and west end has been made sound. The roof has been relaid, the flying buttresses taken down and rebuilt stone by stone, and everything else done to ensure the stability of the structure. At the same time the utmost care has been taken by differentiating the mouldings and so on to prevent any possibility of the modern work being taken for part of the original fabric (*vide* Browne, *St. Aldhelm*, p. 232). Fragment though it be, the structure still presents an impressive appearance externally, which is chiefly due to the unusually high clerestory; but the fourteenth century builders in great measure preserved the Norman walls, and many of the original ornaments and mouldings are still visible, and indicate where the Norman clerestory windows came.

The South Porch has been fitly described as one of the grandest Norman works left in England. The entrance is of eight members, all sculptured. The vaulted porch within this arch has on either side a group of six apostles and an angel in flight. The style of this sculpture is remarkable, especially the drapery, and there is nothing of the same period to compare with it in this country. Beyond is an inner door, also richly sculptured, within the tympanum a figure of our Lord between two angels.

Owing to the damage done by the fall of the western tower, the interior is unsymmetrical. There are three bays of the south aisle which stand alone, and are now used as a vestry and entrance. The body of the church consists of the six remaining bays of the nave, with aisles. There are bold Transitional arches, obtusely pointed, and a grand triforium, and above this the great height of the clerestory.

In the south aisle two large windows were inserted in the fourteenth century, which at all events give light, but their tracery is remarkable rather than beautiful. The other windows generally retain their deep Norman splay, but have been spoilt by the addition of tracery. We were able to inspect the so-called monument of King Athelstan, on the south of the altar, but we were not asked to accept it as a contemporary work; indeed, we were told it was fitted with a new head after the Great Rebellion.

Nothing remains of the rest of the abbey and monastery buildings save the northern arch of the transept crossing, part of one wall of the south transept, and elsewhere a few pavement tiles and fragments of sculpture.

The only other considerable antiquity in the town is the beautiful market cross. This is a fine work of date *circa* 1490, and of the same type as those at Cheddar, Salisbury, and Chichester and it has been well, but not drastically,

restored. Indefatigable brethren with cameras found it would make a good background to a group photograph.

Perhaps it was owing to our having just walked across an unusually wide and empty market place, that the hall where lunch was served conveyed to some of us a hint of congestion. After lunch, the W.M. expressed the thanks of the whole party to Bro. Brakespear for all that he had done to make the visit a success, and Bro. Brakespear suitably replied. Many of the party found time to walk through some of the quaint streets of the old town and note the Green Dragon and other old-time inns.

We left Malmesbury by the main road to Gloucester, and were able to appreciate the remarkable natural strength of the position, where, as old Leland says: "Newton water and Avon run so nere together in the botom of the west suburbe, that there within a burbolt shot the toun is peninsulated."

Passing through Tetbury, the brethren who were giving the course had a happy thought, and took us some little way along the old Acman Street, far enough to let us have a glimpse of the typical old farm at Doughton. Returning to Tetbury, we resumed our programme route, and came to Beverston, where at the entrance to the village we noticed in passing the War Memorial, a beautiful wayside Calvary. Here we were received by the Rector, the Rev. J. Nowill Bromehead, who acted as our cicerone, and to whom we owe the following account:—

BEVERSTON.

It is possible that the family of Godwin had some hereditary connection with Beverston. Sweyn had lands here, and we know from William of Malmesbury that in 1051 Godwin made this his headquarters when he assembled an army in the neighbourhood, ostensibly against the Welsh, who had fortified a position in Herefordshire, but he used it to overawe the king, then at Gloucester, and to compel him to dismiss his Norman favourites. For this rebellion the family were exiled, and Sweyn's lands were confiscated. Beverston accordingly appears in Domesday as Crown property. It was included in the grant of lands made by William the Conqueror to Roger de Berkeley, who had a castle of his own at Dursley, eight miles to the west. The family lost its lands in Stephen's wars, during which the castle was besieged, and probably suffered considerable damage, as it was rebuilt in 1225-7, by Maurice de Weare, to whose family the estate together with that of Berkeley had been granted by Henry II. The church was probably built at the same time. In 1356 the then owner, being rendered opulent by the ransom of prisoners taken at the battle of Poitiers, re-edified both castle and church, and the present structures date in great measure from this period.

The castle was held for King Charles during the Parliamentary wars, and withstood more than one assault. In 1644 Colonel Massie, commander of the Parliamentary Forces at Gloucester, captured Tetbury without much difficulty, but he was only able to make himself master of Beverston by stratagem. It was not recaptured, nor further attacked. But in 1691 much of it was destroyed by fire, and of the remainder, part has been adapted as a farm.

The fourteenth century castle was in plan a square with a tower at each angle, and a barbican, a deep moat encircling the whole. Nothing is now left but one of the towers, that at the S.W. angle, which in all probability represents the original thirteenth century building, the gateway and its tower, and the ruins of the western curtain. The moat remains on the western and southern sides, but it is only on the latter that it now holds water.

The great tower or 'keep' is of three storeys. The lowest forms a vaulted entry and guard-room, lighted by an elegant ogee-headed window in a deep recess. From the corner of the entry rose the original staircase; the place of which has been taken by a newel, in an octagonal turret, not morticed into the main tower, but built up against it in a manner so insecure that the two would long ago have parted company had not the turret been bound to the tower by strong iron ties and a massive chain. The second storey contains a gallery and stairs leading to the rooms behind the western curtain, but is mainly occupied by the greater or garrison chapel. This latter was a beautiful structure, with a fine traceried window of three lights on the east, an ogee-headed lancet on the south, and a large window, which has been altered and filled in with masonry, at the west. The stone vaulting is extremely fine, and shows richly carved bosses at the juncture of its quadripartite sections. The double sedilia and piscina on the south side

are nearly perfect, and were elaborately, though not very deeply, carved. The piscina, like that in the parish church, is set across the corner in a manner very rarely seen. A small portion of the tiled pavement, in tiny black, red, and yellow diamonds, is preserved; and a curious recess in the wall beside the lancet window suggests that it may possibly have been cut to afford space for the seat of the commander, from which he could see at a glance whether all was right without, the while he assisted at the service being held within. Above this chapel a large chamber, whence steps led to the battlements above, occupies the whole of the third storey. Northward of this, and on a slightly higher level, is the private, or domestic, chapel, of such small dimensions that not more than ten or a dozen persons could find space within it, but furnished with double slits or 'squints' in the walls on either side, so that five or six times that number could see and hear the service from the large chamber on the south and a smaller one on the north. This chapel was lighted by a rose, or wheel, window, of which framing, filled in with masonry and a square opening, alone remains. The roof was of wood, supported by a massive stone wall-plate and heavy square corbels. Opposite to what was the entrance to this chapel a singularly elegant doorway opens on to a small spiral staircase, giving access to the embattled roofs of the turrets.

There was a church here as early as 1170, but it has entirely disappeared. The present structure dates from about 1225, and it was re-constructed in 1360. Ever since 1884, a succession of rectors, the Revs. Arthur Blomfield, E. W. Evans, and J. N. Bromehead, have devoted themselves to repairing the ravages not merely of Cromwellian Puritans and others, but of Victorian restorers. Thus a processional passage connecting the Berkeley chapel in the north transept with the chancel that had been walled up has been opened out again, and the very fine chancel screen, or what is left of it, has been rescued and restored to its proper place and use. After lying as lumber in the tower for many years, it had been turned by a previous rector into an arbour for the rectory garden, being cut about as the requirements of its new function dictated. In 1844 frescoes were discovered, and one of the figures seemed to be intended for a portrait of Pope Gregory the Great, the subject of the paintings being one of his miracles. The date was an unfortunate one. The walls were summarily re-plastered and the frescoes have perished.

The registers, which are well preserved, date from 1563. Among the names to be found in them are those of Shakespeare and Hathaway, presumably kindred of the poet and his wife. Shakespeare seems to have had a peculiarly intimate knowledge of the locality. In 2 Henry IV., v. 1, we read:—

Davy. I beseech you, Sir, to countenance William Visor, of Woncot, against Clement Perkes of the Hill.

Woncot is the local pronounciation of Woodmancote, a hamlet of Dursley; there are Visors, or Vizards at all events, at Dursley to-day, while on Stinchcombe Hill—generally called 'The Hill,' is the site of a house once occupied by the family of Perkes (*vide* p. 26 of Mr. Bromehead's *Guide to Beverston*).

In both the church and the castle Mr. Bromehead described for us in a most delightful manner all the features of interest. Then, passing through to the Rectory gardens, we were shown a valuable collection of prints relating to the place, and we there took leave of our courteous and erudite cicerone. To the I.P.M., Bro. Gordon Hills, was assigned the pleasant task of thanking him in the name of the party, and assuring him how greatly his efforts had been appreciated.

A run of six miles brought us to the Ridge, 800 feet above sea level, with an extensive view reaching as far as the Marlborough Downs, and Roundway Hill by Devizes, in one direction, and the Malverns and Welsh Mountains in another, while below us lay the Severn valley and Berkeley castle. Then came the steep descent to Wotton-under-Edge, where we had tea, but there was no time to see anything of the place itself. We reached Bristol not much more than an hour behind time, no bad achievement considering how much we had contrived to get into the day, and also considering the narrow and devious ways we for some reason encountered on the homeward journey.

FRIDAY EVENING.

MASONIC MUSIC.

On the Friday evening a programme of Masonic music was given in the Lodge-room at the Freemasons' Hall under the auspices of the Bristol Masonic Society. This Society was formed in 1917 for the study of matters relating to the Craft, and has been the means of affording a good deal of interest, as well as instruction, to the members who now number over 270. Various papers have been read, sometimes with lantern illustrations, but so far no publication has been attempted. In a preface to the printed programme, which, besides the words and notes upon the musical compositions, contained a short account of the Province, Bro. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., the President of the Bristol Masonic Society, remarked that he considered it, like other similar organisations, owed its existence to the example set by the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. He also stated that in March, 1920, Bro. Hunt, then Grand Organist of England, gave the members of the Society a most enjoyable evening of "Mozart's Masonic Music," when he read a paper and directed the performance of ten compositions by that great master; and that he had suggested to Bro. Hunt that a similar programme might be arranged for the "Summer Outing." The idea was extended so as to embrace other Masonic music. Five of Mozart's pieces were retained, but none of them were those rendered when Bro. Bradley read his interesting paper before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1913. With all those concerned in the performance it was truly a labour of love; and, as all present, whether in the orchestra, chorus, or audience, were members of the Craft, permission was granted for the wearing of Masonic clothing. Bro. Powell concluded his remarks by saying:—

"I may say that this is not the only outcome of a musical lecture here, because the oldest musical society in this city, the Bristol Madrigal Society, was founded in 1837 as a result of a series of lectures given in this very building. Our Worshipful Master, Bro. Tuckett, has, by request, composed the music for one of Robert Burns' Masonic songs for this occasion. I am glad that something from the pen of Bro. Burns is included in our programme. He seems to me to hold in a sister Art much the same position as his contemporary, Bro. Mozart, occupies in the realm of music. The facility of expression, the perfection and the gaiety of their genius appear to have much in common, while their lives present the same contrasts, sometimes struggling with poverty, and sometimes enjoying the enthusiastic applause of all. To each came death long before he had reached his fortieth year. It is a great satisfaction to us that each of these great men, so full of kindness to all mankind, found so much solace and fellowship in our beloved Order."

Bro. E. H. Cook, D.P.G.M., presided, supported by Bro. J. T. Francombe, the Lord Mayor of Bristol, and Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett, W.M. of 2076.

Bro Powell, in his capacity as President of the Bristol Masonic Society, extended a very hearty welcome to the Brethren of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and hoped they would be interested and pleased with the music provided for them. Bro. Sydney Clifton Bingham, Deputy Grand Master of New Zealand, Secretary of the Past Masters' Lodge at Christchurch, N.Z., and Local Secretary of 2076, who is a Bristolian and the son of a highly esteemed member of the Province, and Bro. William John Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary of 2076, were then elected Honorary Members (the only ones so far) of the Society upon the proposition of the President, seconded by Bro. Tuckett.

Those taking part in the performance were the following:—

CONDUCTOR—Bro. Hubert W. Hunt.

CHORUS—*Alto*, Bros C. G. A. Beavis, E. Gay, J. Horsell, G. N. Pike, A. G. Ransom, C. H. E. Trevett; *Tenor*, Bros. W. Cunnington, R. F. D. Longford, E. G. Maby, W. A. McGuffie, Rev. W. T. Phillips, T. Pitcher, C. Powell, A. Ransom, W. A. Stear, H. J. Taylor, J. A. Westcott; *Bass*, Bros. F. H. Baber, W. H. J. Greenham, H. G. Hill, W. Holloway, A. H. Jupp, J. A. Nixon, A. W. Parkman, J. Thomas, E. G. Vevers, L. O. Vowles.

ORCHESTRA—*First Violins*, Bros. H. Darbey and J. W. Beauchamp; *Second Violins*, Bros. A. J. E. Lucas and T. Pearce Clarke; *Viola*, Bro. F. S. Gardner; *Violoncello*, Bro. B. Hunter; *Double Bass*, Bro. J. Taylor; *Oboe*, Bro. P. Bennett; *Tympani*, Bro. M. W. Loam; *Organ*, Bro. C. W. Stear.

PROGRAMME (with accompanying notes).

KING AND CRAFT { “ God Save the King.”
“ Hail Masonry Divine! ”

1—A SHORT MASONIC CANTATA Bro. Mozart

Solo Voices, Chorus, Orchestra and Organ.

Solos by Bros. Cunningham and Eaber.

Bros. Westcott, Maby and Thomas in the Trio.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born at Salzburg in 1756, and from the earliest years his great gifts were apparent. He travelled on the Continent and to England as a musical prodigy; after many such wanderings from Salzburg with his father and sister, and later alone, he took up his abode in Vienna in 1781. He was initiated in the “Charity” Lodge in 1784; he also became a member of the “True Harmony” Lodge, of which the composer Haydn was a member. (See note to No. 8 in this programme).

On the compulsory reduction of Lodges in 1785, the “Crowned Hope,” with its daughter Lodge, the “Charity,” and others, became merged in the “New Crowned Hope” Lodge. For this Lodge Mozart probably wrote his Opening and Closing Songs (see A. Q. C. xxvi., 241).

In the early summer of 1791 Mozart was at work on his opera, “The Magic Flute,” the Masonic significance of which has been fully treated by Bro. Bradley in the *Transactions*. In the autumn the composer’s health began to fail, and there came the mysterious commission to compose a Requiem. In November a new Masonic Temple was to be dedicated, and Mozart turned from the solemn subject of the Requiem to the joyful one of composing a Cantata for his brethren to perform at the ceremony, for which he also wrote a Closing Song. The words of both describe their purpose, and the final words of the Cantata connect it with the “New Crowned Hope” Lodge.

The intense depression from which the composer was suffering is never reflected in this work. He conducted the performance, and the joy his friends showed on seeing him again amongst them greatly revived his spirits. On reaching home he exclaimed to his wife: “How madly they have gone on about my Cantata. If I did not know that I had written better things, I should have thought that my best composition.”

However, this was his last appearance in public; he was shortly afterwards on his last bed, ever anxiously at work on the Requiem. He died on December 5th, leaving the Requiem unfinished, so that this Cantata is the last finished composition of the master, and the ceremony at which it was performed was probably the last flicker of Austrian Freemasonry before the extinction of all Lodges in 1794.

The work was published in 1902 with English words by Bro. Dusart, illustrating the three degrees; it was performed at Lincoln in 1903, with words of general Masonic tendency by Bro. Vernon Howard; and it was intended to have it sung at a *Conversazione* which marked the tenth anniversary of No. 2076, with words by Bro. Speth appropriate to the event, but the project was not carried out.

The translations of this and the other works by Mozart and Pleyel in this programme have been made with a view to reproducing as exactly as possible the sentiment and character of the original without altering the musical phrase, consequently there has been no attempt at versification.

2—CLOSING HYMN, “Let us with our hands fast holding” Bro. Mozart

Duet (Bros. Westcott and Thomas), *Chorus and Pianoforte.*

This is published as an appendix to the preceding Cantata, and would be sung at the end of the evening’s function. The reference to the chain of hands in both works is, no doubt, to a custom similar to that formerly observed by the French Brethren just before Lodge was closed at the banquet.

3—THE ENTERED APPRENTICE’S SONG Bro. Birkhead

Solo (Bro. Vevvers), *Chorus and Pianoforte.*

- 4—CLOSING HYMN of the Orpheus Lodge, No. 1706, London ... *Bro. Harvey Löhr*
Vocal Quartet (Bros. Horsell, Longford, Baber and Parkman).

“ Now the evening’s shadows closing,
 Warn from toil to peaceful rest.”

The tunes sung by the Orpheus Lodge to their opening and closing Hymns are written for A.T.T.B., and, unfortunately, are not appropriate for Lodges which are not favoured with the large number of capable singers such as is enjoyed by this very musical Lodge.

- 5—SCENE from “ *La Reine de Saba* ” *C. Gounod*
Solo Voices (Bros. Cunningham, Parkman, Thomas and McGuffie), *Orchestra and Organ*.

The scene is taken from the last Act of the Opera, the fourth in the original, but the fifth in the English edition.

References to this work in English Masonic publications have generally been based upon the English version, and this seems to owe its transformation to the necessity of avoiding the representation of characters from the Bible on the stage; therefore the scene of action is changed to Stamboul—King Solomon becomes the Sultan Suliman—Balkis is changed to Irene, a Greek Princess and vassal of the Sultan—Adoniram becomes Muriel, a mysterious person from the Far East—and the three conspirators, Methusael, Phanor and Amron, as in fact all the characters, have other names assigned to them.

After the death scene as it appears in the English edition, the original has the following:—

Méthusael. Someone approaches!

Phanor. Let us fly! the night hides us.

Adoniram (*in a choking voice*). Balkis! Balkis!

Then comes a scene with a characteristic French-dramatic dying speech by Adoniram and a duet between the lovers.

The work was produced in 1862 as “ *La Reine de Saba, Grand Opera en 4 actes de M. M. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré, mis en musique par Ch. Gounod* ”; but the libretto was actually taken from a work by Gérard de Nerval. De Nerval was, about 1848, a Parisian man of letters of whom, among others, Goethe had a very high opinion. With Alexandre Dumas he projected a Grand Opera on the subject of Solomon’s Temple, for which Meyerbeer was to write the music. De Nerval had composed a stirring story setting forth the loves of the Queen of Sheba with Hiram, the interference of Solomon therewith, and the assassination of the unfortunate craftsman (*A.Q.C.* xiv., 179). The scheme, however, fell through; poor De Nerval died by his own hand in 1855, having first lost his reason, then his money.

- 6—SONG, “ *Adieu! a heart-warm, fond adieu!* ” *Bro. J. E. Shum Tuckett*

The Farewell to the Brethren of St. James’ Lodge, Tarbolton.

Solo Voice (Bro. Baber), *with Trio* (Bros. Beavis, Maby and Hill) *and Pianoforte* (Bro. Hubert Hunt).

Robert Burns was initiated in the Lodge of St. David at Tarbolton on the 4th July, 1781, at the age of 23 years. In 1782 he and some other members quitted this Lodge and revived the old but dormant Lodge of St. James’, and in 1784 he was chosen Depute Master to the W.M., Major General Montgomerie, of Coilsfield. Burns was very regular in his attendance, and frequently occupied the Chair, and on 2nd March, 1786, he passed and raised his brother Gilbert. Towards the close of 1786 he arranged to set sail for Jamaica, there to “ pursue Fortune’s slidd’ry ba’,” and this song was written and chanted by the Author to the Brethren in Lodge assembled almost on the eve of his intended departure. But in November, 1786, instead of being on the seas bound for the West Indies, he was in Edinburgh in the midst of enthusiastic friends, and already famous. The Edinburgh edition of his Poems appeared in February, 1787. The now priceless first, or Kilmarnock, edition is dated 16th April, 1786, and it was the Lodge of St. James, Tarbolton, which was really responsible for its issue. Thus the genius of Masonry discovered and led forth the genius of one of the greatest of Scottish poets.

7—GLEE, "Happy are we met" Anon. (c. 1800)

Unaccompanied Choir.

Happy are we met,
Happy have we been,
Happy may we part,
And happy meet again.

From a collection of Catches and Gleees selected and arranged by Robert Broderip, of Bristol.

"2 of Broderip's Glee Books" appear in the Inventory of the Royal Sussex Lodge.

INTERVAL (during which refreshments were served in the dining-room).

8—CANTATA, "The Mason's Rejoicing" Bro. Mozart

Solo Voice (Bro. W. A. Stear), *Chorus, Orchestra and Organ.*

This Cantata was composed on April 20th, 1785, for a meeting of the "True Harmony" Lodge on the 24th of the same month, held to honour Ignaz von Born, and to celebrate his discovery of the method of working ores by amalgamation.

The words, aided by the music, graphically describe the occasion. They commence with a reference to the discovery, "the Mason" being Von Born himself. Then the flow of the Aria is suddenly stopped at—"See! how Wisdom and Virtue . . . saying." At this point we can, without any great stretch of imagination, see a deputation advancing to the seat of honour, the leader carrying a laurel wreath—"Take, beloved, this crown." At the words, "from Joseph's hand," the music is suddenly quickened, and the wreath placed on Von Born's head,—“Then sing and rejoice now, ye brethren.”

Von Born was the leading authority on mining and metallurgy of his time. In 1780 or 1781 he founded the "True Harmony" Lodge, which included the most eminent men of Vienna. It was a sort of learned society in which, during the winter months, original papers of interest were read, and published in a Masonic Journal (see Bro. Brough's *An Austrian Precursor of the Q.C. Lodge*, xiii., 72).

The Joseph referred to is Joseph II. of Austria. He was not a Mason, but strongly favoured Masonry. His father, Francis I., was initiated at the Hague by English Masons, and was raised in England.

At the gathering on April 24th, Mozart's father and Haydn were present. Leopold Mozart had been staying with his son for nine or ten weeks, and during that time Haydn had made his celebrated avowal of Mozart's genius. It was through his son that Leopold Mozart had become a Mason; his stay was probably prolonged in order to attend this special meeting, for he returned to Salzburg the next day.

It may be asked, are there any Masonic allusions in the music of these specially composed works, as in "The Magic Flute?" The answer is, in both these Cantatas a phrase or figure is often found repeated three times, where ordinarily one would expect to find it either twice or four times. There may or may not have been a thought behind this fact.

9—CLOSING HYMN of the St. Vincent Lodge, No. 1404, Bristol C. Bucknall

Words by Bro. B. A. Bevan-Petman, a P.M. of the Lodge.

Vocal Quartet (Bros. Hunt, Longford, Baber and Parkman).

10—MASONIC DIRGE Bro. Mozart

Orchestra and Organ.

This beautiful little piece was composed at Vienna in July, 1785, on the death of two distinguished Freemasons, Duke Georg August of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Prince Franz Esterhazy, who are noted in Mozart's autograph catalogue as "Brothers Mecklenburg and Esterhazy." It is grounded, after a short introduction, on a Gregorian Psalm-tone which may possibly have had some special significance to Freemasons, and it ends with a major third which 'sounds like the opening of heaven.'

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

11—SONG, "Charity" Bro. Mozart

Voice (Bro. Taylor) and Pianoforte.

Amongst the MSS. in the British Museum is a volume (Additional 32596) containing a collection of 66 Freemasons' songs in German, with pianoforte accompaniment. An allusion to the Emperor Joseph in the last song in the book fixes the date before 1790, the year of his death. The songs are by twenty different composers, Mozart's name being attached to four. These are (51) "To a visiting brother," (55) "Charity," (65) "Contentment" and (66) "My wishes." The last two only have been published among Mozart's works.

The volume was purchased from C. Zoeller in 1885.

12—GLEE, "Hail to the Craft" Bro. J. Parry

Unaccompanied Choir, Solo parts by Bros Pike, Longford and Jupp.

From "The London Collection of Glees, Duets and Catches, calculated for Public or Private performance," published in the early part of the nineteenth century. Words and music are by the Editor of the book, J. Parry. The particular copy for this, from which our copies were transcribed, belonged to Bro. J. W. Hobbs, the once famous singer, who was G.Org. in 1846.

13—CLOSING SONG, "Let a song to God be sounded" I. J. Pleyel

Unison Song, with Pianoforte.

Ignaz Joseph Pleyel was a favourite pupil of Bro. J. Haydn. He was invited to London in 1791 to conduct a series of concerts which, without his knowledge, were intended to oust those conducted by Haydn. The blow missed its aim, the conductors being fast friends. Three symphonies, by Haydn, Mozart and Pleyel were performed at the first concert, and Haydn was present. It will be noted that while these two were in London Mozart died in Vienna.

This song is No. 3 in the MS. book mentioned above.

14—"MASONIC ODE" Bro. George Percivall

"Dedicated to the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, No. 314, Bristol,"
and performed at the Dedication of Freemasons' Hall, Bridge Street, Bristol,
on May 1st, 1813.

*Solo Voices (Bros. Longford and Hill with Bros. Pike and Maby in Quartet), Chorus,
Orchestra and Organ.*

INTRODUCTION.

Recitative (TENOR).

Conven'd we're met:—Chief Oracle of Heav'n,
To whom the Sacred Mysteries are giv'n;
We're met to bid a splendid fabric rise
Worthy the mighty Ruler of the Skies.
And lo! where Uriel, Angel of the Sun,
Arrives to see the mighty business done.

Aria (TENOR).

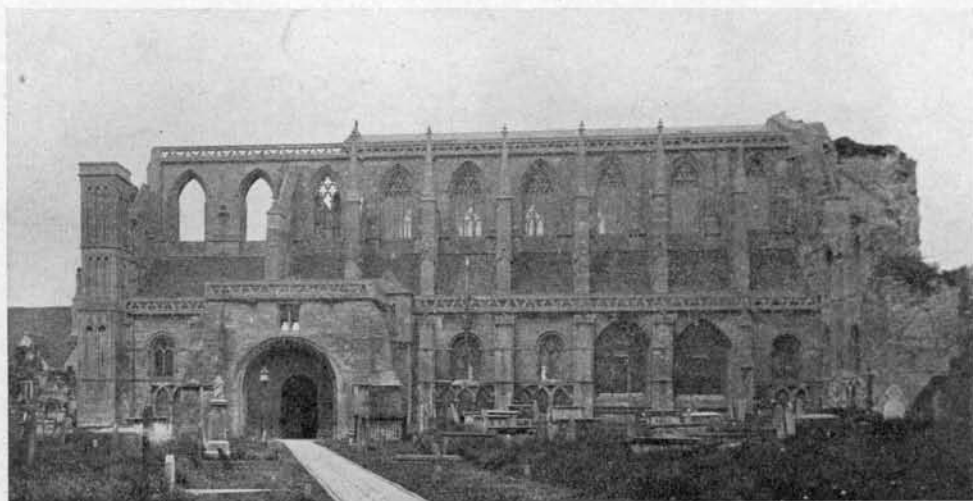
Behold he comes upon the wings of light,
And with his Sunny Vestment cheers the sight.

Recitative (BASS).

The Lord supreme, Grand Master of the Skies!
Who bade Creation from a chaos rise,
The Rules of Architecture first engrav'd
On Adam's heart.

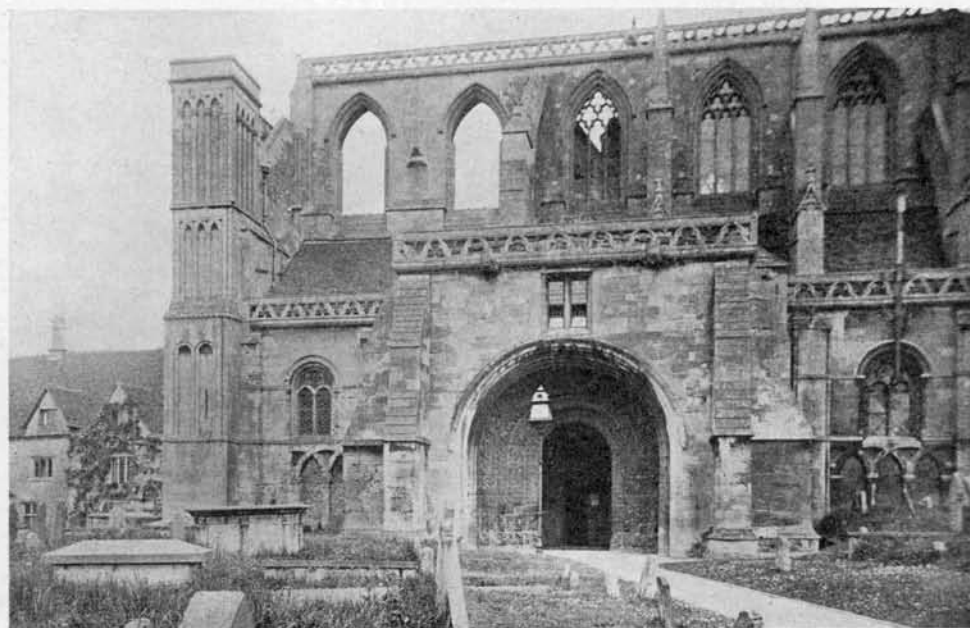
(Quartet and Chorus).

Sound Great *Jehovah's* praise!
Who bade King Solomon the Temple raise.



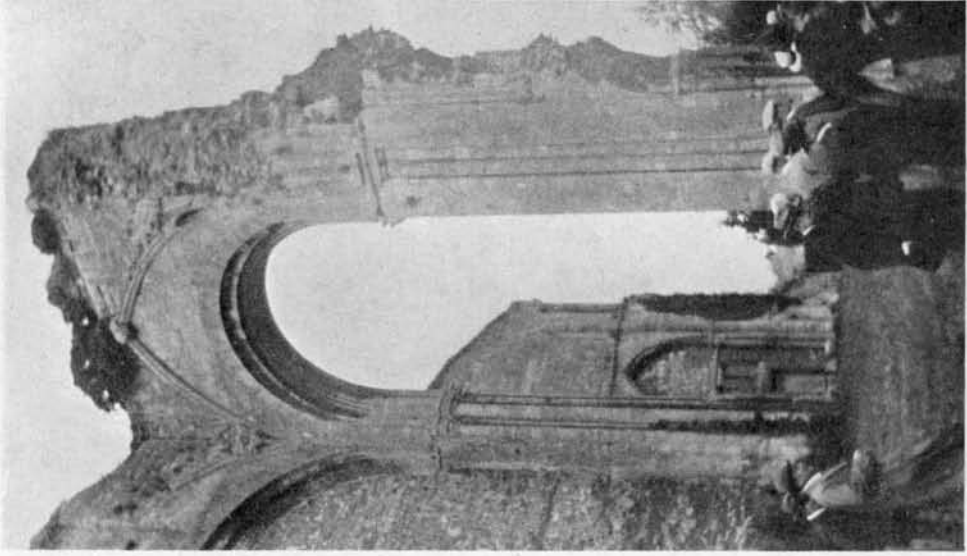
A. C. Powell.

Malmesbury Abbey from the South.

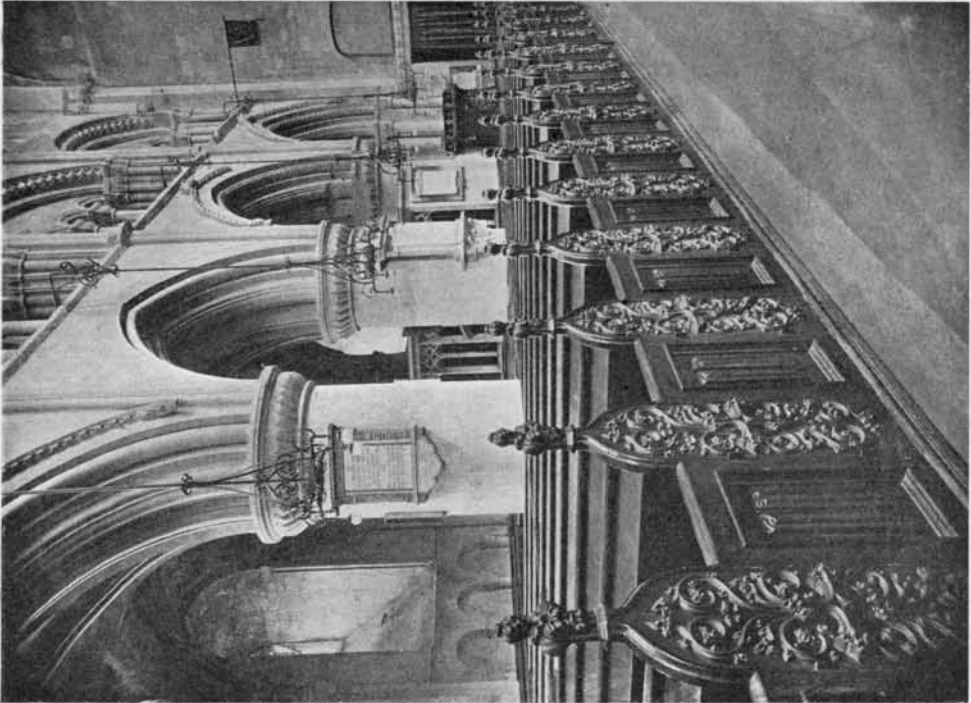


A. C. Powell.

Malmesbury Abbey. South Porch.



L. A. Engel.
Malmesbury Abbey. North Arch of Tower.



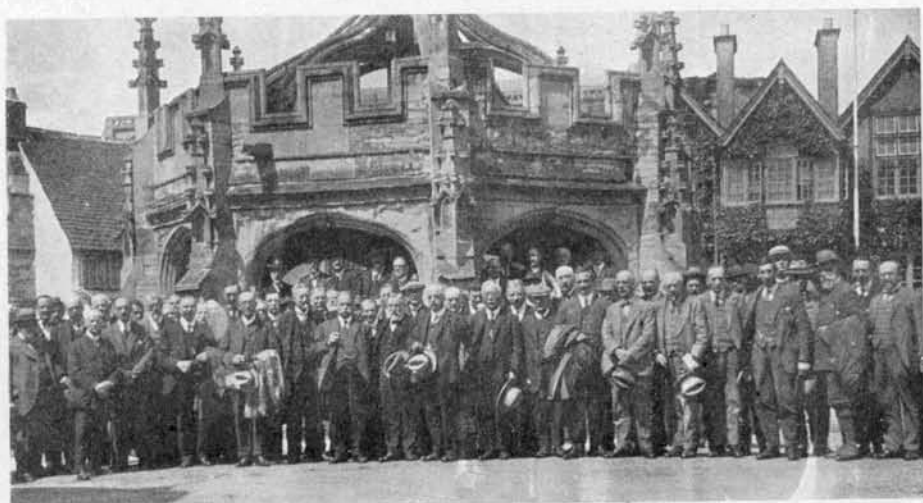
A. C. Powell.
Malmesbury Abbey. Interior looking North-East.



J. F. H. Gilbard.
Malmesbury. Elizabethan House East of the Abbey.



J. F. H. Gilbard.
Malmesbury. The Market Cross.

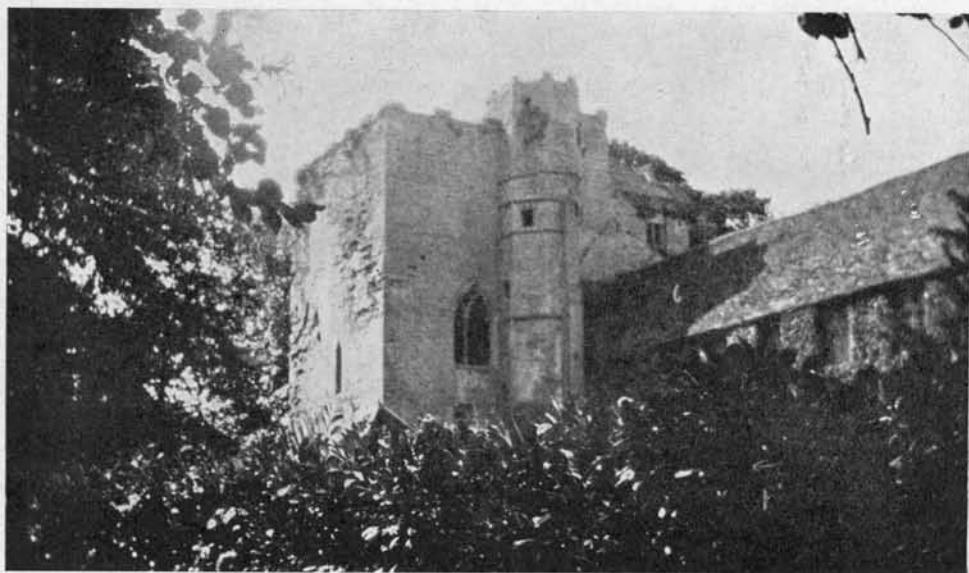


J. F. H. Gilbard.
Malmesbury. Group at Market Cross.



J. F. H. Gilbard.

Beverston. The Gateway.



L. A. Engel.

Beverston. The Keep.

The words of the "Ode" are taken from a poem which appeared in the (London) *Ahiman Rezon* of 1756. It is there described as "Solomon's Temple, an Oratorio, as it was performed at the Philharmonic-Room, in Fishamble Street, Dublin, for the benefit of sick and distressed Free-Masons. The words by Mr. James Eyre Weeks. The music composed by Mr. Richard Broadway, Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral." No date is given of the performance, but it was probably later than 1750, since the work is not mentioned in the (Dublin) *Ahiman Rezon* of that year. Broadway was organist of St. Patrick's from 1748 to 1761. The poem was reprinted in *Masonic Miscellanies* of 1797.

The characters in the Oratorio include the Queen of Sheba. The words "Convened we're met . . . Mighty Ruler of the skies" are uttered by Solomon, and the latter part of the recitative, "And lo! where Uriel" &c., and the aria are given to the High Priest. Uriel sings the bass recitative, and the chorus, "Sound great Jehovah's praise" &c., is rendered by Priests and Nobles.

Bro. George Percivall was a member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, now No. 187, and played the 'cello in the orchestra at the performance in 1818. It is strange there is no record of any other musical production of a composer who shows he possessed considerable ability and charm.

The "Ode" is set for voices, flute, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpet, tympani and strings. On the present occasion, as it was impossible to find players of wind-instruments among the Brethren, the wind parts are taken by the organ, and the score has been arranged so as to include the oboe.

The programme being concluded, the W. Dep. P. G. M., the Lord Mayor, and the W. M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge made short speeches of congratulation and thanks to all who had taken part. Bro. Hubert Hunt responded with a delightful little address which was itself one of the many enjoyable items in the proceedings.

A 'Member of the Lodge' writes:—

To those who had the happiness to be present Friday evening came as a *revelation*. It is doubtful whether anything on the same scale has previously been attempted. The City of Bristol is famed for its music, vocal and instrumental, but on the present occasion only Freemasons were permitted to contribute. Thus the Concert stands out not only as a brilliant feature of our Summer Outing Programme but as a great Event in Freemasonry. To Bro. Cecil Powell and the Bristol Masonic Society, to the talented artistes who so graciously gave their services, and especially to the 'Master-Craftsman' Bro. Hubert Hunt we owe a deep debt of gratitude for pleasure we can never forget. Friday evening may stand as the model for all future performances of Masonic Music.

SATURDAY, 17TH JULY.

ST. PETER'S HOSPITAL.

On the Saturday morning the party visited St. Peter's Hospital, where they were received by Mr. J. J. Simpson, the genial Clerk to the Guardians. Before leaving, the Brethren heartily thanked him and also Bros. A. Dodge and Coles, for their great kindness.

The building formed the mansion of a family named Norton in the fifteenth century. One of these is believed to be that Thomas Norton of Bristol, who was reputed the most skilful alchemist of his time; but he is said to have impoverished both himself and those friends who had entrusted him with money to assist his researches. In 1580 it was sold, and in 1607 came into the hands of Robert Aldworth, a rich merchant, who carried out extensive alterations in the structure. Later on it was used as a sugar-house, and from 1695 to 1697 as a mint, in which, it is stated, £40,000,000 were coined. The building was then purchased by the "Incorporation of the Poor" for £800. The beautiful sitting-room of Robert Aldworth, with its black oak panelling, its beautiful ceiling, fire-place and carved door, became the Court-room of the Guardians, until lack of sufficient accommodation caused them to provide a larger one in 1901. The quaint scriptural designs on the river entrance, as well as the fine barge boards and heavy brackets, are also attributed to Aldworth. The handsome chair, dated 1696, bearing a

carved representation of a bee-hive, is much thought of, and has been used by royal visitors to the city.

Bristol was the first place in England to obtain legislative authority for the election of a Board of Guardians for the Poor (in 1696). Up to the seventeenth century the relief of the necessitous had been left to the charitable, and later in that century it was provided by parochial poor rates. The Vestries used all possible means of ridding their parishes of everyone chargeable or even likely to be so; but, shortly after the Act of Parliament mentioned was passed, St. Peter's Hospital became the first workhouse, supported by a rate levied upon a group of parishes. Its destitute inmates were long ago removed to other buildings.

Part of the old mansion is now used as the Bristol Registry of births, deaths and marriages, Bro. Albert Dodge, the Provincial G. Treasurer, being the Superintendent.

The Government used as a military hospital during the War the infirmary which the Guardians had just erected but had not used.

TEMPLE CHURCH.

The Brethren then paid a visit to Temple (or Holy Cross) Church under the kindly guidance of the Vicar, Bro. the Rev. Canon Welchman, a member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, No. 187. Their grateful thanks were expressed by the W.M. for the facilities afforded them for seeing the many points of interest, and for the admirable descriptions given by Bro. Welchman.

In 1145 Robert, Earl of Gloucester, granted land from his Manor of Bedminster to the Knights Templar, and this was called the "Temple Fee." A church was then built, oval in form, 43 feet long by 23 feet wide, the foundations of which were discovered in the course of certain restorations about fifty years ago.

At the time of the suppression of the Knights Templar, early in the fourteenth century, their possessions in this country were handed over to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem or Knights Hospitaller. These held the property until it was confiscated by Henry VIII. by a special Act of Parliament in 1540,—just four hundred years after the gift had been made by the Earl of Gloucester.

The men of the Temple Fee refused to acknowledge the authority of the Mayor of Bristol, they enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, and allowed those who were not burgesses to trade within their district. The condition of things had become so troublesome that in 1534 the matter was brought into the Law Courts, where the citizens were successful. The dispute had been of long standing. For instance, in 19 Edward II. (1325-6) according to the *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. i., p. 434, translated from Norman French by Seyer,¹ the following complaint was made:—

"To our lord the King and his Council the Meire and Commonalty of Bristuyt shew: that whereas the aforesaid town and the suburb of the same is within the county of Gloucester, and is obedient (*entendaunt*) to the Sheriff of the same county, except a parcel of a street called Temple-street, which is within the walls, and the (inhabitants) of the said street burgesses of the same town of Bristuit; which street is obedient (*entendaunt*) to the Sheriff of Somerset: therefore when our lord the King commands the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to make his executions, the people of the town of Bristuit cause their goods and chattels to be removed to the said Temple-street, which is in the county of Somerset: so that neither the Sheriff of Glouc' nor the bailiffs of the same town are able to make execution of the mandates of our lord the King; to the great damage of the King and of all the Commonalty."

The present church is, of course, of later date than the original edifice. It is a dignified building, partly of the decorated and partly of the perpendicular style, and was once richly ornamented with frescoes, and possessed much ancient stained glass in its windows until Cromwell's time. Its most notable feature is the leaning tower, the lower part of which (up to the trefoil band, two thirds from the bottom), is said to have been erected in 1397. William of Worcester states that the whole of it was built anew in 1460, but it was probably only the upper portion, (which is practically upright). The tower is about four feet out of the perpendicular. Temple was made a vicarage by Ralph, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1342.

At the end of the north aisle is the Weavers' Chapel, which according to John Taylor² was granted to that fraternity by Edward I., but, at any rate, was built in his

¹ *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. ii., p. 135.

² *A Book about Bristol*, p. 231.

reign. There is a small door leading from it to the chancel, now called the "Martyr's Door" in memory of John Stoue, who, during the time of Queen Mary, appeared at it while the Mayor and Corporation were attending Mass, and shouted, "Fie upon this idolatrous worship." For this offence he was burnt at the stake.

The building (like the neighbourhood generally) has many associations with John Wesley, and there is a window put up by Wesleyans to commemorate the fact. It was the last church in Bristol in which he preached.

At the font, now unused and standing in the Weavers' Chapel, Edward Colston, the most honoured of all Bristol citizens, was christened. His parents lived in the parish, but he was actually born in that of St. Peter's. His life covered the eventful period of 1636 to 1721, and he was distinguished by his great love for the aged, the poor and the young, which his ample means allowed him to gratify by his gifts. Each year, on November 13th, his memory is perpetuated by four Societies in Bristol, partly by collections for charity (which in 1920 amounted to over £1,000), mostly disbursed in annuities and attending divine service, and partly by dining together. Although two of these Colston Societies were formed respectively by the Tories and the Whigs, and up to the time of the War their evening gatherings were of considerable political importance (when statesmen of Cabinet rank were always among the speakers), yet the dominant idea is Charity and the inspiration of all is the example of Edward Colston. It is said that the Society of Bristolians in Toronto, meeting on November 13th, give their children each a bun and a 25 cent. piece, just as each boy of Colston's School in the old city receives a bun and a shilling from the President of the Dolphin Society.

There is a very fine brass chandelier of mediæval design and workmanship in the chancel of Temple Church, and among the church plate are a magnificent early Elizabethan paten and two handsome silver candlesticks.

The iron grille, which is altogether fifty feet long and now stands upon low walls on each side of the chancel was first erected in 1726, but its maker is unknown. From a certain similarity with the work at St. Mary Redcliff, however, it has been supposed to have been made by the same smith, William Edney. In an address delivered to the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (*Transactions*, vol. 32, p. 157), Dr. Alfred Harvey said:—"Altogether I know nothing in England which can vie with this magnificent range of grilles either in extent or quality."

ST. MARY REDCLIFF.

From the Temple Church we made our way to St. Mary Redcliff, where the Lord Mayor of Bristol, Bro. J. T. Francombe, member of the Royal Clarence Lodge, was waiting to receive us. It would have been difficult to see this, "the Fairest, Goodliest, and most famous Parish Church in England," under more delightful auspices. Bro. Francombe has all his life been closely connected with the Church and with the Free School close by, and he knows every corner of the building. We were greeted in the North Porch with kindly words of welcome, our guide telling us what a great pleasure it was to him to meet so many of his Brother Masons and to conduct them round the splendid building erected to the honour and glory of T.G.A.O.T.U. He reminded us that much of the restoration was due to the munificence of the Powell family and the Bristol Freemasons. After a careful examination of the details of the splendid North Porch we were invited to be seated at the West End of the Nave, and the Lord Mayor then gave a most interesting description of this most famous of Parish Churches, and from notes which he has since kindly supplied the following account is taken:—

The present is certainly the third Church erected on the site, and possibly the fourth, as there is a fragment of Norman architecture in the South-West wall of the Nave. The first was in the Norman style, and was probably one of the numerous thank offerings of William the Conqueror. Simon de Burton is reputed to have been the builder of the Early English Church, of which nothing remains to-day but the inner North Porch, the lower stage of the tower, and one corbel. He also built almshouses in the neighbouring parish of St. Thomas. The North Porch interior, with its clustered columns and beautifully corbelled bays, is considered to be one of the most beautiful and most perfect Gothic buildings now existing anywhere; and, if not built for, was most certainly used as a reliquary, on such a plan as to allow the pilgrims to pass in by one door and out by another, the relics resting in a specially constructed recess, or rather small chamber with barred windows. The most venerated was the reputed skull of St. Peter, which in

those early, unenlightened days brought in a handsome revenue from the credulous piety of the populace; but, when it became known that there were three other reputed heads of St. Peter on the Continent, the revenue decreased very considerably.

The next Church erected on the foundations, and embodying portions of the older one, was built by the elder William Canynge and his son, and completed at the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth. It appears to have existed but a short time only, as it is in the City records that a dreadful and devastating storm occurred in the year 1445, when the upper portion of the spire was blown down. It is probable that it was a wooden construction, for the base of the tower had to be strengthened to support the present spire, which was declared complete in 1872, and—to the accompaniment of another violent thunder storm—opened by Mrs. Proctor Baker in that year.

A grandson of the first William Canynge undertook to re-build the destroyed portions of the Church. He employed a clever builder named John Norton, and was assisted and advised by John Carpenter, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, a well known church builder of that time. The result of their designs, and Canynge's munificence, is the Church as we see it now; but, of course, many years elapsed before the plans of these mediæval builders were realized as at present.

Over the North Porch is the Muniment Room, where Chatterton claimed to have found the manuscripts of the poetry which he attributed to Rowley. The Lord Mayor became Head master of the Pile Street Free School in 1865, and thus was a successor of Thomas Chatterton, the father of the poet. For three years Bro. Francombe lived alone in the house in which that ill-fated genius, a posthumous child, was born in 1752, three months after the death of his father. While still under ten years of age, Chatterton was admitted to Colston School, then on St. Augustine's Back, and the Usher, one Phillips, offering a prize for the best poetry, he won it with "The Churchwarden and the Apparition," describing how a certain Churchwarden threw down the Cross in the Churchyard. (A similar Cross is about to be erected as a War Memorial.) In September, 1768, the New Bristol Bridge was opened with public ceremony, and Chatterton seized the occasion to supply to *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* what he declared was an original contemporary account of the opening of the Old Bristol Bridge in the writing of one Rowley, a priest, which he professed to have discovered with other documents in the Muniment Room. Some time after he went to London and was introduced to Beckford, the Lord Mayor—himself a poet. Chatterton wrote glowing accounts home, and promises of silk dresses for his mother and sister, when, in fact, he was writing plays, etc., for the public gardens, and receiving at most 30/s. a month for his work. Beckford died, and, destitute and starving, in a fit of despair, Chatterton tore up his manuscripts, left his curse to his native city, and poisoned himself in the year 1770.

The edifice was seriously damaged during the Commonwealth, and, after standing neglected for two centuries, was at length restored during the last century. The remnants of the glass left after Cromwell's visit, when his soldiers were quartered and their horses stabled in the Church, are in the North Tower, and the colouring of the old glass is greatly admired. St. Mary Redcliff abounds in objects of interest both old and new, including the Canynge Tombs and the modern stained glass in the Cabot, Colston, and Handel windows and in the restored Lady Chapel. The great discoverer of Newfoundland and the mainland of the Continent of America is shown with a picture of his good ship *The Matthew*. The beautiful window to commemorate the works of Bristol's greatest philanthropist, Edward Colston, contains a representation of the eight acts of mercy: feeding the hungry; giving drink to the thirsty; clothing the naked; teaching the ignorant; visiting the prisoner; tending the dying; helping the lame; visiting the sick and the beautiful Parable of the Good Samaritan. Colston's motto is also displayed, "Go thou and do likewise."

The Lady Chapel was restored inside and out by the generosity of the Freemasons, and their device in mosaic of two thousand pieces may be seen in the floor. Also many signs best known to Mark Masons can be recognised in the beautifully groined and embossed ceiling.

No less than 1,200 gilded bosses decorate the stone ceiling of the Church, and above at a distance of six feet is an outer roof. In the tower is shown the so-called Dun Cow's rib, said to be the rib of a cow that gave milk to the parish when there was a dearth of water. The legend goes on to say that the poor cow, giving out so much milk, went mad, and Guy Earl of Warwick was sent for to fight the Dun Cow. He killed the noisome beast and placed one rib in Warwick Castle and one in Redcliff Church. The Lord Mayor said that when he was a boy he and his companions believed this tale; but

when he grew older, and had never seen a rib of beef eight feet in length, then he made further inquiries and found that all the truth had not been told: the rib is the rib of a cow whale brought home by Sebastian Cabot.

The Crypt contains the tomb of R.W. Bro. W. A. F. Powell, P.G.M., Bristol, and the window with his monogram. Here were confined for fifteen years some fifty of Blake's Dutch prisoners of war, previous to their removal to Chepstow Castle.

In the Crypt, our kindly conductor gave us some reminiscences of his own quaint experiences there as a school boy, and the opportunity was taken by the W.M. to express our thanks to His Lordship for making our visit to the Church so pleasant and instructive.

We then went on, still under Bro. Francombe's guidance, to visit the Caves on the Wharf, which run under the Church and from Bristol Castle under The Cut to Arno's Vale. These caves were probably cut to procure dry, red sand for lead castings. As trade increased, they became storehouses for palm oil and possibly some slaves, as Bristol was a great market for them. The caves are now used by Messrs. Lever Brothers' as stores for their valuable oils, and, through the courtesy of their foreman, Mr. O'Brien, we were allowed to explore them.

After a hurried inspection of the Shot Tower, still in active use of recent years, we visited Canynge's House, where the roof of the fifteenth century hall in which Canynge entertained Edward IV. is still preserved; also the staircase and chapel.

The afternoon was spent in visits to various objects of interest in Clifton, including the famous Suspension Bridge. The weather being then (as it was throughout the whole period of the visit) all that could be desired, there was an excellent opportunity of seeing the many beauties of the neighbourhood, which were much enjoyed, especially as a numerous band of local Brethren had volunteered to act as guides. One party paid a second visit to the Cathedral, under the guidance of Bro. Hubert Hunt, for a more minute examination of its architectural features.

The Clifton Suspension Bridge, spanning the beautiful Gorge of the Avon, is admired for its grace and appropriateness to its position. It stands 245 feet above the high-water mark of the river below, is 627 feet in length between the abutments, and weighs 1,500 tons. It possesses also an interesting history. In 1733 a wine merchant of the name of Vich left £1,000 as a nucleus for building such a bridge, which he estimated would cost £10,000. In 1830 his bequest had accumulated to £8,000, and the scheme was started under Brunel, who set up the two great piers. The undertaking was, however, abandoned in 1853, when £45,000 had been expended. Eventually a further effort was made, and the Bridge was opened, with great rejoicings, in 1864.

It is a curious fact that the chains, originally made for Clifton, but sold for the construction of the Hungerford Bridge, London, became available upon the latter's demolition, and are now in the position at first intended.

SATURDAY EVENING.

We were at home to the local Brethren at the Grand Hotel, and Wor. Bro. L. H. Dring, P.G.D., gave us a Lantern Lecture on the Evolution of the Tracing Board. The paper itself was printed in *A.Q.C.* xxix., where it is fully illustrated; but there is a great difference between reading such a paper for oneself and listening to it being delivered by the writer with the illustrations as lantern slides. The Bristol Tracing Boards are of particular importance in the history of the subject, and the Lecturer shewed us how originally these Boards were drawn so as to receive metal models of the pillars and jewels, which were not designated on the Board, as is the present practice. The actual metal jewels thus used at Bristol have been preserved and are now in the Provincial Museum. Our best thanks are due to Wor. Bro. E. T. Dunscombe for his kindness in putting at our disposal the lantern, which he also operated most efficiently.

As the slides were being shewn, questions were asked, and at the close of the Lecture a discussion ensued, after which Wor. Bro. E. H. Cook, Dep. Prov. G.M., moved a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, which was carried with enthusiasm. It is a new departure on these occasions to devote our last evening to this sort of thing, and the innovation was fully justified.

The evening concluded with various speeches in which guests and hosts alike expressed their goodwill and gratitude for hospitality, and referred to the great success of the Outing, a success principally due to the immense trouble the local Brethren had taken in preparing for it and thinking it all out.

General regret was felt at the absence of Bro. A. C. Powell, caused by an attack of influenza, and, indeed, this was the only thing one would have had otherwise. The success of the Outing was in a very large measure due to him, and his absence must have been as keen a disappointment to him as it most certainly was to us. Happily, he was able to be present for a short time on Friday evening, and we were glad to know that his heroism in venturing out had been attended with no ill results.

At the time of our visit the gas workers and allied trades in Bristol were 'resting,' and at first the Hotel authorities were disposed to shrink from the task of providing for our army of invasion. However, Bro. A. Dodge, P.G.Treas., Bristol, came to the rescue, and, thanks to his power of persuasion, the Hotel management consented to 'do the best they could considering the strike,' and all will agree that the result was in every way satisfactory, and that our hearty thanks are due to Mrs. Raymond and her efficient staff.

SUNDAY, 18TH JULY.

On the Sunday the Brethren attended service in the Cathedral. The kindness of the Cathedral Authorities led them to extend to us a special invitation to assemble in the grand old Norman Chapter House, where we were cordially received by Bro. the Very Rev. the Dean, Canon J. G. Alford, C.B.E., Canon in residence, Archdeacon Talbot, Bro. the Rev. Precentor Phillips, and other members of the Chapter. The local Brethren had also assembled in great force, accompanied once more by the Dep.Prov.G.M., Bro Dr. E. H. Cook.

After a few cordial words of welcome by the Dean, a procession was formed, being marshalled by the Prov. Directors of Ceremonies, and we proceeded into the Cathedral and down the South Aisle to where, on the North side of the Nave, seats had been reserved for the Craft, while the Dep.Prov.G.M. and Officers of the Q.C. Lodge were assigned Canons' Stalls. The music appointed for the service was all selected from compositions by Freemasons, and was as follows:—

Chants. Venite.—Dr. Maurice Greene.

Psalm 90.—Dr. William Hayes.

„ 91.—Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley, Mus.Doc.

„ 92.—Thomas Attwood.

Te Deum in F.—Samuel Wesley.

Benedictus in E flat.—Dr. C. Harford Lloyd.

Anthem, "O how amiable," (Psalm 84, v. 1, 2, 12 and 13)—
Hubert W. Hunt.

Hymn 273 A. & M. (Tune 'Melcombe').—Samuel Webbe.

As a voluntary, Bro. Hunt played a Fugue on the tune 'Bedford,' which was composed by the late Bro. F. St. John Bullen, F.M. of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, Bristol, who died in 1917. Bro. Bullen was an amateur possessing considerable musical gifts and was a man of charming disposition. The following biographical notes on the other musicians named will be of interest:—

DR. GREENE (1695—1755) wrote pieces of high Masonic tendency (*A.Q.C.* iv., 92). He was Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1718, and Professor of Music at Cambridge from 1730.

DR. HAYES (1706—1777), composer of "An Ode Sacred to Masonry." Professor of Music at Oxford from 1742.

SIR FREDERICK OUSELEY (1825—1889) was Grand Chaplain in 1864 with the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (a founder of No. 2076), and Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855.

T. ATTWOOD (1765—1838) was a favourite pupil of Mozart from 1785 to 1787. Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1796.

SAMUEL WESLEY (1766—1837) was born in Bristol, a son of the Rev. Charles Wesley, the hymn writer, and therefore a nephew of John Wesley. He was the first Grand Organist after the Union of the Ancients and Moderns, which office he held for five years.

DR. C. H. LLOYD (1849—1919) was born at Thornbury, near Bristol. He was Grand Organist in 1917 at the Bi-Centenary Festival.

H. W. HUNT, Organist of Bristol Cathedral from 1901, was Grand Organist in 1919 at the Peace Celebration. The Anthem was written for the Consecration of the Cabot Lodge (Bristol) in November, 1918, and repeated at the Consecration of the Peace Lodge last September, when the solo was sung by Bro. John Horsell, who also sang it on the present occasion.

SAMUEL WEBBE (1740—1816) was a prominent musician of his time, and, like most of his brother glee writers, a Mason.

But not only were we privileged to hear the music thus selected for us rendered by Bro. Hunt and his choir, but we had the further privilege of listening, for the second time in the history of our Outings, to a sermon specially addressed to us, and preached by a member of the Craft, on this occasion Bro. the Rev. Canon W. E. R. Morrow, Pr.G.Chap., Surrey, Vicar of Clifton. Taking his text from St. Mark ix., 50, the preacher dealt with the subject of influence as a factor in life, and in his opening words made use of an apposite quotation from Jeffrey Farnol: "Man is a pebble thrown into the pool of life, a splash, a bubble, and he is gone! But the ripples of influence he leaves behind go on ever widening until they reach the farthest bank." During the sermon the preacher made a special reference to the members of the Lodge in the following words:—

"We welcome to-day to our Cathedral many distinguished and influential brethren of the Masonic Fraternity, but especially the members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge who have been visiting our city. The whole Masonic Order is under an ever-increasing obligation to these learned brethren and students of Masonic lore. For it is their privilege as well as joy to search into the hidden mysteries of nature and of science, in order that they may inspire their brethren with knowledge and truth, and with lofty ideals, so that every Mason shall be able to render himself more serviceable to his fellow-men. Bristol will be the richer in experience from this brotherly contact. The visiting Master, Wardens, and Brethren will carry away with them many happy memories of the charm and unique interest of this Capital City of the West. This is not exactly the time to go deeply into the principles of the Masonic Order, but, speaking from a dual position, I am profoundly impressed by the influence of Freemasonry especially during the last five years. If I may quote from the oration of the Chaplain at the Consecration of your Lodge, who was also one of your first members, the Rev. Adolphus Woodford, P.G.C., it will explain in better words than I can command the true ideals of Masonry. 'Freemasonry,' he says, 'is not either intended to promote and foster alone agreeable coteries and graceful hospitality; it is not even solely an assemblage of brethren of the "mystic tie," as we often say, met to discharge from time to time the normal duties of the Lodge, and display the beauties and accessories of an ornate and cherished ritual. . . . It has higher aims and greater ends within its purview for all its *alumni*, and without these, I make bold to say, its mission in the world might seem a doubtful blessing to some minds, and it would forfeit, I venture also to think, much of the fascination it exerts over those of its members who have known it the longest and the best, and all of its attractions for mankind. . . . English Freemasonry to-day as ever asserts in unmistakeable tones belief in God and love of man, and emphatically seeks to assert a reverence for religion. Because it seeks this end its Lodges are like an electric chain of light, which seems to be encompassing mankind, bringing intellect and culture, peace and civilization, friendship and fraternity, to the distant and the near.' I therefore appeal to you, my brethren of the Craft, in the strongest possible manner, in the face of the enormous problems which await solution by good men, and by them alone, to bring in the weight of your immense influence into the service of the Church, to aid her in the performance of her great task. May your lives be such as to send forth a fragrance and an influence which shall be remembered

by the generations which come after you. Such an influence could not be more touchingly expressed or more beautifully described than in a charming epigram of Philip of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* vii., 544), placed upon a monument raised to a stonemason's boy by his own father's hands:—

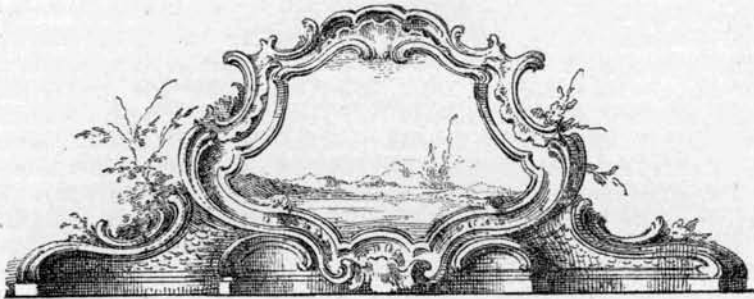
“ In dear remembrance of a son
His father cut and set this stone.
No chisel mark the marble bears;
Its surface yielded to his tears.
Lie on him lightly, stone, and he
Will know his father's masonry.”¹

The preacher then went on to invite the visitors, in common with the rest of the congregation, to support the charity for which he was making a special appeal that morning, the Bristol Diocesan Clergy Society, and, with another reference to the importance in life of influence and example, brought to a close an address which will not easily be forgotten by those who were privileged to hear it.

As we passed out of the Cathedral we had one more opportunity of admiring the cloister, and we were also shewn an old archway, now forming part of the school buildings, the unusual appearance of which is apparently due to its having been cut down during some period of re-building. We came out on to the College Green through the great Norman Gate.

Bristol has its own ideas about transport facilities on Sundays, ideas which are not such as would appeal to most people who were dealing with the problem of transferring seventy-seven brethren and their baggage to Temple Meads Station. But it takes a great deal to defeat our Secretary, and he got us on to the platform in good order and in plenty of time for the 1.40, with our impedimenta all present and correct. With a hearty send off from the brethren on the platform, a quick run brought us to Paddington, lunch being served on board, and our party dispersed after many mutual congratulations on the complete success of the Outing of 1920.

¹ From a translation of the original by Bro. the Very Rev. the Dean of Wells.



REVIEWS.

GOLBY'S HISTORY OF THE STABILITY LODGE OF INSTRUCTION.



HERE has just been issued from the Herald Press, Bath, a work bearing the title *A Century of Masonic Working being a History of the Stability Lodge of Instruction*, of which the author is Bro. F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.

The volume is octavo in size, of xix. and 276 pages with four portrait illustrations.

A first handling of the book does not inspire one with any feeling of joy, for it is printed on paper of rather poor quality and the workmanship of the binding is not of a high standard.

Having, however, got rid of the indifferent impression first formed of the work, it is gratifying to find that the contents are well worthy of careful study, and that much of value is to be gleaned from its pages. The book is much more than a mere history of a Lodge of Instruction, for it deals with the fascinating subject of the transmission of the Ritual from 1816—when it was settled by the Lodge of Reconciliation and approved by Grand Lodge—to the present day.

The author expresses regret at the inaccessibility of official records which were apparently freely available for reference in the past, but, fortunately, he has had sufficient material to hand in the records of the Lodge to enable him to deal very satisfactorily with his subject.

From these records it seems that this Lodge of Instruction came into existence in 1817 and that amongst its original members were Bros. Philip Broadfoot, Thomas Satterly and James McCann, who had taken an active part in the work of the Lodge of Reconciliation, whilst seven other members of that famous body subsequently joined the Lodge of Instruction and assisted in carrying on the work.

Before proceeding with his real history of the Lodge the author in a clearly written and well reasoned preface deals with the various claims that have been made from time to time by the Emulation Lodge of Improvement regarding its alleged connection with the Lodge of Reconciliation and the authenticity of its Ritual and Lectures, and although these claims are effectively shattered for the time being, it may be well to withhold judgment, for some reply will surely be forthcoming. The Emulation Lodge has by persistent advocacy so well consolidated its position that it can hardly now leave the field without a final effort to re-establish its front.

Chapter i. deals with the "Lineal Descent from the Lodge of Reconciliation," and it appears that members of that famous Lodge were amongst the organisers of the Stability Lodge of Instruction. Bro. Philip Broadfoot, the first Preceptor, was not only a prominent and active member of the Lodge of Reconciliation, but he was engaged in promulgating the system in "parts of England and Ireland." Bros. James McCann and Thomas Satterly were similarly employed in disseminating the Reconciliation system. It cannot be doubted that when these three Brethren joined in forming the Stability Lodge of Instruction it was because they recognized that a general Lodge of instruction would be beneficial to the Craft, and they could hardly help teaching the authorised system of which they were masters. Further evidence is given that the earliest work of the Lodge was in every way authentic, and the impression left on one's mind is that the author has proved his case.

Chapter ii. is headed "The Stability Lectures." It deals in an interesting way with the question of Masonic Lectures generally, but simply leads to the conclusion that whilst ceremonies have been approved by the Grand Lodge, Lectures never have been, but, on the contrary, that august body, at three successive meetings in 1819, refused to order for adoption any special form of Masonic Lectures.

Chapter iii., which is styled "The Stability Ceremonies," gives copious extracts from the Minutes, but no quotation appears of an actual ceremony having been rehearsed until April 24th, 1835, when the Initiation was gone through. The point may not be very material, for all three ceremonies were certainly performed on November 8th, 1850, in the presence of Bro. Peter Thomson, who was from the beginning associated with Philip Broadfoot.

Chapters iv., v., and vi. are concerned with the "Continuity of Teaching" under the various Preceptors who have ruled the Lodge, and the following table is a sufficient explanation of the course of that teaching and its transmission in an unbroken line:—

Preceptors.	Ruled.	Joined.
{ Philip Broadfoot	1817-1835	19 Decr. 1817
{ Peter Thomson	1817-1851	19 Decr. 1817
Henry Muggeridge	1851-1885	8 Novr. 1839
Eustace Anderson	1885-1900	29 Octr. 1880
F. W. Golby	1900-1917	8 Mar. 1895

In Chapter vii., which is headed "Uninterrupted Existence for a Century," a table is given of the various meeting places of the Lodge with dates of the first and last meetings of each annual session from 1820 to 1918—the minute-book prior to the earliest date not being now available—but, fortunately, other evidence is supplied that the Lodge was in existence in 1817, so that we may be satisfied the title of the chapter is no misnomer.

Valuable appendices of lists of members, arranged alphabetically, with dates of joining and of Lodges from which they joined, together with a useful index, bring the painstaking—but no doubt congenial—labours of an author who has been inspired with a love of his task, to a successful close.

No Masonic student, who is interested in the question of the descent of our Ritual, can afford to be without this book, and a perusal of its pages will supply him with examples of cogent reasoning and carefully set out facts sufficient to repay him for a more than usually patient study of the volume.

May, 1921.

RODK. H. BAXTER.

*ANCIENT FREEMASONRY AND THE OLD DUNDEE LODGE, No. 18,
1722-23 to 1920.*

By Arthur Heiron, L.R., No. 18, W.M. 1901 and 1917. London, Kenning & Son, 1921.

It should be understood at the outset that this volume is not a mere transcript of Lodge Minutes; on the contrary, the author has intelligently, and in the main with success, endeavoured to interweave much of general Masonic history belonging to the long period of which he treats, with the particular doings of his Lodge, for which it is easy to see he entertains a special affection, and now presents us with a book to which almost unqualified praise and welcome can be offered.

Bro. Heiron's labours have occupied him for no less than four years. As he states in his Introduction, he deals but shortly with matters occurring after 1834, when, after some years of decadence, the prosperity of "The Dundee Lodge" (as it was up to that time) revived, under the energetic lead of Bro. Dr. G. R. Rowe, and with its name altered to "The Old Dundee Lodge." It is enough, for this later period, to say that the Lodge still flourishes; and there may be desired for it as honourable and interesting a career as it possessed in its first century of life.

Constituted in 1723, the Lodge met in the City of London till 1739, when removal to Wapping preceded existence there for eighty years—for nearly sixty of which it met upon its own freehold premises—and in 1820 reverted to the City, where its meetings have since been held. That the Lodge was in fact in being before 1723 is suggested as probable, and; indeed, claimed (page 14) but historic proof dates only from the year named, and the Grandmastership of the Duke of Wharton. Bro. Heiron can hardly be correct in writing: "It is said that he [the Duke] became President of the 'Hell Fire Club' meeting, at Medmenham Abbey on the Thames"; as, although the proclamations against these luridly-named clubs were issued in 1721, the Duke of Wharton died abroad in 1731, whilst the assemblies at Medmenham commenced at the earliest about 1742, when Sir Francis Dashwood took the Abbey on lease and restored the ruins; John Wilkes becoming a member of the Club at Medmenham in 1762.

The old customs, Masonic, convivial, and hospitable, are fully illustrated, both by extracts from the Lodge Minutes and pleasant explanatory comments of the author; and payments so various as for "a Crimson Velvet Pall with Gold Fringe Lace" in 1745, and for "Red Port" in 1779, find place. As to the velvet pall, the surmise is that its purpose was not that of a "Mort-cloth,"¹ provided by some Scottish Lodges, but was for use in craft ceremonial.

From 1749 to 1825 the annual Country Feast was observed with regularity, and one almost sighs to read of days when it was possible to regard Hackney, Hoxton, Islington, and Camberwell as rural retreats from London noise and turmoil, where songs such as those enumerated on page 70 were in vogue, with (as Bro. Heiron properly suggests) the addition of "Wapping Old Stairs," which the present writer once heard rendered by a retired naval officer who, as a 'middy,' had been at the bombardment of Algiers in 1816. Is not this song often attributed to Charles Dibdin, by the way?

The Dundee Lodge Minutes show that it was favoured with the warning letter touching Messrs. Cropper and North, sent out to the Craft by the Union Cross Lodge, Halifax, in February, 1792.²

On its own freehold premises at Wapping, between 1763 and 1820, it is estimated that some two thousand candidates were admitted.

Though the Lodge duly purchased the *Constitutions* published in 1756, 1767, 1784, and 1815 (page 182), only that of 1756 seems to have survived to the present day. Whether the conservative instincts of successive Masters confined ceremonial use to the oldest copy, and so rendered easier the loss of later volumes, or how such loss happened, is probably now less known than regretted.

Chapter xi. deals with the membership of Thomas Dunckerley from 1761 to 1768; and makes mention of that curious person [Sir] Francis Columbine Daniel, who, though proposed as a candidate, proved not to be a *persona grata* at "Dundee."³ The course taken by the Lodge, alluded to on page 165, was identical with that at a Lodge at Yeovil. *A.Q.C.* xxiii., 154ⁿ.

In Chapter xiv., headed "Was Dr. Saml. Johnson a Freemason?" Bro. Heiron traverses new ground in his contention for a probability that the Doctor was admitted to the Craft in the Dundee Lodge on June 11th, 1767. Certainly a "Saml. Johnson" occurs in the Minutes of that date, and later as occasionally attending until 1770: but, with every desire to accept an obviously attractive theory, it seems difficult to regard the latter as more than a very remote possibility arising on practically nothing more than a coincidence of name. The origin and attribution of the solitary recorded reference by Dr. Johnson to Wapping, uttered less than two years before his death, seem rather to point to the years following 1737, when Boswell tells us "not much could be ascertained about this period of Johnson's life." As one biographer has written⁴: "Many of his youthful contemporaries were dead, and he himself, having attained distinction and competence, was unwilling to look back upon the difficulties of his earlier days";

¹ See *A.Q.C.* xxiv., 31.

² See *A.Q.C.* xxx., 235, for copy of this letter.

³ A full account of F. C. Daniel, by the late Bro. E. L. Hawkins, is in *The Freemason* of May 22nd and 29th, 1909.

⁴ *Life of Samuel Johnson*, by Col. F. Grant. 1887.

and another¹: "During some portion of Johnson's married life he had lodgings, first at Greenwich, afterwards at Hampstead. But he did not always go home o' nights, sometimes preferring to roam the streets with that vulgar ruffian Savage, who was certainly no fit company for him." This "legendary period," as it has been termed, of Johnson's life, appears more suggestive of relatively remote quarters, such as Wapping, than those years with which the historian of Dundee Lodge is concerned. The latter obviously relies on Johnson's disposition to melancholia in support of his theory: but it is hardly going too far to say that in a life from 1709 to 1784 the years *circa* 1767 were some of those in which the tendency least manifested itself. Johnson in 1765 had become acquainted with the Thrales, and the friendship lasted eighteen years; only a little earlier he had founded the celebrated Literary Club; whilst in February, 1767, occurred his lengthy and treasured interview with King George III. in the Queen's Library. No; when the probabilities are weighed, and Johnson's complete silence as to the Craft, coupled with the circumstance that no trace of his association with persons known to be connected with the Craft is anywhere to be found, one can hardly do other than conclude the truth to be that he 'shied' at reference to his days and nights in London before fortune smiled upon him; and it was for that reason "before his death he burned several manuscripts, amongst others, two quarto volumes containing an account of his life."² Bro. Heiron puts his argument quite fairly, and the reader will decide for himself.

It seems not unlikely that inquiry would add to "Some Interesting Names" connected with the Lodge (page 295), one already in the printed "List of Members in 1810"; that of Thomas Wilde, Attorney, Castle-Street, Falcon Square, who may well prove to be the Thomas Wilde, Attorney, practising in the City 1805-1811, who was afterwards Serjeant Wilde, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1846, and Lord Chancellor 1850, with the title of Lord Truro. His second wife was Lady Augusta Emma d'Este, daughter of the Duke of Sussex, G.M.

In the Library of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, is the photographic copy of "A List of Members belonging to the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held at the *Dundee-Arms*, near *Wapping New-Stairs*. A.L. 5759," originally printed as a broadside, and surmounted by an engraving much resembling that opposite page 209, and inscribed, "I. Cartwright Sculp. Royal Exchange"—perhaps the "Copper Plate" for which Bro. Cartwright was paid by the Lodge in March, 1755 (page 238). This list gives 46 members, and 151 "Members using the Sea"; amongst the last-named being one "Elijah Goff." In the printed list of 1810 is, "Elijah Goff, Surveyor, Wellclose Square"; he being presumably of a younger generation than the member in 1759 (or 1755, according to A.D. calculation). Here comes in a coincidence consequent on the rather noticeable appellation, "Elijah Goff," thus twice appearing. Long years after, in 1872, was given to the world, "Elijer Goff, his Travels [etc.]," a book of humour stated in Allebone as written by one William Dawes, of Lancashire; followed by other publications from the same pen and under the same pseudonym, and published collectively as, "The Works of Elijer Goff," in 1878 and 1881. This seeming appropriation of an unusual name may justify a passing word.

As before intimated, Bro. Heiron's labours add to the Masonic Library a volume praiseworthy in design and execution, and to be read with profit and pleasure; and it may be ungenerous to complain that such a book—and especially one planned as is this—is, relatively speaking, halt and maimed for want of an adequate index. Unless the reader will go thoroughly and systematically from cover to cover, and make his notes on the way (and how many readers will do this?), he will inevitably miss much. A good table of contents does what it can, but an equally good index would have assisted in both value and appreciation, and incidentally have saved the author some amount of repetition. The illustrations are well done, and many of them interesting; and but for the sore want just now indicated, which it is hoped may be supplied in a future edition, to criticise Bro. Heiron's book would only be to praise.

June, 1921.

W. B. HEXTALL.

¹ Augustine Birrell's Essay, *Johnson*.

² *The Georgian Era*, 1834.

*A NEW ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF FREEMASONRY (ARS MAGNA
LATOMORUM) AND OF COGNATE INSTITUTED MYSTERIES:
THEIR RITES, LITERATURE AND HISTORY.*

By Arthur Edward Waite. In two Volumes. Published by William Rider & Son, Ltd. 1921.

The general idea underlying this compilation is indicated by Bro. Waite in his preface:

I have undertaken this work . . . not because I am drawn naturally into archæological paths but because they offer an opportunity to put forward what I am very certain is the true view of Freemasonry. Were it merely—as so many believe—an ethical and benevolent society, the only issue concerning it would be whether it fulfils that rôle in the living present: origin and past history could be matters of no moment, or at least none which—from my point of view—would warrant such a book as this. But Masonry, in my own understanding, is part of a Divine Quest; it communicates knowledge of that Quest and its term in symbolism . . . (p. vi.).

The impression left on my mind after reading the work is that Bro. Waite has merely linked together a series of Essays embodying personal opinions, by means of lists and tabulations for which he has very little respect. This is how some of these lists are introduced:—"Can be seen in any Masonic Calendar, but presumably must be given here for the sake of completeness" (I., 337). "Had I trusted to my own guidance I should have omitted some names, but in a book of reference it is very difficult to make distinctions" (II., 120). "Included for the sake of completeness, not because I am disposed to think that they are of any consequence to the great majority of readers" (II., 139). "I do it rather for the sake of completeness than on any ground of urgency" (II., 183). "As it is usual to burden a work of Masonic reference with particulars of this kind, I proceed to give under protest . . . on pages which should be reserved for better things" (II., 205).

I am not at the present time concerned with Bro. Waite's views on abstract questions which he may consider are connected with, or perhaps essential to, Masonry. Nor do I seek to deny to him the right of holding and even expressing his personal opinions. I can conceive the possibility that they may be of interest to some Masonic readers. If, however, they are of such interest, I suggest that it would have been more convenient if they had not been buried in this Encyclopædia with scarcely any mark to identify their place of interment. One does not want to be obliged to wade through the whole of an Encyclopædia in order to find out what information it contains on a particular subject.

It is surely unusual to find an Index in a Dictionary or Encyclopædia, such works being generally arranged strictly on alphabetical lines, so rendering unnecessary an adjunct which otherwise is almost indispensable in every well edited book not devoted entirely to fiction. That an Index was needed for Bro. Waite's Encyclopædia seems to shew that a faulty arrangement of the matter has been recognized. True, it is planned on an alphabetical basis, with articles under every letter from A to Z, but to find any particular subject one has to resort to a system of guess work, the Index affording scarcely any help. For example, Apron, Baptism, Chronology, Charities, Jurisprudence, Rites of Adoption, Symbols, all appear under the letter M (Masonic); particulars of Colonial and Indian Masonry are under N (Notes), while Canada is under D (Dominion); Elus Cohens, Mizraim, Black Eagle, Philalethes, Strict Observance, Zinnendorf, Mithra, are under R (Rites), while Memphis is under O (Oriental); and not one of these references is to be found in the Index. The MS. Constitutions are under *Constitutions and Charges* as well as *Old Charges*, but the Index gives neither. On the other hand, the Index does give a reference to the Gormogons, who would otherwise be lost under S (Society).

But the difficulty of finding out what information is given on any matter is increased by the inclusion of several smaller alphabetical lists within the main alphabet. Under L we have the names of over 130 "Lesser Masonic Personalities"; M gives us about 150 more names of "Minor Masonic Literati"; while about 50 Orders and Rites are brought together under the heading "Minor Rites in Masonry," another 50 or so appearing under N as "Non-Masonic Rites," with a third group under C as "Convivial Societies." Again, there are lists of "Major and Minor Hermetic Grades" and "Minor Master Grades" within these sub-alphabets, and so far as I have been able to check these hundreds of names and titles (I do not pretend to have checked them all) I have not found one for which a reference can be gained by means of the Index.

One wonders what was the standard or criterion by which Bro. Waite decided—no easy task—whether some brethren should be classed among the Greater or the Lesser Masonic Personalities, or among the Major or the Minor Masonic Literati. George Washington comes as a Lesser Personality in company with Joseph Cerneau, William Finch, Martin Folkes, The Duke of Wellington, and William IV. George Smith appears twice—in the main body of the work (II., 419), as well as among the Minor Literati (II., 136)—with a discrepancy in the date of publication of his *Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*.

The need for providing some means of easy reference to scattered allusions to the same subjects may also be gathered from the following which I have taken from Vol. I.:—"We pass to the consideration, at a later stage" (27); "With which I shall deal later on" (77); "I have mentioned this adventurer previously" (101); "I have tabulated elsewhere" (103); "I shall return to this subject at a much later stage" (110); "As we have seen" (185); "The Grades . . . will come before us in due course . . . We shall have an opportunity of adjudicating on this question in another section" (213); "We shall see later" (214); "I have referred to the subject" (218); "About which I have spoken elsewhere in these pages" (257); "I have indicated" (264); "It is explained in the proper place" (266); "I have given some intimations already on this subject" (282); "As we have seen" (284); "Pending their analytical consideration in the places to which they belong" (284); "Conclusions which will be reached at a later stage" (291); "To which I have referred previously" (294); "We shall see in the proper place" (315); "We shall see shortly" (333); "I have cited . . . previously" (338); "I have explained elsewhere" (385); "With which I have dealt briefly elsewhere" (409).

In making these extracts I have not exhausted Vol. I., and I have left Vol. II. untouched. I should consider that it contains quite as many of these indefinite references. The Index fails to shew the connexions. I have spoken of this unsatisfactory list as an Index because Bro. Waite so describes it in his Preface. Its official title is actually "Conspectus of Cross References," but that does not increase its utility.

Of the following points for correction or modification, some—but I think not all—may be attributed to careless proof-reading or editing. Dionysius for Dionysus (I., ix.); Duke of Sussex, Grand Master in 1782 (xiii.); Tyler elected by ballot (xiv.); Commanding for Commandery (xv.); The note under "Resignation" is not in accordance with English Masoric practice (xxii.); George for William Ravenscroft (82); Martin Clare appointed to revise the Lectures (112); "According to the Cooke MS., three pillars were found after the Flood by Pythagoras and Hermes" (140); The birth of Crucefix as in 1797 (160); Dunckerley's *Charge* published in 1737 (203); Cagliaistro for Cagliostro (296); Pausanius for Pausanias (302); Desaguliers at Edinburgh in 1781 (334); Dermott "seceded from the other jurisdiction" (336); Hemmings for Hemming (II., 12); Dunkerley for Dunckerley, described as "Pro-Grand Master" (33); Plot's for Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire* (46); John for George Payne (48); "The Duke of Wharton summoned a meeting of Grand Lodge . . . and the Duke of Wharton . . . was proclaimed Grand Master" (49); Abbé Peran for Pérau (58); L'Orde for L'Ordre (59); Piano for Pianco (126); "Thomas Harper, . . . Deputy Grand Master of the Union Grand Lodge" (128);

Lébauld le Nanes for Le Bauld de Nans (131); "Stray Leaves from a Freemason's Note Book" attributed to Dr. George Oliver (210); Radcliffe for Rancliffe (227); Ragon "born at Bruges in 1781 or thereabouts," should be: born at Bray-sur-Seine on 25th February, 1781 (313). Kenneth Mackenzie is almost always put down as MacKenzie. On two occasions I have noticed the name spelt correctly. Once it appears as MacKenize (II., 188).—"A mythical person with an evidently mythical name—Fredericas du Thom" (I., 306). A portrait of Fredericus de Thoms and some biographical notes were printed in *A.Q.C.* ix. (1896), 82.—"[Stukeley's] Diary, which is in private hands, has not been printed and is not available for consultation" (I., 332). Surely it is not necessary to remind Bro. Waite of the publications of the Surtees Society!—Bro. Waite seems to be under the impression that the Royal Masonic Institutions for Girls and for Boys, and the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution, are "under the general supervision of a Board of Benevolence which meets monthly throughout the year at Freemasons' Hall" (II., 93), and he makes no mention of the Fund of Benevolence which is actually administered by that Board.—"Kloss is the German bibliographer of Freemasonry . . . and Findel is still, I believe, its chief German historian" (I., 276). Kloss "the great German bibliographer. [His book] 1844, is indispensable rather than valuable" (II., 129). But is it possible that Bro. Waite has not heard either of Wolfstieg or Begemann? Their publications have certainly superseded those of Kloss and Findel.—"I would give something to consult *Annales Chronologiques . . . de la Maçonnerie des Pays Bas*, which seems to have appeared in parts between 1822 and 1829" (II., 322). It ought not to have been difficult to obtain a sight of this work. There is certainly one copy in London.—The name of Lambert de Lintot "should be held in fair remembrance for his zeal in the foundation of the Girls' school . . . according to one account was alive in 1788" (II., 2). This man certainly designed and engraved a plate commemorating the foundation of the school. It was a commission for which no doubt he was duly paid. In these circumstances it is not surprising to read that he was alive in 1788, for in that year the Girls' School was founded by the Chevalier Ruspini, to whom Bro. Waite gives no credit.

It might be supposed from an examination of the Index that the Duke of Sussex is mentioned only once in these Volumes. As a fact his name appears frequently, and almost always with an allusion to his religious views, and to their supposed influence upon Masonry and its Ritual. I believe it is generally admitted that the Duke was in the habit of attending a Unitarian place of worship, but the inference which Bro. Waite and others before him have drawn should not be accepted as a fact without evidence to support it. It would perhaps have been well if Bro. Waite had referred direct to the Articles of Union instead of to the partial quotation therefrom contained in the *Book of Constitutions*; while note should also be made of the admission of Jews to the Craft early in the Eighteenth Century, thus indicating that Masonry had assumed an unsectarian character long before the time of the Duke of Sussex. Some of the reference to this matter will be found at I., 177, 278, 279; II., 23, 78.

A short article under M (II., 92) headed "Masonic Glass" might perhaps be considered by the unlearned as intended to give some particulars of the vitreous ware, engraved and embellished with various emblems, examples of which are to be found in most Masonic collections. Such, however, is not Bro. Waite's idea. Under this heading he expresses his view "that Masonry is the *Minutus Mundus*, or Mirror of that great world of initiation which interpenetrates all history and seems also to lie behind all . . . Masonry is a mirror of this kind, or a last receptacle," &c.; which may perhaps be true, though Bro. Waite lays himself open to the suggestion that even a Mirror is not necessarily made of Glass.

Of some earlier Masonic writers Bro. Waite appears to hold a very poor opinion which he does not hesitate to express:—'Did I say that he was a liar from the beginning—which indeed goes without saying—I should be specifying only in a variant form of words that he was a Masonic *littérateur*, like others who

had preceded him in France and like many who came after" (I., 72). "The unholy rubbish which is met with from time to time in Masonic periodicals—those of America especially—is only a degree less stultifying than the Anti-Masonic gutter-press of the Continent until it was swamped by the War. I do not wish to be invidious, but the illiterate vapourings and ravings of writers like J. D. Buck—who has the plaudits of the Southern Jurisdiction: *per saeculas et aiones*—is one case in point" (I., 37). "Buhle, however, had this advantage over Ragon, that he was a man of some ability and learning" (I., 77). "We have had Oliver in the early days confusing all the issues by frantic hypotheses reflecting from preceding speculation, and we have had American writers in our own who carry no titles whatever on either side" (I., 85). "Pike was like Ragon unfortunately, a man of uncritical mind" (I., 354). "In place of the Pierian spring [Oliver] had drunk unwisely and too well from those turlid waters of the Deluge which were conveyed in his day through the conduits of Jacob Bryant, Faber, Higgins, Vallancey and other makers of dreary Noachian myth" (II., 210). "John Yarker—another collector of materials, but in this case almost illiterate" (I., 162). "It comes from John Yarker and is the usual mass of confusion" (II., 319). "Yarker on the highest peak of his particular Darien—a sorry spectacle of pose in tatters of thought" (II., 392). "Reghellini, who incorporated with his own reveries every fable which he met with" (II., 446). "As might have been expected Kenneth MacKenzie gives a muddled explanation" (I., 12). "Kenneth MacKenzie, who—with characteristic intellectual crookedness . . ." (II., 4). "A most dubious source—that of Kenneth Mackenzie" (II., 197). "Egyptian Masonry has been vilified by people like Woodford, who have neither seen its rituals nor sought information concerning them" (I., 93). "Woodford . . . in his characteristic slovenly fashion" (II., 102). "From the trend of Woodford's criticism it is tolerably certain that he had not read his author" (I., 207). "Observations by worthless makers of paragraphs like Woodford and Kenneth MacKenzie" (I., 64). "Woodford, moreover . . . but quoting no source as usual . . . Kenneth MacKenzie, in his characteristically crass manner" (I., 272). "People of the Woodford and MacKenzie type" (II., 153). "The mouthing ruffianism of MacKenzie and Woodford" (II., 368).

I leave these expressions to speak for themselves. But it may be asked—What particular advantages or abilities does Bro. Waite claim to possess which enable him to take a position superior to that of earlier writers? To what extent he has been able to consult books which were not available to them is not clear to me. I do not see that he mentions many works of an authoritative character which were written since their time, and of some which have appeared both before and since he has expressed or implied his ignorance. Throughout the work, Latin and French words and phrases and peculiar technicalities such as 'palmary' and 'implicits' are scattered with a lavish hand. To those who do not understand them the effect is far more likely to be repellant than impressive; and those who do understand them can hardly fail to be irritated by their constant and needless display in an Encyclopædia from which readers might expect information and that alone. Bro. Waite refers to himself as "a Catholic Mystic" (I., 216), "a spokesman of the Great Quest" (II., 7), and as "a historian whose sole concern is the truth whatever the consequences" (II., 218); "I know only that one who like myself has passed through many schools finds intimations and messages in the Third Degree of the Craft which are not heard by men of material minds and persons belonging to low grades of culture" (I., 249). "I have travelled far through the fields of Ritual" (II., 139). "I speak with a wide knowledge of French Masonic Rituals" (II., 228). "I place on record here, as one who has followed the quest and has reached its term in symbolism" (II., 469). "I have not lived among Rituals through all my literary life without having acquired certain canons of criticism by which to distinguish among them" (II., 481). His words are not always directed to Masons generally—"I speak at this point therefore only to a small assembly of the elect and of those who are capable of election within the ranks of the Brotherhood" (I., 283), and "I speak here indeed only to a small assembly of the elect and of such as are capable of election, who know," &c. (I., 305).

For myself (and I am inclined to think that serious students of the Craft will take the same view), I am not at present prepared to discard in favour of this work the much reviled Cyclopædias of Woodford and Mackenzie, nor the Concise Cyclopædia of Hawkins to which Bro. Waite makes no reference, nor even the "mammoth compilation which still passes in America under the name of Mackey" (I., 405).

I may add a word concerning the pictorial illustrations of which the book contains many, some with a description beneath, most with none. For particulars of the latter it becomes necessary to consult a tabulation which immediately follows the Preface in Vol. I., and from that to judge of their relevancy to the text with which they are associated. Of the former class I will refer to two. The Frontispiece to Vol. II. is a picture described beneath as "The Chevalier Ramsay," of which the following particulars are given in the table:—

The Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, in the robes of a Knight of the Order of St. Lazarus. It is necessary to say that I have followed the quest of Ramsay's portrait for something like ten years, and now—by a process of exhaustion, I am driven to conclude—in spite of many rumours—that there is none extant. This is how he is presented to the mind of a young Masonic friend and artist . . . and it shall serve as faithful in the spirit until time or circumstances provide another, more authentic in the literal sense.

The second portrait to which I direct attention appears in Vol. I. facing page 26, and is there marked "James Anderson," of which it is earlier said, "The portrait is characteristic and well known." Characteristic—of whom? Well known—certainly! but not of the Rev. James Anderson, who issued the Editions of the *Book of Constitutions* in 1723 and 1738, and with whom the portrait is associated by Bro. Waite. Can it be that it is so set down in ignorance, or is it to be understood as yet another deliberate flight into the realms of fantasy?

June, 1921.

W. J. SONGHURST.

After writing the above I found that Bro. Tuckett also had prepared a Review for our pages, and as this contains much information on subjects of which he is qualified to speak with special authority I have thought it desirable to print both Reviews, although in some respects our criticism will be found to overlap.

W.J.S.

" . . . for my part I will tell you frankly that I do not swallow everything I read in Encyclopædias, either Masonic or otherwise."

(Bro. Henry Sadler, *A.Q.C.* xxiii., p. 327.)

If ever the compilation of an exhaustive Masonic Encyclopædia is seriously contemplated, it is very certain that the work must be entrusted, not to any one man, but to a carefully selected band of students, each of them an acknowledged authority upon the special department or departments which he will represent. The study of Freemasonry, and all that is therein involved, is too vast to permit any single student the hope of being accepted as an expert in all of the many branches into which the subject naturally divides. No one individual can expect to be aware of all that the latest research has accomplished in every direction, still less to be able to appreciate the true relative value of each detail. Matter which, by reason of his own particular studies, will appear to A to be possessed of great interest and importance, will to B seem to be more or less superfluous. What *must* be and what *may* be included? What *may* be and what *must* be excluded?—are questions upon which, in all probability, no two investigators working alone would hold identical opinions.

If, then, the *New Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, Ars Magna Latomorum*, by Bro. A. E. Waite, be found to be something of a disappointment, the industrious compiler must not be blamed for a failure which was well nigh inevitable. We ought to admire the courage which led him to address himself to the task single-handed, even if we make mental reservations as to his wisdom.

The two handsome volumes are well printed on excellent paper and externally leave nothing to be desired. There are numerous illustrations, both full-page and in the text, *but*—it seems unkind to say it—the whole of them might with great advantage have been discarded, and the space so saved devoted to *useful* matter.

An unpleasant feature running more or less through the whole work is the tone which the compiler permits himself to adopt when referring to certain other Masonic writers. No doubt a word of caution as to the extent to which the late Bro. John Yarker may be accepted as a reliable authority was really necessary, but the constantly recurring references in terms of scorn and contempt to one who has passed hence are—let us say—very much to be regretted. Here are some of them:—I., 162, 345-7, 405, 407; II., 143-4, 229, 240, 319, 464, and 473. Attention may also be drawn to the following remarks:—

“ . . . one at least whose verdict upon any Masonic subject is utterly out of court ” (I., 45).

“ . . . on the part of Masonic writers in terms of scurrility which are witness of uncritical animus, while betraying their own incompetence otherwise ” (I., 64).

“ . . . worthless makers of paragraphs like Woodford and Kenneth MacKenzie (*sic*) ” (I., 64).

“ . . . the mouthing ruffianism of MacKenzie (*sic*) and Woodford ” (II., 368).

“ Kenneth MacKenzie (*sic*), in his characteristically crass manner ” (I., 272).

“ . . . Kenneth MacKenzie (*sic*), who—with characteristic intellectual crookedness— ” (II., 4).

“ Did I say that he was a liar from the beginning . . . I should be specifying only in a variant form of words the fact that he was a Masonic *littérateur*, like others who had preceded him in France and like many who came after ” (I., 72).

“ Hereunto Claret adds what he describes as an Old Charge, a pretension which may stand at its value . . . ” (I., 179).

“ . . . but his [*i.e.*, R. F. Gould's] *dicta* on the subject are worthless and are characterised by the vicious habit of calling non-operative Masons speculative instead of theoretical or honorary members ” (I., 327).

“ . . . a certain association familiar in the annals of folly as *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia*, not otherwise calling for mention in these pages ” (II., 214).

These, and similar passages, strike a note which, fortunately, is seldom heard in Masonic controversy.

The compiler's style at times has a distinct resemblance to that adopted by Robert Samber in the well-known *Dedication* of his *Long Livers* of 1722. Thus:—

“ A Word to the Few . . . I speak at this point therefore only to a small assembly of the elect and of those who are capable of election within the ranks of the Brotherhood . . . ” (I., 283).

“ I am too well aware that the measure of this catholic affirmation cannot enter into the understanding of any rank and file in the brotherhoods. I speak here indeed only to a small assembly of the elect and of such as are capable of election . . . ” (I., 305).

Or, again, the following—

“ I know only that one who like myself has passed through many schools finds intimations and messages in the Third Degree of the Craft which are not heard by men of material minds and persons belonging to low grades of culture ” (I., 249).

“ Among all Masonic historians past and present, it is I only who have seen and hold the great treasure of Rituals in the Régime Écossais Ancien et Rectifié and in that Ordre Intérieur which arises out of it ” (I., 435).

“ I have travelled far through the fields of Ritual ” (II., 139).

Would it not have been better to avoid such direct claims to profound knowledge leaving the reader to discern it for himself?

In his Preface Bro. Waite says of the *New Encyclopædia*:—

“ It endeavours to represent the latest knowledge and to be the spokesman of the latest research ” (I., v.).

No one will doubt the willingness of the spirit even if they remark how very far short is the performance of so fair a promise. Bro. Waite also describes himself:—

“ As a historian whose sole concern is the truth, whatever the consequences . . . ” (II., 218).

We are all sure of it, but, as will appear presently, there is much within the covers of the *New Encyclopædia* to justify the spirit of caution shown by Bro. Henry Sadler in the quotation placed at the head of this notice.

To be a success an *Encyclopædia* must be as nearly as may be *complete* and as *compact* as it is possible to make it. Its contents must be arranged upon some system such that the information available upon any particular point can be found with a minimum of trouble and delay. In this last respect the *New Encyclopædia* is conspicuously wanting. It is true that the main Articles are arranged upon what is *apparently* an Alphabetical basis, but the qualification ‘*apparently*’ is used advisedly, as will be sufficiently clear when the following peculiarities are noted as specimens of the ‘system’ adopted:—

The Order of Christ	appears under O for Order
The Order of the Temple	“ “ O “ “
The Priestly Order, or White Mason	“ “ P “ Priestly
The Holy Order of the Royal Arch	“ “ R “ Royal
The Modern Order of Martinism	“ “ M “ Modern (<i>not</i> Martinism)
The Masonic Order of Malta	“ “ M “ Masonic (<i>not</i> Malta)
The Most Ancient Order of Gormogons	“ “ S “ Society
The Rite of Mizraim	“ “ R “ Rite
The Oriental Rite of Memphis	“ “ O “ Oriental
The Swedish Rite	“ “ S “ Swedish
Freemasonry in France	“ “ F “ Freemasonry (<i>not</i> France)
Germanic Masonry	“ “ G “ Germanic
Notes on Colonial & Indian Masonry	“ “ N “ Notes

The Four Hypotheses of Origin (of Speculative Masonry) are described under F for Four, not Five, which is, however, the number of ‘hypotheses’ discussed. Pp. 38-113 of Vol. II. are occupied by matter tabled under M for Masonic. Thus:—Masonic Apron, Masonic Baptism, Masonic Chronology, and so on, ending with Masonic Symbols followed by Masons’ Word. Why is the word *Minor* selected for ‘Minor Masonic Literati’ and *Lesser* for ‘Lesser Masonic Personalities,’ and M and L chosen to determine the position of these lists? ‘Lesser Masonic Personalities’ is a series of brief notes concerning a number of individuals, *e.g.*:—

“ Wellington, Duke of:—Was made a Mason in Lodge No. 494 *circa* December, 1790 ” (II., 30).

The date (and a *Peerage*) would probably enable the student to identify the particular Duke referred to, and some further independent research as to the nobleman’s life and movements might lead to satisfactory knowledge of the

whereabouts of 'Lodge No. 494.' But as the facts are all well known (see *A.Q.C.* xv., 116-124) the student naturally expects to find them in the *New Encyclopædia*.

Pages xiii.-xxiv. of Vol. I. contain 'Technology of Rites and Grades' of doubtful utility. Why is the student helped to the knowledge that the 'Square and Compasses' and 'Plumb-Line and Plumb-Rule' are Working Tools with emblematic reflections and moralisations, and left in painful uncertainty about the 'Level'? If 'H.K.T.' and 'H.A.B.' are made to reveal themselves, why should 'S.K.I.' be permitted to lurk in obscurity? Does 'R.A.M.' necessarily mean 'Royal Ark Mariner'?

There is no clue to the method of selection for the honour of inclusion amongst the 'Lesser Masonic Personalities' (II., 13-31) or 'Minor Masonic Literati' (II., 120-138) except the perhaps wise precaution that none but the departed are eligible for the latter. 'In the absence of lists of 'Greater Masonic Personalities' and 'Major Masonic Literati' we must look for such in the separate articles or main body of the work. Bro. Hughan, who is presented as a 'Minor,' at least fares better than Bros. Gould, Speth, Chetwode Crawley and others who are 'not placed' or, at any rate, have no special articles devoted to them.

The compiler himself rather sets the reader against 'Convivial Societies' (I., 149-152) and 'Minor Rites in Masonry' (II., 138-157), for he says:—

"I do not know why such things have been commemorated . . ."
(I., 149).

" . . . these gleanings do not represent marked original research . . .
 . . . I am not disposed to think that they are of any consequence
to the great majority of readers . . ." (II., 139).

Yet the Chapter of Clermont, the Primitive Rite of Narbonne, and Starck's *Clerici Ordinis Templarii*, and others in the latter list, are by no means devoid of importance to the serious student, to whom the *New Encyclopædia* might reasonably be expected to appeal.

Bro. Waite took 'reasonable care, as well in the work of consultation as in that of checking' the 'Masonic Chronology' (II., 40-89); but there remain, for all that, not a few serious flaws. For example:—

1691. *Plot's* Natural History of Wiltshire.

1724. *Death* of Thomas Dunckerley.

[N.B. The Chronology under 1795 does not mention him, but at I., 203, we are told that his *Charge* was published in 1737.]

1739. . . . discontent which assumed ultimately the magnitude of a serious *schism* in English Masonry.

1751. The so-called *Schismatic* Grand Lodge of England . . .

1740. A Grand Master of Scotland, named *Deucher*, . . .

1742. Abbé *Peran* published *Les Secrets Des Francs-Maçons*.

1745. Abbé *Peran*.

(Is he really credited with *L'Ordre Trahi*?)

1740. The Minutes of the Royal Order of Scotland begin in this year.

1763. The Minutes of the Royal Order of Scotland begin in this year.

1805. *Lechangeau* . . . created . . . Rite of Mizraim . . .

1810. *Lechangeau* granted a patent.

But at II., 24, the same information is given concerning *Lechangeur*.

On the question of the introduction of Craft Masonry into France there is, both in the Chronological Table and also in Vol. I., pp. 290-3, a tone of complaint as to 'confusion' introduced by previous writers who have dealt with the subject. Bro. Waite, by a complete mixing up of the Derwentwaters, has contrived to intensify this confusion to a quite remarkable degree (II., 18, 22, 50, 53, 55, 58).

When dealing with 'Constitutions and Charges' (I., 135-149) Bro. Waite avoids all mention of Dr. Begemann, whose name does not appear in the 'Conspectus of Cross References' (I., xxv.-xxxi.), while in 'Printed Texts' (I., 148-9) he has nothing to say concerning the work done in connection with the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

At I., 266, there is a reference to 'that comparatively old ceremonial . . . which was once worked in England as the Passing of the Veils.' Bro. Waite might have added 'and still is' before 'worked.' At p. 279, 'Speaking of the Grade of Rose-Croix Findel' quotes an alleged statement of Baron Tschoudy—that it is "the Roman Catholic Religion incorporated into a Degree." Did Bro. Waite look up the reference? It is quite easy to find, being at *L'Etoile Flamboyante*, Vol. I., p. 114:—

“ . . . le Rose-croix, proprement dit, ou *Maçon d'Hérédon*, qui-
qu' à tout prendre ce ne soit qu'une Maçonnerie renouvelée, ou le
catholicisme mis en grade . . . ”

At p. 358 Bro. Waite has:—

“ However this may be, in the memoirs of the life of Elias Ashmole, as
drawn up by himself in the form of a diary, there is the following now
well-known entry under date of October 16, 1646 ”

Again one asks, did Bro. Waite look up the reference? Because the well-known extract is given *not* as it appears in the *Ashmole MS. 1136, Fol. 19, verso.* at the Bodleian, but nearly (yet not *quite*) as it appears in the published Diary of 1717.

The compiler is very severe as to Jacobite and Jesuitic 'mendacities.' As regards 'Jesuits & Masonry' (I., 411), he seems to ascribe the Jesuit 'Theory' to Ragon, but Ragon's earthly pilgrimage commenced in 1781, and *Les Jésuites chassés de la Maçonnerie* and *Mémeté des Quatre Vœux*, &c., appeared in 1788.

Lambert de Lintot is the subject of an Article (II., 2-3) and so, presumably, is ranked as a *Major* Masonic Personage which is sufficiently surprising to those who know anything of that worthy. He was initiated in 1745, not in 1743 as stated by Bro. Waite and also by Bro. John Yarker (*Arcane Schools*, 466 and 468). He joined the St. George de l'Observance in 1779 and became its W.M. in 1787. (See *A.Q.C.* xxvi., 127.) I think he died in late 1795 or early 1796.

The authority for the story of the Sackville Medal is no longer Thory (II., 7-8). Drs. Begemann and Chetwode Crawley (*A.Q.C.* xii. and xiii.) have dealt with the Sackville incident, and the medal is as authentic as King George V.'s Coronation Medal. Bro. Waite says:—'Whether these stories are true or false there is no means of knowing.' He should read his *A.Q.C.*, he would at least have learned something about the Sackville Medal.

Who was 'Hemmings, a Grand Warden of the period' (just after the Union) (II., 12), who had something to do with Masonic Lectures? Perhaps a *Major* Masonic Person? Apparently not, as there is no Article about him. But, see *Conspectus* I., xxvii., there was a "Hemming, Dr. Samuel," and we are sent to II., 472, to learn that:—

“ Prior to Williams we hear also of Dr. Samuel Hemming, who was
appointed to revise the Lectures and—as it is said—to unify the widely
different modes of Opening and Closing the Lodge in the Three Degrees.”

The *Conspectus* does not betray that the Rev. Dr. Hemming is to be found amongst the Lesser Masonic Personages, but there he is at II., 23, where we are shocked to find:—

“ We have to thank him for expunging all references to St. John the
Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, those time immemorial patrons
of English Masonry—a creditable work for a supposed Doctor of
Divinity at that unholy period, and no doubt very pleasing to the Duke
of Sussex.”

The expression 'supposed Doctor of Divinity at that unholy period' is deeply mysterious. Was the legality of Hemming's University Degree called in question at that period, and *not before or since*? And was the period 'unholy' because it doubted the Doctorate, or because the Doctor doubted, or what was it?

What is the meaning of 'Napolienne'? (II., 194). Napoléonienne is a presentable word and conveys something, but 'Napolienne' looks as if an error of judgment on the part of the proof-reader of Bro. Woodford's *Kenning's Cyclopædia* (1878), p. 505, has somehow intruded itself into the *New Encyclopædia* of 1921.

'Masonry and Chivalry' is a section in a lengthy Article on the Order of the Temple (II., 217-240). At p. 218:—

"We have seen that the Chevalier Ramsay was the first to put forward a hypothesis of the chivalric origin of Masonry, and that in doing so he made no reference to the Templars. . . . the first definite attempt to derive Speculative Masonry from the Knights Templar was made by the Rite of the Strict Observance which—as we have seen otherwise—was inaugurated in or about the year 1754 . . ."

But what of the *Letter from The Grand Mistress of 1727-9*? And there certainly were rumours of 'Templar' succession or connection long before 1754. In reference to the Charter of Larmenius and Fabre-Palaprat and the Strict Observance Bro. Waite says:—

"My point . . . is simply to indicate the very eloquent fact—which no one seems to have noticed—that we are confronted by two independent and mutually exclusive lines of alleged perpetuation and transmission . . ." (II., 220).

"Templar Grand Masters. The Roll of (Strict Observance) Templar Grand Masters—which no one has seen in England— (II., 356).

If the compiler will but turn to *A.Q.C.*, volume xxvi. (published as long ago as 1913), he will find a series of Papers on *The Templar Legends in Freemasonry* by Dr. Chetwode Crawley. And at p. 65 Dr. Crawley says:—

"The catalogue of Grand Masters according to the rite of Strict Observance is appended, mainly for the purpose of comparison with the competing list of the French Rite (Palaprat's *Ordre du Temple*). The list will be found mutually destructive."

Further on in Bro. Waite's Article on the 'Order of the Temple' we read:—

"Chetwode Crawley says that the earliest record of Knights Templar is that of St. John's Day in the Summer of 1774" (II., 226).

"On December 20, 1780, a certain Charter of Compact executed by the Templars of Bristol is evidence that there was a body in existence—at that time and in that place—under the title of Supreme Grand and Royal Encampment of the Order of Knights Templar, St. John of Jerusalem, Knights Hospitallers, Knights of Malta, etc. The document is not in existence, but certain rules arising therefrom or attached thereto have reference to subordinate Encampments, among other subjects" (II., 226-7).

Bro. Waite is evidently unaware of the 1772 January 25th 'Intelligence Extraordinary' (see *Freemasonry in Bristol*, p. 779) and that the 1780 Charter of Compact is preserved at the F.M. Hall, Park Street, Bristol. More important still he does not quote the title correctly, for there is no comma between the word *Templar* (which should be *Templars*) and the following words *St. John*, but instead of the comma there is the all-important word *of*, thus:—"The Supreme Grand and Royal Encampment of the Order of Knights Templars of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights Hospitallers, and Knights of Malta, &c., &c., To all the Knight Companions of that Noble Order Health—Peace—Goodwill . . ." In the opinion of those who drew up the Charter of Compact the 'Noble Order' was a Masonic Order of St. John of Jerusalem, not a Templar Order, although the members were called 'Templars of St. John of Jerusalem.' Again Bro. Waite says:—

"In 1790 and 1791 Thomas Dunckerley projected the centralisation of the scattered English groups. On July 24, 1791, he informed a York

Encampment of Redemption that he had been invited to assume the Office of Grand Master by the Knights Templar of Bristol. York appears to have favoured the proposal, and he accepted in due course. The following groups, probably among several others, came under his charge: (a) The Observance of London; (b) the Redemption of York; (c) the Eminent of Bristol; (d) the Antiquity of Bath. He formed a Grand Conclave under the style and title of The Royal Exalted Religious and Military Order of Heredom, Kadosh, Grand Elected Knight Templars of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes, and Malta" (II., 227).

Thomas Dunckerley's project of 'centralisation' followed his election by Baldwyn to be her own Grand Master and this was in February of 1791. The letter he wrote to the Encampment of Redemption at York was not dated July 24th, 1791, but "Hampton Court Palace. March 22nd 1791" (see Sadler's *Life of Thomas Dunckerley*, p. 262). Dunckerley's acceptance of the Baldwyn Grand Mastership could not have been influenced by the 'favour' extended to the 'proposal' by Redemption for it was already an accomplished fact. If Bro. Waite means the 'proposal' to 'centralise,' what was it that (in Bro. Waite's opinion) Dunckerley 'accepted in due course'? The date 'July 24, 1791,' which Bro. Waite gives is one of a real importance nevertheless. It is the date of the initial 'Grand Conclave' held at London under Dunckerley. The title of the 'Grand Conclave' according to the rare 'Statutes' of date July 24th, 1791 (from which I quote) is not as given by Bro. Waite, but runs:—'The Royal, Exalted, Religious, and Military Order of H.R.D.M. Grand Elected Masonic Knights Templars K.D.S.H. of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes, &c.'" As to the 'groups' which came under Dunckerley's charge, Bro. Waite does not seem to recognise that 'the Eminent of Bristol' was the same as 'Baldwyn of Bristol' and that it never acknowledged Dunckerley's 'Grand Conclave' during his lifetime although continuing to recognize him as M.E. Grand Master of Baldwyn until his death in November, 1795.

Bro. Waite says—'The Order of Knights Templar is said to have received formal 'recognition from the G.L. at York in 1780.' There is no doubt about it. It is a certainty.

In the paragraph entitled 'Modern Grand Masters,' that is of the Order of the Temple, we read (II., 227) 'Baron Radcliffe, 1796,' and:—

"Among the legendary or mythical Grand Masters are

In 1770 Baron Donoughmore is said to have been Grand Master of the Kilwinning Lodge or Encampment of Ireland, while ten years later a certain Joshua Springer enjoyed this rank at Bristol, but if true it was probably a local rank. So far as evidence goes, Dunckerley was the first person whose jurisdiction extended from York to the West of England" (II., 227).

For *Radcliffe* we must read *Rancliffe*. The 'certain Joshua Springer' here classed with the heroes of legend and myth was certainly the M.E. Grand Master of Baldwyn in 1780 and as such signed the Charter of Compact on December 20th. He continued in the office until Thomas Dunckerley was elected in February, 1791, and resumed it when Dunckerley died in November, 1795. He himself made way for John Sanders in 1804. He was Deputy Prov. Grand Master of Gloucestershire (including Bristol) in the Craft 1784-1786, and of Bristol alone 1786-1789 and again 1791. In the Royal Arch he was Deputy Prov. Grand Superintendent for Gloucestershire and Bristol, 1808. Initiated in 1762 he was for many years recognised as not only the leading spirit but also the moving power in all that appertained to Freemasonry in any of its branches in Bristol, and by general consent allowed a very large voice in all that was happening therein.

'Legendary or mythical' and 'if true' are expressions which, applied to Springer's Grand Mastership of Baldwyn, betray but a very slight acquaintance with the history of that body. In a sense perhaps the rank he enjoyed was 'a local rank,' but in 1780 his rule certainly included (besides the Baldwyn Encamp-

ment at Bristol) the Camp of Antiquity at Bath. It is more than probable also that he had under him the *original* Vale Royal Encampment at Salisbury and there is practical certainty of a daughter Encampment at Berkeley, in Gloucestershire (see *A.Q.C.* xxiv., p. 285). For full biographical details concerning this distinguished and worthy Mason readers must consult the pages of *Freemasonry in Bristol*, by Bros. Powell and Littleton.

In an account of the *Rawlinson MSS.* at the Bodleian there is no mention of the work of Dr. Chetwode Crawley (*A.Q.C.* xi.).

At various points the author enlarges upon his theory that:—'the moralities of Freemasonry belong to the eighteenth century, more especially in their application to working tools and so forth,' and practically the whole book is made to serve as a vehicle for the communication of his doctrine of the Great Quest in Masonry. On this last Bro. Waite is entitled to speak as an authority, but the work has been done already, and much more successfully, by Bro. Waite himself, in his *Secret Tradition in Freemasonry*, which was published in 1911. As an Encyclopædia, the work now under consideration does not compare favourably with its predecessors, and, as an exposition of the Quest Theory, it cannot compete with the same author's *Secret Tradition*.

June, 1921.

J. E. S. TUCKETT.

*THE STORY OF THE CRAFT. A SIMPLE ACCOUNT OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF FREEMASONRY.*

By Wor. Bro. Lionel Vibert . . . Spencer & Co., London.

The appearance of this work has been eagerly awaited for various reasons, one, and not the least important one, being the knowledge that the task of its preparation was in thoroughly competent hands. It was in 1913 that Bro. Vibert produced his now well-known *Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*, which met with deserved success and is highly valued by Masonic students, wherein he proved that he possesses to a remarkable degree that most valuable gift the power to condense an immense amount of valuable matter into the smallest possible space. At last we have what may fairly be described as a *Concise* History of our Order, for, although the author prefers to style it 'A simple Account of the Development of Freemasonry,' yet for all that it is in reality a comprehensive abstract of what is known as to our past, from the period when, with the rise of that style we call 'Gothic,' the science of Architecture became more and more the close preserve of a single craft, down to the present day when our concern with actual stone and mortar has ceased. The work now before us is a small octavo of no more than twelve chapters, occupying eighty-eight pages printed in large and excellent type. It is well bound in blue cloth, and the cost is but four shillings, which, in these days of high prices, is sufficiently remarkable, and the thanks of author and readers are due to the publishers, the eminent firm of Spencer & Co., of Great Queen Street.

At the first glance one might be tempted to think that *The Story of the Craft* could be perused comfortably in the course of an hour or so, but, as a matter of fact, the book is *very slow reading*. This is intended to be, and actually is, a very high compliment, for the meaning is that in practically every sentence Bro. Vibert presents to the reader's notice some matter worthy of close attention and careful thought. But let it not be thought that the pages are made up of snippets of historical fact strung together in chronological order. The narrative and argument flow smoothly and pleasantly and perusal is a literary pleasure.

There is no Preface, but in a Note the author tells us that his book is primarily intended for those who have not yet begun the study of our history, and to such without doubt the work will appeal. But the more advanced student, who already knows something and is always ready to learn more, will find it a most useful little handbook and guide. Bro. Vibert also gives the assurance that there is good warrant for every statement of fact, and his readers may place implicit trust in the promise so made.

A brief but instructive essay on the rise of the Gothic Style and its influence upon the fortunes of the Building Craft is followed by a discussion of the origin and primitive meanings of the familiar words 'mason,' 'Freemason,' 'lodge,' and a comparison with their equivalents in France and Germany. The Cathedral as the centre of artistic life and the status of the Master of the Craft are next dealt with, leading to an excellent chapter on the gradual development of Craft Guilds in general and that of the Builders in particular, with an explanation of how it came about that Great Britain, France, and Germany each produced its own distinct type of association. 'The Saints, Legends, and Ordinances' receive adequate notice. The three first chapters, dealing with what may be called the 'primitive period,' are thus summed up:—

" . . . by the fourteenth century the English Craft was already a well defined organisation, distinctly different from the corresponding organisations on the Continent. It had a terminology of its own, and a legend of its own; it apparently had long since instituted a system of control over large areas that was introduced into Germany in the fourteenth century, but that seems to be unknown among French Guilds. There were certainly operative secrets, as also secret means of recognition, of which, however, we know nothing. There is also nothing that will enable us to make any statement either for or against the existence of ceremonies of admission or initiation, and as yet there is no evidence for the existence of non-operative members of the society further than that it is suggested by the fact that someone, we know not who, has compiled a poem for the use of the Craft" (p. 24).

This is an admirable summary of what we *do* and what we *do not* know concerning the state of the Craft at this point in its history.

The intermediate period or period of transition from the 'purely operative' stage to the 'mainly speculative' is the subject of the next two chapters, iv. and v., the latter of these being devoted to the Seventeenth Century with reference, however, to the Craft in England only. The author glances rapidly at the causes which led to the disappearance of the profession of builder in the Gothic style, and shows how 'the Reformation swept away at once the schools of the art and its greatest patrons.' The decay of the art did not, however, mean the disappearance of the term 'Freemason' by which its craftsmen had been designated, and Bro. Vibert proceeds to trace its occurrence in the Cathedral Fabric Rolls, Statutes referring to the Craft, Records of Companies and Guilds, and in our Old Charges, and he points out that these are our only sources of information as to what was going on within the Lodges during this phase. As to the advent of non-operative members we read that:—

"So long as Gothic architecture was a living art the Lodge was essentially the workroom, and there was no membership of the Lodge in the sense in which that expression is used to-day. . . . Originally when the masons met to work, non-operatives were allowed to be present only because they individually had an interest in or could advance that work. But when work was no longer to be had, the masons in many localities nevertheless continued to meet and to admit other persons as members of the Fraternity. They spoke of their meetings as Lodges: they preserved and read the Old Charges, copies of which they were at pains to transcribe from time to time: and they kept up some of the practices not only of the Craft Guilds but also of those old Social Guilds which had been done away with at the Reformation. . . . And in their hands the admission of new members *now* [*italics not in the original*] became a formal and important ceremony" (pp. 37-8).

The word *now*, which I have ventured to put into italics, seems to call for some comment, because, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence which establishes conclusively that the 'formality' and 'importance' of the ceremony of admission did not exist in the purely-operative days. Evidence is equally wanting that these characteristics did then exist.

The Society or Fraternity in its new form had its members in all parts of the country, and, whether or not there was any general organisation, we are justified in stating as a fact that the members belonging to one locality were free of the Society in any other. The Society was not a Secret Society, but, on the contrary, was well enough known to attract the attention of seventeenth century antiquaries, historians, and essay writers:—

“Several lists of names of members have come down to us, and we see that the Society drew its membership from all classes. It included antiquaries like Ashmole and Randle Holme of Chester, landed gentry, civic dignitaries, and many others besides the regular working masons” (p. 41).

“It is, however, sufficiently clear that the Society had no longer any direct concern with the actual processes of building, and that its objects were solely social, moral, and philosophical But the aims of the Society were, so far as we know, similar everywhere, and they may be summed up as follows:—the preservation of the traditions, customs and ceremonies, and moral teachings, of the old operative masons, and their old documents, without reference to contemporary working conditions; and by persons, as to whom it was wholly immaterial whether they were or were not connected with that or any other craft or profession. In pursuance of this object they maintained the old terminology and spoke of their meetings as Lodges and themselves as Freemasons” (p. 42).

Remembering that Bro. Vibert addresses himself specially to that large class of students who have not yet commenced their studies, I think that there is a danger that, in the following chapter, vi., ‘The Formation of Grand Lodge,’ he may unintentionally convey to their minds an impression concerning Freemasonry just before and just after 1717 which is hardly justified by the evidence we possess. He says:—

“In the next year a movement was set on foot to bring together the Freemasons in the metropolis. What, if anything, was behind this movement we do not know. It can hardly have been political; it would not seem even to have been as yet an intellectual movement; it was at all events originally controlled by wholly obscure persons, we know nothing of the membership of the Society in London at this date. It obviously included persons who were not masons by trade; but the fact that an individual was elected as Grand Master who would seem to have been both obscure and of small means suggests that it did not at this time include anyone of any social standing. Ashmole had been dead many years” (pp. 44 and 46).

It is true that Bro. Vibert is speaking of London only, and that my concern is rather with the state of the Society as a whole, but the fact is that we *know* practically nothing, and are reduced to *conjecture* based upon such indications as are available. These indications are admirably summed up in the paragraph from p. 42 quoted, and the testimony of Ashmole, Plot, Holme, Aubrey, Steele, and the social standing of the non-operative members of whom we have definite knowledge (to which list the name of the first Duke of Richmond may in fairness be added), present to my mind an impression which does not tally with Bro. Vibert’s picture of the London Craft just after 1717. What grounds are there for saying:—‘it would not seem even to have been as yet an intellectual movement’? From June of 1717 to June of 1721 is but a short period, yet the newspapers of the latter date tell us of a meeting at Stationers Hall of from two to three hundred members, including ‘several Noblemen and Gentlemen,’ when the Duke of Montague was chosen Master, Dr. Beale ‘Sub-Master,’ and Dr. Desaguliers made a ‘suitable’ Speech. The same year—1721—saw the Initiation of Dr. Wm. Stukeley, who expected to find ‘remains of the mysteries of the antients,’ and who tells us of the Masonic activities of Lords Herbert, Stanhope, Dunbarton,

Hinchinbroke, Dalkeith, the Duke of Queensborough, Sir Andrew Fountain, and so forth. As Bro. Vibert says:—

“But by now the Craft had leapt into prominence and popularity. Antiquaries, scientists, and men of rank sought admission . . .”
(p. 49).

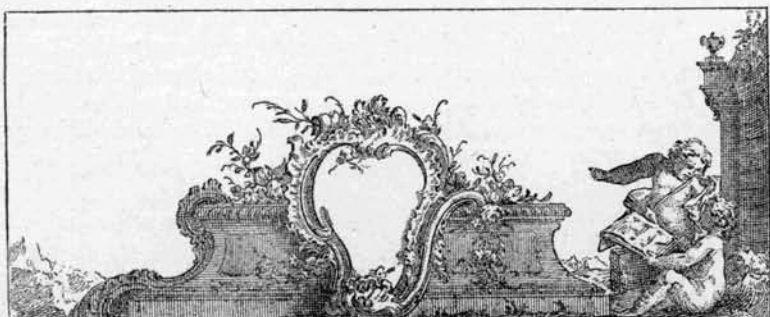
A reasonable view is that after a period of depression just before 1717 there came a ‘revival’ and the Society *again* attracted men of intellect and high social standing and for the same reason, the ‘subject matter’ being there all the time waiting to be developed into the form in which we know it now.

The gradual extension of the authority of the G.L. over Lodges in all parts of the country, the continued existence of Lodges which would not recognize that authority, the Masonic History of York, Alnwick, Swalwell, and other matters of interest being disposed of, Bro. Vibert, in chapter viii., gives an excellent abstract of Craft development: in Scotland and Ireland, and the way is now clear for ‘The Eighteenth Century and the Union’ (chapter ix.) which includes a lucid account of the rise of the ‘Antients’ and the struggle between them and the ‘Moderns.’ One of the best features of the book is chapter x., ‘Ceremonies and Degrees,’ an admirable Essay which does not suffer by comparison with the famous ‘Digression on Degrees’ by Bro. R. F. Gould in his *Concise History* published in 1903. ‘The Craft To-Day’ and some hints to the beginner upon ‘What to Read’ follow, and so the book ends.

Without any doubt *The Story of the Craft* is a most notable and welcome addition to Masonic Literature, for it supplies a long felt and severely felt want, namely, a concise account of the evolution of our Order, wherein the essentials are not lost in the process of compression, and the characteristic of brevity is not abandoned in the effort to be comprehensive. Bro. Vibert deserves our hearty congratulations and thanks.

July, 1921.

J. E. S. TUCKETT.



NOTES AND QUERIES.



THE CROWN IN PARKER'S LANE.—At this house is said to have met the second of the 'Four Old Lodges' which, according to Anderson, formed the Grand Lodge in 1716 or 1717. By 1722 it had moved to the Queen's Head, Turnstile, close by; and after several other removals to houses in the same locality, we find it in 1730 at the Bull and Gate, Furnival's Inn, Holborn. From this house it sent representatives to Grand Lodge on 29th May, 1733, with a contribution of one guinea towards the fund of Charity. No further entry appears, and in 1736 the Lodge was dropped from the List.

The Minutes of Grand Lodge, 16th March, 1752, state that:—

The Petition of several Brethren meeting at the Crown in Parkers Lane praying that the Lodge formerly held there might be restored & have its former place in the Lodge Book But it appearing the said Lodge had been discontinued about 30 years and that no one of the Petition^{rs}. had ever been a Member thereof. Ordered that the said Petition be rejected.

No regular Lodge is known to have been then meeting at the Crown. Indeed the only other Lodge which at any time met there was the present Lodge of Honour and Generosity No. 165, from 1770 to 1787. By that time the house was known as the Crown and Cushion, and Parker's Lane had become Parker's Street.

Parker's Lane was first laid out between 1615 and 1620. It runs parallel with Great Queen Street (on the North side), connecting Little Queen Street—now Kingsway—with Drury Lane. The Crown was on the North side of the street, towards the East end, and was demolished in August, 1920.

W.J.S.

The Four Old Lodges.—It is well worthy of note that Grand Lodge has lately made an official excursion into Masonic pre-Union history, and placed its formal imprimatur upon the statement of Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1738, to the effect that the existing Grand Lodge of England was founded by *four* private Lodges, and not by *six*, the number twice asserted by *Multa Paucis* (circa 1763), pages 83 and 111. Rule 302 of the present issue of the *Constitutions*, dated 1919 on title-page, now runs as follows:—

302. The collars of Officers of Private Lodges shall be of light blue ribbon four inches broad with the exception of those of the Officers of the three surviving Lodges of the four which founded the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, viz., the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4, and the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge No. 12, who shall be permitted to wear a stripe of garter blue one-third of its width in the centre of the collar.

The presumption, of course, is that the novel characters of critic and arbiter were not hastily nor lightly undertaken, and that the Rule in its present form must be taken as deliberately intended to settle permanently a question which has exercised several generations of Masonic writers and students.

W.B.H.

True Friendship Lodge No. 160, Rochford, Essex.—In his inaugural address to the Lodge in 1914 Bro. Hextall suggested that sundry unconnected memoranda might be gathered, preserved, and rendered accessible in a sort of clearing house to which application could be made by those requiring information or data. With this in mind the following matter is submitted as possibly being worthy of permanent record, having only been obtained by means scarcely likely

to be often repeated, that is to say from the collation of a large number of names of old Masons collected with some amount of persistence.

The Lodge of True Friendship No. 160 now meeting at Rochford, Essex, was constituted on 4th December, 1766, at the Crown and Thistle, Tower Hill, London. The Warrant names Thomas Samson as W.M., Ja^s. (or Jo^s.) Hickman S.W., John Cogdell J.W., and Jo^s. Hughes was Secretary. As these brethren all appear to have been members of the Strong Man Lodge now No. 45 which then met in East Smithfield, it may well be assumed that the Lodge of True Friendship emanated from the Strong Man Lodge. Thomas Sansum was W.M. of the latter in 1761. Hickman in 1763. Cogdell's name appears in its records in 1768, and Hughes was its Secretary in 1769. There are discrepancies in the rendering of names, possibly due only to errors of transcription.

It is doubtful whether the Minutes of either Lodge for the period in question are still extant, and maybe such records as Grand Lodge possesses would not indicate the connection between these two old Lodges which is suggested by the association of the Brethren named.

C. GOUGH.

"Freemason."—There have lately been printed in *Notes and Queries* extracts from the manuscript borough records of Aldeburgh (Suffolk), amongst them:—

1574	For iii ^{or} dayes of a man for ye church	...	...	...	ii	viii ^d
	(Many entries of men working at church)					
	To ye Free mason	...	...	...	vi	xii ^d
	To michell ye mason for his workmanshippe in the house				xxxv	^s

W.B.H.

Freemasonry in Fiction.—In Capt. Marryat's "Newton Forster," chapter xii., is an account of an escape by English Mariners from a French Prison. One of the party had given certain signs and they were responded to and escape resulted.

It would almost seem that Marryat must have been a Mason, for there are indications in the narrative of an enlightened reticence.

In the same Novel, at the heading of chapter i., is the following quotation from Sterne, which is not without a kind of hovering interest to Masons—

And what of this new book the whole world makes such a rout about? Oh! tis out of all plumb my lord—quite an irregular thing; not one of the angles at the corner was a right angle. I had my rule and compasses &c. my lord in my pocket. Excellent critic!

Grant me patience just heaven! Of all the cants which are canted in this canting world—though the cant of hypocrites may be the worst, the cant of criticism is the most tormenting.

(See *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. III., chapter xii.)

W. J. WILLIAMS.

The Tower of London.—Whatever may be its value, an addition to traditional history of the Craft in pre-revival days is found in an incident which does not seem to have been noted. In 'An Historical Account of the Curiosities of London and Westminster . . . London. Printed for J. Newberry, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1765,' which includes the Tower of London as one of its principal subjects, is this passage (page 12):—

The grand store-house . . . was begun by King James II., and by that prince built to the first floor, but finished by King *William*, who erected that magnificent room called the *New or Small Armory*; in which he, with Queen *Mary*, his consort, dined in great form, having

all the warrant workmen and labourers to attend them, dressed in white gloves and aprons, the usual badges of the order of free-masonry.

No mention of the occurrence is made in Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1723, where the Tower of London is only named as built by William the Conqueror; whilst William III. is styled "that *glorious Prince* (who by most is reckon'd a *Free-Mason*)." Our only other source of information, *Multa Paucis* (circa 1763) is more explicit with assertions that William I. "appointed Roger Montgomery, Earl of Arundel, Dundulph, Bishop of Rochester, with other good Architects, at the Head of the Fellow-Crafts, to build the Tower of London [etc.];" and that King William III. "was soon after [his accession] made a Free-Mason in a private Lodge; and as Royal Grand Master, greatly approved of the Choice of Grand Master Wren", but has nothing as to the Tower Armory celebration: and it may be a little remarkable that the incident, in which ostensibly Masonic emblems played a conspicuous part, should have been unknown to, or unrecorded by, the two early chroniclers of the Craft.

Some Masonic symbols at the Tower of London, of apparently later date, were noticed in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, Vol. II., 95.

W.B.H.

Freemasons at Canterbury in 1732.—In the List of Masonic MSS. preserved in the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian Library, compiled by Bro. Chetwode Crawley and printed in *A.Q.C.* xi. (1898), No. 37—a copy of the *Universal Spectator* for 20th May, 1732,—is described as "Containing a Letter and verses in ridicule of the Mayor of Canterbury on the occasion of a Meeting of Free-Masons at the Red Lion in that City." Bro. the Rev. Herbert Poole has very kindly made a transcript of the letter and verses, which appear to refer to a Lodge that had been constituted on 3rd April, 1730, and was removed from the List in 1745.

[Rawl. MS. c. 136.]

[fol. 147]

The *Universal Spectator*, | and | Weekly Journal. | No. CLXXXIX.

By Henry Stonecastle of *Northumberland*, Esq;

Saturday, May 20, 1732.

To the Editor of the Universal Spectator.

Sir,

The secret of FREE MASONRY has as much amus'd the Ignorant, as it has disturb'd the Malicious, or weaker Part of the World; tho' both join in the full Cry of idle Invectives against what they are strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from *London*, in which the

[147 verso]

Royal Craft has suffer'd by slander, and been misrepresented, not only as Unnatural but Seditious, nay Traiterous and Magical in their Practices, Destructive of (what their highest Ambition is to improve, and in which they have most frequently succeeded) the Peace and Welfare of their Fraternity in particular, as well as Mankind in general: But alas! how unsuccessful have they prov'd in the Metropolitan City of this Kingdom, (where is one of the earliest and noblest specimens of *Gothick* Masonry and Architecture) so inhospitably receiv'd by one of its chief Magistrates, a Person of great Sagacity and deep Penetration who endeavour'd *totis viribus*, *Quixote* like, to encounter a formidable Lodge, lately erected there: wherein he suspected Practices against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, as well as Breaches on Morality: Mysteries he smelt out like those of the *Bona Dea* of old Rome; into which not being able, as *Clodius* did, to enter, and satisfy his Longing, he thought fit *per se, & per alium*, to proclaim in the public Streets such an *Arret*

against that innocent and useful Society, as has no Parallel for its nervous Stile and most exact Orthography, and as such deserves well to be communicated to the World, as a singular Instance of that warm Magistrate's Genius, Industry, and Zeal for the security of that Part of the Commonwealth committed to his Care; and the rather, as it was thought absolutely necessary to be publish'd several Market Days, by his Lordship's Deputy, the Cryer.

Whereas a Report runs through Cyte, Town and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a number of Men that met together at a Tavern, in this Cyte, and their bound themselves under wicked Obligations, to do something, that may prove of sad Effect, Therefore the Mare of this Cyte desires any Parson that can, to inform him aright, because the whole Truth ought to be known, that such Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.*

This notable Proclamation, notwithstanding the indefatigable Diligence of Ecclesiasticks as well as Laicks, to propagate a false Report, injurious to the Honour of several Gentlemen of all Professions in the Neighbourhood of this City, answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Ridicule, and was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' rustick Manner.

O! *Canterbury* is a fine Town,
And a gallant City;
It's govern'd by the Scarlet Gown,
Come listen to my Ditty.

The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation,
And thus he begins his Worship's Declaration:

'Whereas a Rumour round this City runs,
'And Country too, that certain mighty Dons,
'Were sent down here, in Coach and Six from *London*,
'By whose Arrival we may all be undone.

O! *Canterbury, &c.*

'They say the've come *Free Masons* to create,
'I wish it prove no Plot against our State:
'Their Meeting is within a certain Tavern,
'The Room too is darkned, darker than any Cavern.

O! *Canterbury, &c.*

'Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,
'For this our rich and antient Corporation,
'Resolv'd, like *Old Foresight*, our Ruin to prevent,
'And thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.

O! *Canterbury, &c.*

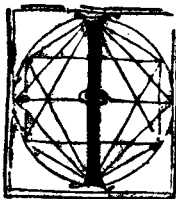
'First, I'll my Mirmidons, my Constables assemble,
'At Sight of them this varlet Crew shall Tremble:
'For who knows what Plagues their Designs are to bring
'On us at least——If not our Lord the King.

O! *Canterbury, &c.*

'Their Magic Arts may prove of sad Effect,
'May blow up Church and Town, but no new ones erect:
'I'll thank and reward who can tell me aright,
'How all those Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

O! *Canterbury, &c.*

OBITUARY.



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

Arthur Elvey Austen, at Johannesburg, in March, 1920. Bro. Austen was P.Dep.Dis.G.M. of the Eastern Division of South Africa, and was a Past Grand Deacon of England. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1887, being No. 69 on our List.

Thomas Dixon Buglass, of Lowestoft, on the 27th June, 1920. He was a member of Lodge and Chapter No. 71, and joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1910.

William John Brooks Coombe, of Long Ashton, near Bristol, on the 5th April, 1920. Bro. Coombe attained the rank of Pr.G.W. (Glos.) and was Sc.N. in Chapter No. 68. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1916.

Lieut.-Col. **Henry Wilson Iles**, *D.S.O.*, of Sidmouth, S. Devon, on the 28th April, 1920. He had held the office of Dep.Dis.G.M., Hong Kong and South China, and Burma. He was also P.Z. of Chapter No. 1268. Bro. Iles joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1905.

Capt. **William Jardine**, of Liverpool, on the 20th June, 1920. Bro. Jardine was a member of Lodge No. 2459. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1911.

William David Kemp, of Inverness, on the 14th April, 1920. He was a member of Lodge No. 339 and Chapter No. 115. Bro. Kemp had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1894.

James Millar, of Ketchikan, Alaska. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 155 (Canada). He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1909.

Rev. **Richard Peek**, Rector of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, on the 18th July, 1920. Our Brother had held the office of Grand Chaplain; and he was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1888.

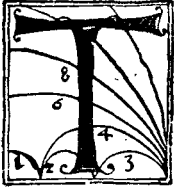
John W. Starkey, of Valetta, Malta, in May, 1920. Bro. Starkey had held the offices of Dep.Dis.G.M. and Dis.G.H. He acted as our Local Secretary in Malta for more than twenty-five years, having been elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1888.

Charles William Sutton, M.A., Chief Librarian of Manchester, on the 24th April, 1920. A Past Pr.G.D. of East Lancashire, and a Past President of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research.

George Edward Turner, of Blandford, on the 9th April, 1920. Bro. Turner attained the rank of Pr.G.W. (Dorset), and in 1918 was appointed Pr.G.Sec. In the Provincial Grand Chapter he had held office as Pr.G.Sc.N. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1892.

Rev. **Charles Edward Leigh Wright**, B.A., of Folkestone, on the 6th July, 1920. Bro. Wright attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Standard Bearer in the R.A. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1889.

FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1920.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., I.P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; Canon Horsley, P.G.Ch., Chaplain; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Arthur W. Chapman, Fred. Armitage, W. A. B. Pailthorpe, Alfred Gates, Capt. C. C. Adams, A. S. Presland, Walter Dewes, Arthur Heron, G. R. D. Rust, John Ames, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, F. C. Bickell, C. F. Sykes, A. E. Biggs, Wm. C. Terry, Leslie Hemens, W. J. Williams, J. Walter Hobbs, P. H. Fox, F. W. Le Tali, L. G. Wearing, Dr. A. E. Wynter, T. S. Mills, W. F. Stauffer, B. A. Smith, A. J. Smith, A. Gilchrist, H. Arthur Weeks, C. F. Gifford, F. Stanley Henwood, Geo. W. Bullamore, J. H. Ganson, F. Howard Humphris, John Lawrance, W. L. Rind, Robt. Blake, C. Gough, J. S. M. Ward, H. Johnson, E. H. Fennell, Herbert Y. Mayell, George Inglefield, S. W. Rodgers, J. Procter Watson, and C. Coles.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Geoffrey Walsh, I.P.M., of the Mombasa Lodge No. 3645; and H. D. Searles Wood, S.W., of the Mid-Surrey Lodge No. 3109.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros Edward Conder, L.R.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres. B.G.P.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C.; Wm. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; R. H. Baxter; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D.; S. T. Klein, L.R.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D.; and F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C.

Bro. Herbert Bradley, C.S.I., P.Dis.G.M., Madras, was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

Three Lodges and fifty Brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY called attention to the following

EXHIBIT.

By Bro. C. GOUGH, on behalf of Bro. C. EGGLESTON, the owner.

A circular SNUFF Box made of Olive wood, lined papier-maché with tortoiseshell rims. The lid has inserted in it, under a protecting glass, a plate of thin gold on which are embossed emblems of various degrees of the A. & A.R.

The central and chief design is that of the Knight of the Pelican & Eagle and Sovereign Prince Rose Croix of the 18th Degree. A pair of compasses extended (with the letter G on a rose at the hinge) encloses the usual emblems of the Degree—a rose imposed on a Cross, between an Eagle and a Pelican, with the all-seeing Eye in a small triangle above. Beneath this central design are two sprigs of Acacia, crossed at the stem ends. On either side—left and right respectively—are the initials J. and B., with M.B. between the union of the stems. There is also MOREL F. F.—probably intended for Bro. F. Morel, the maker.

The central design is imposed on a seven pointed star, but only four points are shown.

In the triangular spaces to the left and right respectively are the emblems of the 11th Degree (that of the sublime Chevalier Elu)—the one with the emblems of Death and a sword, with the motto VINCERE AUT MORI, and small letters O.S.H. The other contains a sword and three hearts and the initials B.N.S., of words signifying Alliance, Covenant, Integrity. The triangular space adjoining the latter represents the Treasurer's Jewel of the Royal Arch, the 13th Degree, and depicts a key above a cash box with initials I.V.I.O.L. standing for the legend INVENI VERBUM IN ORE LEONIS.

The next space treats of the 17th Degree or Knight of the East and West. It shows a pair of calipers (?) united, within a circle round which are the initials B.D.S.P.H.G.F. relating to the French words *beauté, divinité, sagesse, puissance, honneur, gloire, and force*, with level in left corner and J. in right.

The next design typifies the 15th Degree or Knight of the East and Sword, showing the Triangle, Cross-swords, and a Crown, and the well-known Bridge with letters L.D.P. standing for *Liberté de Passage*.

The remaining space shows the 12th Degree or that of Grand Master Architect. The design is a triangle enclosing a large A. surrounded by the initials C.D.T.I.C. of the five orders of Architecture, with square, level, and compasses, and crossed rods and (beneath the Triangle) the letters R.N. which possibly are the first and last of the word of the Degree.

The workmanship seems quite good and there is little doubt that it is French in origin if not in manufacture.

There is little to indicate its age, but possibly it is not more than forty or fifty years old.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Brother who kindly lent this object for exhibition.

Bro. LIONEL VIBERT read the following paper:—

THE COMPAGNONNAGE.

A TENTATIVE ENQUIRY.

BY BRO. LIONEL VIBERT, P. Dis. G. W., Madras.

- I. *Introduction*—Perdiguier's book—Gould & Rylands—Saint Léon—the Compagnonnage not Freemasonry.
- II. *Craft Guilds and Journeymen*—in the building trades—in England; no travelling—in Germany; travelling all organized by masters—in France; the Compagnonnage—early journey-men's associations—legal enactments against them—The Sorbonne disclosures—the XVIII. century—feuds—the XIX. century.
- III. *The Tour de France*—not laid out by architects—late in-date.
- IV. *Ceremonies of admission*—masters—freemen—journeymen—dialogue ritual—disclosures of 1858—adaptations from Masonry.
- V. *Topage, Guilbrette & Hurlement.*
- VI. *The three divisions*—regalia—canes—square & compass—emblems—distinctions between the divisions—nick names—sobriquets.
- VII. *The political history reconstructed*—Tour de France—Orleans—Pilgrimages.
- VIII. *Legends*—Charles Martel—Solomon—Yamus Grecus—Jacques—Soubise—other legends.
- IX. *Summary & conclusion.*

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- | | | | |
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| 3. | Perdiguier. <i>Memoires d'un Compagnon.</i> | 1855. | PM. |
| 4. | C. G. Simon. <i>Étude . . . sur le Compagnonnage.</i> | Paris 1853. | |
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| 6. | <i>Le Secret des Cordonniers dévoilé.</i> | Paris 1858. | |
| 7. | Arnaud. <i>Memoires d'un Compagnon.</i> | Paris 1859. | |
| 8. | Chovin. <i>Le Conseiller des Compagnons.</i> | Paris 1860. | |
| 9. | Perdiguier. <i>Question Vitale.</i> | Paris 1863. | |
| 10. | Guillaumou. <i>Confessions d'un Compagnon.</i> | Paris 1864. | |
| 11. | E.E.T.S. 40 { | Brentano's <i>Essay on Gilds.</i> 1870. | B. |
| | | Toulmin Smith's collection of Gild documents. | |
| 12. | Gould's <i>History of Freemasonry.</i> | | G. |
| 13. | C. Gross. <i>The Gild Merchant.</i> | Oxford 1890. | |
| 14. | E. M. Saint Léon. <i>Le Compagnonnage.</i> | Paris 1901. | S.L. |
| 15. | Meredith. <i>Economic History of England.</i> | Pitman 1908. | |
| 16. | Articles in <i>A.Q.C.</i> esp. Rylands on <i>Compagnonnage</i> in i., ii. | | |
| 17. | MS. rituals, legends, etc. in Q.C. Library. | | |



THE Compagnonnage is the name given to that association of French journeymen—originally restricted to the four building trades of the stonemasons, carpenters, joiners and locksmiths, but expanding until it included almost every craft of importance in the country—which regulated everything connected with the journeyman's travels along a prescribed itinerary known as the "Tour de France," and came in later times to exercise an absolute control over labour.

The very existence of this association was ignored by the outside world, until the publication in 1840 of the *Livre du Compagnonnage* by Agricole Perdiguier, himself a journeyman joiner. It was then for the first time that the general public learnt of the extraordinary complexity of the system, its divisions into Sons of Solomon, Sons of Jacques, and Sons of Soubise, its fantastic legends and ceremonies, its picturesque customs. Unfortunately, the Compagnonnage had by this time come to be completely disorganised, owing to an evil that had been increasing for a very long time, and that it was Perdiguier's hope to remove by his writings, the existence, namely, of a series of feuds among the trades, feuds that constantly resulted in fatal quarrels and fights.

Rival associations had also come into existence prepared to confer the benefits of the system without perpetuating customs and ceremonies which were beginning to be looked on as absurd anachronisms; but unfortunately these bodies also became involved in the feuds, and the consequent disorders upset the whole labour community throughout Central and Southern France.

In course of time the feuds died down, and to-day the present representative of the original Compagnonnage is but one of many associations of workmen whose functions are those of a benefit society, while the institution it originally came into existence to control, the Tour de France, has wholly passed away. But its legends, its ceremonies and its customs have a very special interest for the Craft; and its real history has, even to-day, still to be elucidated.

After the appearance of Perdiguier's work an increasing literature of the subject sprang up; but not until M. Martin Saint-Léon published his *Le Compagnonnage* in 1901, can it be said that anyone, except our own Gould and Rylands, had tried to treat it historically. Gould dealt with the subject in the *History*, vol. i., chap. 5, and the legends were discussed in detail by Bro. Rylands in *A.Q.C.* i. and ii.

No useful purpose would be served by again going over the ground so fully covered by these two students; but in the present paper I have attempted, from the facts available, to reconstruct the political history of the system, and on that foundation to group, and, as far as may be, to date its customs, legends and ceremonies. Not till that is done shall we be in a position to appreciate the true significance of the numerous analogies and similarities the system presents to corresponding features of our own Craft; similarities of which Gould has collected a list of no less than forty-one.

It should be clearly understood that the Compagnonnage is wholly distinct from Freemasonry; it is organically different notwithstanding these similarities. There is nothing corresponding to the Lodge,—I do not mean the room, but the association. Some of the ceremonies have features in common; and the legends have, in some cases, a similarity amounting to identity with legends that have been possessed by us in the past, and how this has come about I hope to be able to demonstrate. But, first of all, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the whole position of the journeyman in the Middle Ages, and his relations with his masters in England and Germany; and we can then proceed to review in more detail the history of the journeymen's associations in France itself.

It is in the twelfth century,¹—in England, the reign of Henry I.,—that the Craft Gilds first appear, and their organization and objects are alike both in England and on the Continent. At first, each Gild includes the artisans of only a single trade, and they are only concerned with the affairs of that trade, which

¹ Gross i., 114, 285.

is their monopoly in that particular locality. They regulate prices, and the hours of labour; supervise the processes of manufacture; and make their own ordinances as to the admission of members, and apprentices. The trade recognises three grades, the apprentice, the fellow, and the master; the apprentice out of his indentures usually becomes a fellow and freeman, and it is only persons so qualified who can become masters.

But the number of masters is always restricted, as the masters themselves are never anxious to increase their number; and the Gild in its own interests invariably makes restrictions as to the admission of apprentices; it limits the number any master may have at one time, or it limits the number to be admitted in the year; it may even restrict the very privilege of taking apprentices to senior masters.

At first in all crafts the master and his apprentices, with the help of one or more apprentices out of their time, or freemen who have not yet set up for themselves, are sufficient for all there is to do; and in the merchant crafts, the crafts whose principal business is selling, this state of affairs continues for a long time. But in the artisan crafts there very soon comes into existence a class of servants and unskilled workmen. These like the working freemen are paid by the day, and all alike are accordingly called journeymen,¹—the word means just that. But the inferior class have not, as a rule, served as apprentices, and are not eligible to become masters, and although they in some cases do become members of the Gild, paying contributions to its funds,² there is always a distinction between the skilled journeyman, who has been an apprentice and may become a master, and the mere workman. On the Continent in many cases the serving of a term of years as a journeyman was required as a qualification for the position of master;³ and in France originally the only persons admissible as journeymen and Gild members were those who had begun as apprentices.

As trade develops, the number of journeymen increases, and in only two points can their interests and those of the masters coincide. It is of the first importance to both that they should be able to communicate their requirements to one another rapidly; that the master who has work to give out should be able to find journeymen, and that the journeyman out of employment should know where he will find work. It is also to the interest of both that the journeyman should be a skilled workman. But differences are bound to develop, especially in reference to rates of wages; and the constant tendency is for the journeymen to organise themselves in their defence against rapacious, unjust, or cruel masters; and such organisations are certain to be viewed by the masters with disfavour.

The history of the relations between masters and journeymen has been different in each country; and the legislation on the subject has also followed a different course. In one group of crafts, namely, the building trades, there must from the very outset have always been a large body of unskilled labour. For the construction of a cathedral there was necessary, besides the skilled designers and masters and the skilled workers in stone, a great body of mere labourers, receiving smaller wages. In these trades, then, there must have been journeymen long before we meet with them elsewhere, as, *e.g.*, among the cloth workers of Bruges in 1280,⁴ or the tailors in Silesia in 1361; or, to take English examples, the London cordwainers in 1343, and the whittawers in 1346. (Whittawers are workers in white leather, and especially saddlers.)

Now, although it is the fact that there is no record of Craft Gilds of Masons in England, earlier than 1350 at York,⁵ and *circa* 1380 at Chester, when we find them referred to in connection with the miracle plays, yet the *Regius Poem*, and the *Book of Charges* are clear evidence of a society already organised, if it did not call itself a gild. Meredith, in his *Economic History of England*,⁶ writes: "It is clear that the masons craft (bricks came into use at a later date) must have been among the earliest specialised employments, and it is almost inconceivable that it remained without organisation. But probably in consequence of the migratory character of the craft, it does not seem to have ever occupied

¹ B. cxxxvi., *et seq.*

² B. cxli., n. 8.

³ B. cxli., n. 4. G. i., 159.

⁴ B. cxxxvi.

⁵ A.Q.C. xiv., 63, 66.

⁶ Meredith, 59.

an important place in the life of any one town." The fact is, in all probability, that the craftsmen who built the cathedrals were fully organised,—we know they had a code of laws,—although their associations had no part in the town life of the day, and have therefore left no record.

Now the very first article of the early craft law refers to the pay of the fellows, which is to be according to the price of victuals, and what they may deserve; but the workman is to take no more hire than what he has served for, and earned. We find in this same code restrictions as to apprentices, who must be free of birth, &c. (the fourth article); but as to journeymen there is no such restriction; all we find is that the master must not employ thieves or murderers (the seventh). The fifth point of the *Regius* lays down that the master must notify the journeyman, at least before 'none,' if he has no more work for him, but this provision does not find a place in the law, in its earlier form in the *Book of Charges*: and this is the only indication at this stage of any difficulties arising between masters and journeymen in the craft. However, notwithstanding the absence of reference to any difficulties of the kind in our first codes of law, there is other evidence that they were by no means uncommon, and we find legislation in London in 1383, and for the country generally in 1425, directed against the congregations, covins, and conspiracies of workmen, more especially the Masons. By this time there were numerous associations of journeymen in existence. Professor Ashley has brought together a long list of trades in which they existed in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, but while it includes blacksmiths (1435) and carpenters (1468) it does not include any of the building trades proper, possibly in consequence of this very legislation. These journeymen represent a distinct class that have little or no chance of becoming masters, and "when it is possible to trace the history of such an association over a considerable period of time, it is found to pass gradually under the control of the masters' association. Associations of journeymen were never it would appear so important in England as on the Continent; we do not for instance find them regulated by statute. It is however plain that they were by no means uncommon."¹

The authorities did not content themselves with prohibiting covins and confederacies, they went further,² and they realised that it was incumbent on them to see that the interests of journeymen were recognised and protected; and we find in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that there is formed a class of small masters, to which the journeyman can obtain admission; and the growth of a body of unorganised labour outside the craft is checked by legislation,³ in the first place securing them redress for their grievances, at the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen, and in the second compelling moderate apprenticeship fees.

Another point on which the *Book of Charges* and the *Regius Poem* are silent is the existence of any organisation of travelling workmen; the rules contain no hint of the practice of going all over England partly as a necessity to find work, partly on purpose to 'get experience and knowledge. "An important difference between the later development of the craft system in England and on the Continent was that the years of travelling (*Wanderjahre*) on the expiration of apprenticeship were not enforced here";⁴ and in English craft literature generally there is hardly any trace of this system, nor does it appear, in fact, that the ordinary English craftsman did travel. That Freemasons migrated and travelled all over England we must believe, for there is no other explanation of the simultaneous development of their craft on similar lines throughout the country. The eighteenth special charge of the *William Watson* directs the master, if he have no work for the strange mason, to refresh him to the next Lodge, while the eighth general charge reads: "and also that you pay truly for your meat and your drink wheresoever ye go to board." These directions are clear survivals from a time when Freemasons travelled about. However development in architecture came to an end in the fourteenth century, and in 1350 came the first of a series of enactments which effectually prevented any system similar to the *Compagnonnage* coming into existence in this country. By

¹ Meredith, 134.² B. cxlvii.³ Meredith, 135.⁴ Meredith, 59.

that statute it was made an offence for a labourer to leave his native district; and the act applied to all the artisan class.

In Germany, as in France, travelling in search of work was not merely undertaken as a necessity; it was prescribed by the Gild ordinances. As early as 1361 the system of travelling journeymen¹ was completely organised among the Tailors in Silesia, and by the sixteenth century such organisations may be said to be general. The term of apprenticeship was shorter than in England,² but the journeyman was sometimes obliged to travel for five years, and if he aspired to mastership, he had further to make a costly and also useless masterpiece. The sons of masters were exempt from these restrictions, which were of course framed expressly to keep down competition.

But the arrangements which were made for the journeyman's arrival at a town, his residence there and his finding work, were all made by the masters, and the fund from which donations were made to those for whom no work could be found was one to which the masters contributed.

The journeymen formed associations of their own, apparently craft by craft, and in particular localities. But these again were controlled by the masters.³ "No meetings could take place, no regulations could be framed, and no decisions come to without the presence of the masters' deputies, who were elected annually." "Much the same were the journeymen fraternities in all trades." It is true that this is not invariably the case, and that we even find instances where the jurisdiction was in the hands of the journeymen's fraternity.⁴ We also read of all the journeymen of a trade⁵ in a place striking work and writing to those in other districts warning them not to come to their town; but however independent, and from the masters' point of view insubordinate, the journeymen's fraternities may occasionally have been, they were nevertheless officially under the masters' control, and working by rules prescribed with the masters' approval; they were moreover local and restricted to their own crafts. These journeymen's fraternities may date from the fifteenth century. That of the journeymen shoemakers was re-organised—at the request of the gild masters—in 1628,⁶ but the fraternity is then spoken of as established of old. But, as already mentioned, journeymen are referred to in trade ordinances early in the fourteenth century, and are found at Bruges as early as 1280.

Among the building trades we find as we should expect a different system going back to an earlier period.⁷ Skilled masons there must needs have been from a very early date; and we know of one charter to a gild of the building crafts in the thirteenth century, a gild that had probably been in existence for some time previously. But a century before this the building trades had already organised themselves, and had sub-divided into societies of rough masons, stone hewers, and stone masons, the Steinmetzen. This craft was organised as one body, under one code of laws, all over Germany, Switzerland and Austria; and we have their code of 1459, besides later ordinances.

The society controlled all its members, including the journeymen, and no separate organisation of journeymen appears to have been recognised; nor was it necessary. In each locality the Lodge, the 'Hutte,' and all working in it constituted a fraternity,⁸ masters and journeymen together. Not only did the journeymen travel as a duty; but we find in the Torgau Ordinances, No. 30,⁹ provision for sending an apprentice on his travels if the master has no work for him, and in that case he is to be lent a mark. He can claim a mark as his right when he is out of his indentures.

The French Craft Gilds are similar to those of England and Germany, and developed during a corresponding period, and in a corresponding manner. They may indeed in certain cases claim a greater antiquity; and they may derive from

¹ B. cxli.² B. cl.³ B. cliv.⁴ B. cliv., n. 5.⁵ B. clvii.⁶ B. cliv.⁷ G. i., 117.⁸ B. cxliv. B. clv.⁹ G. i., 137.

Roman predecessors, but with that we are not now concerned. We have an account of them as they existed in Paris in the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹ In this we read that among the masons and plasterers the master might have as many assistants and servants as he pleased, provided he instructed them in no part of the mystery. We find a similar provision in England among the Bladesmiths in 1408.² "And that no one of the said trade shall teach his journeyman the secret of his trade as he would his apprentice, on the pain aforesaid." It is obvious that such workmen have no prospect or hope of ever becoming masters. It is true that the apprentice in France has in certain cases to serve a specified period as a journeyman before he is allowed to become a master. But he is excused the compulsory travelling; and his position is always privileged. In the early times a workman could proceed master if he could produce the masterpiece required by the Gild; but this practice in course of time became obsolete, and even the tradition of it was lost in Perdiguier's day. The sons of masters were also exempt from this test.³ The journeyman, as early as the reign of Louis XIV., had become a class apart, outside the narrow oligarchy of masters and masters' kin, and with no hope of ever rising to independence in the craft,⁴ and his position in this respect was not improved till after the Revolution. His relations with the privileged apprentices were always strained. We read in 1655: "They form everywhere an offensive league against the apprentices of their trade who are not of their cabal, beating them, and maltreating them, and soliciting them to enter their society."⁵

The whole system of apprenticeship was swept away with the guilds at the Revolution; and this brought about a new state of affairs, for the entire control of labour now passed into the hands of the compagnons, as the journeymen had styled themselves since at least as early as 1506,⁶ and became their monopoly. But long before this the journeymen had established distinctions of their own, and recognised their novices under various designations; and at a very early date the four crafts of stone-cutter, locksmith, joiner and carpenter had formed the Compagnonnage, and developed in detail the system that is known as the Tour de France.

The Compagnonnage was an association of journeymen exclusively: and, as time went on, came to include the great majority of the artisan trades. These had each their own officers, and headquarters in every important town; and the criterion of membership was their right to make the Tour de France, a circuit comprising most of the important towns south of Paris, and Paris was also included in it. Only the workmen of trades recognized as belonging to the association were permitted to make this circuit, and any attempt on the part of unauthorised trades, or of unauthorised individuals, to associate themselves with it was liable to be resisted with actual violence. There were no regular apprentices; the position of the privileged apprentice in pre-Revolution days has already been alluded to; at a later date, a lad picked up the rudiments where he could with his father or his father's friends,⁷ and when he elected to associate himself with the compagnons, as a novice, his instruction was taken in hand by them;⁸ and as soon as he had acquired a sufficient degree of skill, he might present himself in a town where there were persons qualified to perform the ceremony, to be admitted as a compagnon. He might, and often actually did, commence the Tour as a novice,⁹ when he was liable to experience a good deal of harsh treatment at the hands of the compagnons of his trade;¹⁰ and he was not admitted until he had proved his skill in that trade, and paid the prescribed fees.

"The advantages to which a member was entitled were manifold.¹¹ Upon his arrival in a city, he was directed where to find employment. If destitute of funds, he obtained credit at his 'mother's.' If important matters called him away, and he had no money, the society would help him from town to town until he arrived at his destination. In the event of sickness, each member would take it in turn to visit him, and to provide for his wants. In some societies, he is

¹ G. i., 188.² B. cxli., n. 8.³ B. cli.⁴ S.L., 64.⁵ G. i., 232.⁶ S.L., 80.⁷ cf. P.M. i., 28 and 86.⁸ Chovin, 42. and 44.⁹ cf. Guillaumou.¹⁰ S.L., 118.¹¹ G. i., 226.

granted a sum of 10 sous per diem during the time he is in hospital, which amount is presented in a lump sum on his leaving. If he should be cast into prison for any offence not entailing disgrace, he is assisted in every possible way, and if he dies, the society pays for his funeral, and honours his memory by a special service a year afterwards." In the nineteenth century, an increasing number of benefit societies provided these advantages, or most of them; but the attraction of the Compagnonnage, apart from its ribbons and canes, and public ceremonies, was that a very real prestige attached to the Compagnon who had made the Tour, and originally the crafts themselves felt that they were honoured by being associated with it.

When the Compagnon had completed the Tour, he usually retired from active membership of the society. "When his Tour de France is completed," says Chovin,¹ "he sets up on his own account if he has the means, and becomes a worthy master, full of practical knowledge, or else he turns overseer, and controls the workshops of someone else who will as often as not know less than he about the trade; in such a case, one has the money, and the other the knowledge; but such a business prospers, and the overseer's reputation spreads." There were also masters and employers who had not been compagnons. The compagnon might take as long as he chose over the Tour; Perdiguier took four and a half years to complete the circuit.

The organisation of the Compagnonnage, like its ceremonies, had reference solely to the Tour and its incidents. In every town each craft had its inn, which was its headquarters, where the ceremonies of admission took place if the town was one which was authorised to perform them; where the business of engaging workmen was carried on, and where all the accounts of the departing compagnon with the society, or with his host, were settled; it was the actual place of residence or lodging for the younger and less well to do among the fraternity. The landlady was the *mère*, and the landlord the *père*. The officers were the *premier-en-ville*, usually a senior compagnon whose duties corresponded to those of a Master in our Lodge, the *second-en-ville* and the *Rouleur*, or agent, in whose hands was all the business of employment, and who combined as well the duties of our Secretary and Director of Ceremonies. The *second-en-ville* was his assistant, who might deputise for him or the *premier*.

Although the crafts may be said to be organised as a whole there is no trace either for any one craft, or for the whole Compagnonnage, of any general superior authority, corresponding to what existed in the Steinmetz system, or to our own Grand Lodge of a later date; but the compagnons of a town acted as a body and corresponded in a very formal way with other towns when there was any occasion for it; and we read of general assemblies of the whole Tour being summoned on special occasions by the crafts in some particular town,² when each town on the Tour elected a deputy for the purpose.

In the oaths the compagnon took at his admission he usually was warned that death was the penalty if he proved faithless to his obligations; but the Compagnonnage also had very effective disciplinary methods for those who brought discredit on it. A compagnon convicted by his fellows of any disgraceful offence, such as theft from the *mère*, was liable to be publicly expelled, with a ceremony known as the *Conduite de Grenoble* (*vide* Appendix); his name was notified to every town on the Tour, and he had no further prospect of employment as a compagnon.

The compagnon could not leave a town until the *rouleur* was satisfied that he owed nothing, either to the *mère*, or his employer; and workmen who levanted without settling were known as *brûleurs*, their names being circulated; and until they had set matters right, the society would refuse them all assistance.

For smaller offences workmen were fined, or suspended from their privileges as compagnons for a certain time; and the compagnon on arriving in a town had to satisfy the *rouleur* that he was in good standing, and show him the "clearance certificate," to use our phrase, from his last town before he could receive any recognition as a compagnon.

¹ Chovin, 61.

² P. Histoire d'un Scission, 11.

In Perdiguier's time he was given a document very similar to a Grand Lodge Certificate, with extra pages to carry the *rouleurs'* endorsements, and this he had to produce in every town he came to; it is not possible to say how long this had been in vogue, but credentials of some sort there must have been from a very early period.

As has been already stated, the Tour de France and the Compagnonnage were originally restricted to four building trades, and we may suppose that in France, as in Germany and England, these crafts were the earliest to be organised. And, in fact, we find an instance of a guild of master masons as early as 1375; while there is a still earlier reference to masons as taking part,¹ apparently as an organised body, in the municipal elections at Amiens in 1348; and as early as 1394 there is evidence of a local guild of journeymen. But it is not possible to ascertain with any precision from external sources when the journeymen began to organise as one body all over France, to develop the elaborate classification that we find them possessed of in Perdiguier, and to plan out the Tour de France; and the statements made by Perdiguier and the other writers of his day are repetitions of traditions of little historical value.

Although the statutes of Montpellier in 1586 recognise a practice of a compagnon proceeding master (item 3),² he must first have served as an apprentice, and this excludes the class from which the great bulk of the Compagnonnage were recruited; this class is referred to in clauses 15 *et seq.*, which relate to 'servants and fellows.' As early as the fifteenth century³ the masters had already put every obstacle in the way of even the apprentice who wished to become a master, and who was not master's kin, and Saint-Léon says: "The workman still obeys his master and respects him, but he has no longer the old confidence in him and veneration for him. . . . Societies of workmen come into existence, to be in the future a menace to the stability of the gild." In the succeeding centuries the abuses thus foreshadowed develop until the whole system comes to grief.

Saint-Léon suggests the fifteenth or perhaps even the fourteenth century as the period at which French journeymen first began to organise themselves into societies with a definite bias of hostility towards the masters. At all events, conspiracies of tanners' workmen are referred to in the fourteenth century at Amiens. In 1498 the confréries are all prohibited, and this is re-enacted in 1501. But these laws do not deal in terms with journeymen's associations. Saint-Léon quotes, however, a decree of 1506⁴ which expressly prohibits a society of tailors' journeymen who styled themselves compagnons, and even presumed to elect a 'roi des compagnons.' This must needs be called a compagnonnage. The edict of 1539 quoted by Gould⁵ speaks of congregations and assemblies of masters, together with their journeymen and apprentices, and prohibits all fraternities of craftsmen and artisans. The event that had provoked this legislation was a formidable strike of printers, that was declared simultaneously at Paris and Lyons, indicating correspondence and co-ordination between the workmen of the two towns. A further regulation directed to this particular trade refers to their refusing to work with the apprentices, whom they ill-treat, and having a fraternity of their own; and this is prohibited, together with its oaths, officers, banners and assemblies, weapons and places of resort.

(Note.—A particular incident of the strike at Lyons was that the journeymen resented the masters having entertained a needlessly large number of apprentices. They refused to work with them, and struck in consequence. For an exactly similar grievance in the same trade in England, *vide* B. clxi., n. 2.)

Edict followed edict, now at Paris, now at Orleans (1560), Moulins (1566), or Blois (1579), now directed against masters' guilds, now against associations of both masters and workmen; but while the edicts were powerless to stamp out the societies, they had a very definite effect on them. The masters' guilds tended more and more to identify themselves with the religious and charitable societies with which they had always been closely associated. The workmen, on the other hand,

¹ G. i., 201.² G. i., 204.³ S.L., 31.⁴ S.L., 33.⁵ G. i., 209.

had no notion of abandoning the organisation which was so essential to their well-being, and their societies tended to become (i.) secret, (ii.) 'organisations de combat'¹ (*i.e.*, systems formed for offensive purposes), and (iii.) law evading. The cleavage between masters and workmen thus became more and more accentuated.

But the law did not lose sight of them. In 1601² all compagnon cordwainers are forbidden to greet one another on leaving their master's house, to stand sponsors to one another to get work, and to go more than three together to an inn. This seems to refer to usages very similar to those described by Perdiguier; and in 1631 a similar law is passed, directed against the journeymen carpenters.

In 1639 a religious association denounced the impieties of the compagnons, and in 1648 the cordwainers were interdicted on account of certain revelations as to their initiation ceremonies. In 1651 a printed disclosure of the ceremonies used by the saddlers got into the hands of the clergy. The whole story is given by Gould.³ Not only the cordwainers, but several other associations then divulged their secret ceremonies, and these were condemned as impious by the Sorbonne.

But the cordwainers or shoemakers alone were subservient; they reunited themselves with their masters, and agreed to give up their practices, and, as we know from Compagnonnage literature, they were no longer reckoned as belonging to it, and had the greatest difficulty in joining it again in 1850 after 42 years of contest.⁴ Gould says that they foreswore their ceremonies together with their masters; and considers accordingly that the masters were associated with the workmen in these doubtful practices of 1651.⁵ But this is not what Thory, his authority, says. Thory's phrase is "ils se ré-unirent avec leurs maîtres le 16 Mai suivant."⁶ Six weeks, that is, after they had made the disclosure. And the masters undertook that in the re-united trade there would never for the future be such ceremonies. This clearly points to the workmen being received back into the masters' guild, with its pious and reverent traditions.

The associations concerned were all composed of journeymen, as is evident from the passage⁷ at p. 232 of Gould, and this is apparently the first distinct statement of a general organisation of all the journeymen's associations throughout the country. What is here described is, as Saint-Léon points out,⁸ precisely what the printers had been directed to discontinue in 1539, namely, an organisation with officers, secret watchwords, oaths and meeting places at taverns.

It is the opinion of this writer that the proceedings of 1655 were instigated by the masters, and that, the Sorbonne revelations notwithstanding, the compagnons as a whole⁹ were a religiously minded body of men. Perdiguier says that in his time the practice of monthly masses had fallen into disuse,¹⁰ apparently within recent times, but it is significant that it is precisely the gavots who are the conspicuous offenders in bringing about this state of things. And the Sorbonne in 1655 seem to be at least as much disturbed by the admission of Huguenots as they are by the compagnons' assumptions of sacerdotal functions. But this is no more than we would expect from the body which was the animating spirit of all the persecutions directed against Protestants, and which justified, though it had not advised, the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In any case, we hear of no more ecclesiastical censures, and that pronounced by the Sorbonne had hardly more effect in the direction of suppressing the Compagnonnage than the previous legal enactments, for the Compagnonnage is again mentioned in Paris itself in 1683. From now until the Revolution we meet with a series of enactments against the system all over France, and all would seem to have been equally ineffectual.

But the general tenour of the complaints against the compagnons is that they boycott the masters as they like, and have an absolute monopoly of labour; nothing appears as yet of public disorders further than that they beat and drive out of the town such workmen as do not join their society (Toulouse in 1682). The great scandal that Perdiguier sought to remove was the internal feuds that

¹ S.L., 39.² S.L., 39.³ G., i., 231, *et seq.*⁴ Simon, 110.⁵ G., i., 240.⁶ Thory, Ann., 331.⁷ *vide* Appendix.⁸ S.L., 42.⁹ S.L., 60.¹⁰ P.M., ii., 130.

had developed in the society. Thus there were fights between sections of one trade belonging to different divisions of the *Compagnonnage*, e.g., stone cutters sons of Solomon,¹ and stone cutters sons of Jacques; there were fights between sons of Jacques and sons of Soubise, or sons of Jacques and sons of Solomon irrespective of their trade; and there were fights at sight between crafts whose membership of the Tour was of long standing, and new comers whose admission was resented or repudiated.

In one passage Perdiguier speaks of this state of affairs as having been in existence for five centuries. He has in his mind a disruption of the society that is supposed to have taken place in 1401.

Actually, however, the first record of these fights is that of one organised at Crau, near Arles, in Provence, in 1730;² the sons of Solomon engaged in a pitched battle with those of Jacques and Soubise on a date fixed beforehand as though it were a football match, and detachments were drafted in from neighbouring cities for the occasion. There were many casualties, but the result was indecisive. From this date until as late as 1855 fights were of continual occurrence all over Southern France. In the opinion of Moreau,³ before the Revolution they were between members of the great divisions as such. It was not, he says, till after the equality of all men was proclaimed that all sorts of trades set themselves to join the *Compagnonnage*, for the glory of it, and with disastrous results. However this may be, it is certain that from 1803 onwards the position was further complicated by the formation of several schismatic bodies,⁴ rivals of the *Compagnonnage* of the Tour, some of which were originated by discontented novices. These all joined in the fray, and the state of affairs when Perdiguier first began to write, in 1836, was something approaching anarchy, and it continued to be so until after the Revolution of 1848. But with this portion of the history we are not now concerned, and it will be unnecessary to deal with it in detail.

As already stated, the distinguishing feature of the *Compagnonnage* is the system known as the Tour de France.

In England we have journeymen's associations, but they are local and disconnected, and there is no organised travelling in search of work. In Germany such travelling is compulsory, but the organisation is in the hands of the masters, and the journeymen's associations that we read of are local. In France the whole thing is in the hands of the journeymen, and the travelling is not a mere desultory wandering, but it is a circuit with a specified itinerary of about 2,400 kilometres, say 1,500 miles; the journeyman is expected to complete the circuit, and he who has done so receives special honours from the society.

At the same time Perdiguier tells us that the details were not the same for every trade;⁵ some trades included towns that others omitted, and, according to Arnaud, in 1859 workmen had taken to shortening the circuit by some hundreds of miles by cutting across the centre of France. The railway was naturally fatal to the perpetuation of the system.

The shoemakers who ceased to belong to the society after the incidents of 1651 nevertheless travelled about France on their own account; as we read in Guillaumou.⁶ He says: "The shoemakers, *compagnons* of long standing, were compelled by the orders of their superiors to renounce the society, which was then being harassed by the authorities. From 1651 to 1808 these workmen, travellers by instinct, went all over France without any organisation, and following no systematic route"—and did their best to outwit the innkeepers and still live on the best of everything.

And not only did individual crafts make their own deviations from the circuit, but changes in it within each craft were constantly occurring⁷ as towns rose or fell in importance, either generally or from the point of view of a particular industry; and there are several reasons why we may be quite certain that the

¹ P 3, i., 74.

² Simon, 45.

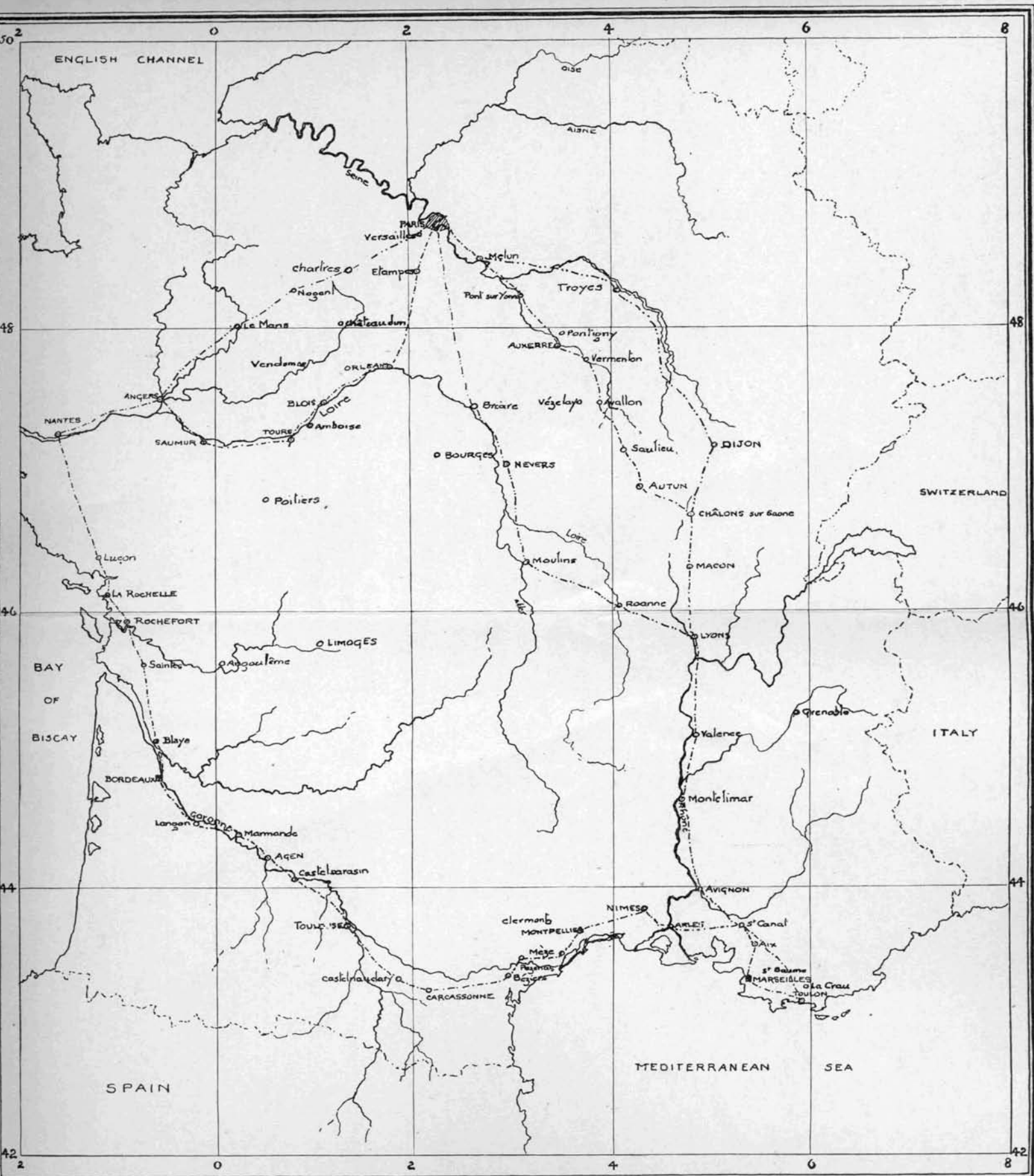
³ Moreau, *Reforme des Abus*, p. 41.

⁴ Simon, 45, *et seq.* P 3, i., 73. S.L., 270.

⁵ P.M. ii., 115.

⁶ Guillaumou, *Memoires*, 41.

⁷ *cf.* P.M. ii., 115, *et seq.*



Tour according to Arnaud & Perdiguer marked - - - - -

Variations referred to by Arnaud & Perdiguer marked

Tour as it stood in the time of Arnaud in 1859 does not represent the itinerary of the original architect communities. For the accompanying map I am indebted to the courtesy and artistic skill of Bro. Wright, the curator of the Art Gallery at Bath, and a reference to it will show what I mean. In the first place, the Tour wholly omits Bourges, a most important town to any craft concerned with architecture in mediæval days; and it goes out of its way to avoid Vezelay, now a place of little importance, but in its day one of the great shrines of France. Other towns of architectural importance that are ignored are Pontigny, Poitiers, and Clermont, which last, like Vezelay, could have been included without any serious deviation from the line. The Tour as it stands, then, has been laid out by workmen who had no special concern with architecture, but were interested mainly in manufacturing centres.

Again, the Tour must be later than 1453, up to which date Guienne and Gascony were not merely not French but were the territory of the hereditary enemy England; and we can go still further and say that no systematic travelling of this sort was possible for more than a century later. During the sixteenth century the whole country was torn by dissensions, by proceedings against Huguenots by invasions, by salt tax riots.¹ "All France was a battle-field—fighting, robbery, waylaying, were the occupations of high and low. A man's house was his castle, not in the figurative sense that we use the word, but by dint of bridge and iron gate. A gentleman with a loaded musket sat on the flat roof of his mansion, and observed the visitor who might be coming up the avenue. As he came near he either gave orders to open the door, or shot him without further notice." And Montaigne, at the commencement of his essay "Of conscience," No. 48, gives us a similar, and contemporary, picture. Nor was there any great improvement until the reign of Henry of Navarre, and the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Not till then did a period of peace and toleration commence, in which it might be possible to evolve the elaborate system which required the *compagnon* to traverse, on foot save where a river was available, six hundred leagues of the domains of the Most Christian King.²

Perdiguier gives us a chronological table³ showing the date at which each craft is supposed to have joined the *Compagnonnage*. According to this, by 1609 the following had been admitted: The stone cutters, timber workers, joiners, locksmiths, tanners, dyers, ropemakers, basket-makers, hatters, tanners of fine skins, ore smelters, pinmakers, and blacksmiths. His dates are of no historical value, but his list represents what was the established tradition, and also represents in all likelihood an actual order of seniority, as such a distinction would be always remembered, and rigidly maintained.

As we have seen, the printers had in 1539 an organisation which we must call a *compagnonnage*, extending to the provinces, and in 1655, at the Sorbonne revelations,⁴ the trades in Paris that are treated as belonging to the system, in addition to the shoemakers, whose position has already been referred to, are the saddlers, tailors, cutlers, hatters, and charcoal-burners.

Of these, Perdiguier makes no mention at all of the printers, and he gives the dates of admission of the saddlers as 1702, and the cutlers as 1703. The hatters are among the oldest crafts mentioned in his list, as is stated above, but to the charcoal-burners, as also the tailors, he makes no allusion.

This apparent discrepancy is explained by Perdiguier himself.⁵ He ignores all crafts or journeymen's associations until they have enrolled themselves in one of the three great divisions, the sons of Solomon, Jacques, or Soubise, who alone, before the schisms of the nineteenth century, participated in the Tour de France. The dates⁶ he gives may be accepted from the eighteenth century onwards, though not before, and he has a big gap between 1609, when the blacksmiths were admitted, and 1700, when a number of crafts came in in rapid succession. Accordingly there were, as Perdiguier himself admits, at all times journeymen's organisations with oaths, officers, and so on, who were independent of the Tour; he calls them surreptitious. We have tanners in 1498 (*vide ante*), and tailors in

¹ White, History of France, 257.

² cf. Arnaud, 324.

³ P 2. ii., 196.

⁴ Thory, Annales, 331.

⁵ P 2, ii., 194.

⁶ cf. Simon, 119.

1506. The printers were, as we should expect, among the earliest to be organised, at some time before 1539. We know that the shoemakers had an association in 1601; and they travelled as they pleased, but recognised Angoulême as their headquarters.¹ For other crafts Vendôme and Dijon are important, although the former is not visited by the joiners, and the latter is only on an alternative route, and neither is on the itinerary as given by Arnaud. By the bakers, who were admitted to the Devoir in the nineteenth century, after much opposition, Grenoble was visited as late as 1841,² although no longer on the Tour in 1859.

The disclosures which drew down the censure of the Sorbonne in 1655 were mainly directed to the compagnons' ceremonies of admission; and the descriptions given show that the details of these varied with each trade. This was still the case as late as 1864, and Guillaumou³ suggests that each craft had its own forms of greeting and passwords; the bakers and shoemakers⁴ certainly had them. But the practice of a formal admission ceremony is one that was common to guilds and fraternities of all kinds, and can be traced among them from the earliest times.

For apprentices in all three countries, while the proceedings were very formal, they seem usually to have consisted of nothing more than an oath and a charge, coupled with the public enrolling in the gild or city registers.⁵ Perdiguier describes his own admission as a novice, the corresponding ceremony in the Compagnonnage,⁶ and it is quite simple, and entails no communication of any secrets (*vide* Appendix).

Mediæval civilisation was also aware of the religious initiation ceremonies of the Benedictines and other monastic orders, and the Templars and other orders of knighthood, if it was not familiar with their details. The masters' guilds were always of a strongly religious cast, and associated closely with the church and its ceremonies through their fraternities and confrères. In these the gild undertook the maintenance of worship in a chapel, usually that of their patron saint;⁷ and it was a common practice among the guilds for new members to be received only on the day of the periodical assembly, and their reception was thus associated with the attendance at Mass of the whole fraternity. (For instances *vide* Toulmin Smith, Nos. 2, 3, 29, among several.)

The annual assembly was also celebrated by a feast; and a feast was a usual concomitant of the reception of new members. But there is reason to suppose that this was not all that took place. Gould mentions the custom preserved among the bakers of Paris, of the newly accepted gild member presenting himself to the master-baker with certain ceremonies that suggest a survival of a feudal tenure. But he also gives us an instance of a gild where the new member had apparently to undergo some sort of secret ceremony.⁸ "A banqueting hall was prepared, and above that a loft whither, whilst the masters were partaking of good cheer below, the youngest accepted master, with a broomstick stuck into his belt instead of a sword, conducted the candidate. Shortly after there issued therefrom cries which never ceased, as though he were being cudgelled to death." This was what took place among the millstone makers, a craft who in 1260 were associated with the building trades, and had a code in common. I do not think there can be any doubt that this was a burlesque; but a burlesque of what? In any case, we find that in one craft, and that a craft associated with the stonecutters and masons, there was a distinct initiation ceremony practised.

But the real initiation ceremony was that of the freeman. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the candidate is now a man and out of his pupilage, and becomes for the first time a full member of the gild; in the second, he is to receive his mark; and in the third, he is going on his travels, and, arising out of this, to enable him to prove himself in every town he visits, he is now to have communicated to him the secret modes of recognition, whether they take the form of salutations, grips, pass-words, set dialogues, or methods of

¹ P.M. ii., 115.² Simon, 55.³ Guillaumou, 91.⁴ Arnaud, 299.⁵ B. cxxix.⁶ P.M. i., 100.⁷ B. cxxxiii. G. i., 193.⁸ G. i., 191.

drinking to another craftsman. These signs are of even more importance to the journeyman than they are to the freeman, a privileged person who is in many cases stationary.

The Steinmetzen had salutations,¹ and possibly a grip. The Scotch masons had a word. The Compagnonnage had pass-words, and probably special methods of drinking. They had a formal salutation, which called for an answer in a particular form, and used set dialogues as a test of membership, and all their practices were closely copied by the rival organisations of the nineteenth century.

Now what the freeman originally did we cannot say. But when the journeyman began to form distinct organisations, it is easy to understand how imitation ceremonies would in his hands lend themselves to development. It is probable that even freemen adapted to their own purposes the religious ceremonies of the guilds; still they may have done so in a perfectly unobjectionable manner. We find the German journeymen have a burlesque ceremony,² but no one can take any objection to it.

But if any practices such as those of the millstone makers were at all general among the craft guilds we may be perfectly certain that the journeymen would develop the hint; and when we remember that in the sixteenth century the French journeyman was already a person of advanced views, anti-papist, anti-clerical as one would say in France to-day, and definitely hostile to the masters, it is easy to understand how his ceremonies would tend to become skits on their proceedings, skits therefore on the Mass, and blasphemous accordingly. It is not necessary to assume that this was always the case; and it is possible to read the revelations, as set out by Gould, and to hold that the ceremonies were done in perfect good faith; but that they might lend themselves to levity and irreverence can hardly be denied. St. Léon says (p. 41): "These ceremonies are queer enough but we cannot definitely decide whether the allegories introduced into the proceedings of the compagnons were, in their origin, pious observances more or less distorted, and then modified by the introduction of popular superstitions, or whether we should see in them a deliberate burlesque of the mysteries of the Faith; in my opinion the former is by far the more likely hypothesis."

Thory also describes these ceremonies as imitations of the mysteries of the Passion, or profanations of church ceremonies, and he goes on to say (he is writing in 1812), "Are the observances the same to-day? We do not know." The Sorbonne, in 1655, have no hesitation in declaring the ceremonies to be intentionally impious and sacrilegious. They go further and speak of schools of immodesty; and Le Brun specifies one instance³ where there does seem to be something of the kind. He tells us that the tailors relate to their novices the story of the first three compagnons which is full of impurity. Thory adds that they have in their banqueting hall a picture of the amorous adventures of three compagnon tailors,⁴ not the first three, as Gould cites him at p. 239, but three; and that a description of it is given to the novices which is full of improprieties. Again, Saint-Léon himself suggests that as late as 1830⁵ the ceremonies were occasionally indecent in their details. But I believe this is an element that is entirely foreign to the true spirit of the Compagnonnage, however horrifying their attitude towards the Church and its ceremonies and towards heretics might be in the eyes of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, and its occasional appearance may fairly be ascribed to individual perversities.

The account of the various ceremonies that was furnished to the Sorbonne is given at length by Gould, and we find certain features are common to all. There is an oath, and a mock baptism, with a symbolical explanation of various articles which differ according to the trade, and much besides that we need not go into in detail. Thory says, in reference to the charcoal-burners: the password is communicated after certain mystifications.

The cutlers have a ceremony out in the fields which may be something similar to the peculiar embrace, known as the *guilbrette*, to which I will refer later on; and they also have a dialogue.

¹ G. i., 177.

⁴ T. Ann.: 335.

² G. i., 152, *et seq.*

³ *cit.* Rylands. *A.Q.C.* ii., 53 n.

⁵ S.L., 106, *vide* also note at p. 216 and *cf.* Arnaud, 164, 218.

The hatters have a special ceremony of their own for the public departure from a town, which again has analogies in later times, and here also a dialogue is mentioned.

Thory does not refer to any dialogue among the charcoal-burners, but Heckethorn gives one at length without quoting his authority.¹ Unfortunately, this pathetic dialogue appears verbatim in Ragon's printed ritual of the Fendeurs, one of a long series he published in 1853 or thereabouts; and the whole system of Fendeur degrees is of eighteenth century manufacture.

But there was dialogue of some kind in the ceremonies of 1655, and this is a wholly distinct type of ritual, quite unrelated to the church ceremonial on which the rest of the practices appear to be modelled. Dialogue was used by the Vehmgerichte, to go back no farther, and the very earliest printed accounts of our Lodge ceremonies, or rather alleged discoveries of them, in 1724, give us a ritual in dialogue form, while the practice was increasingly elaborated by the craft at a later date. We still preserve it to a certain extent in our present day working, though Brethren will be aware that there is as yet no evidence of its being practised in the English craft before the formation of Grand Lodge.² We see, however, that it was a type of ritual already familiar among French journeymen in the previous century.

What the Compagnonnage did in the eighteenth century does not appear to be known. During this period societies sprang up in all directions with the most elaborate ceremonies, often divided into numerous degrees. The Bucks. *A.Q.C.* iii., 40; the Gormogons, *id.* viii., 14; and for a list of others *vide A.Q.C.* viii., 138. In France we have the Félicité, *A.Q.C.* xxxii.; and the Maçonnerie Forestière, with its six grades; Charbonnier, Fendeur (*A.Q.C.* xxii., 37), Maître Fendeur de Devoir, Moins Diable que Noir (*i.e.*, not so bad as he looks), Sawyer, and Carpenter. All these rituals have been published, and in the Library of the Lodge there is a manuscript of another, the Fendeurs Charpentiers de Salomon, accompanied by an elaborate legend and code of laws, which, however, notwithstanding a great parade of antiquity, betrays itself as of post-Revolution date by an unfortunate reference to centimes. It gives us a travesty of religious observances far more objectionable than anything that was ever disclosed to the Sorbonne. This feature is not present in the rituals of the Fendeurs, and when we come to the nineteenth century it has wholly disappeared from the practices of the Compagnonnage.

In 1858 there was published *Le Secret des Cordonniers dévoilé*, which purports to give the full ritual and pass-words, not only of the original Compagnonnage, but also of the various schismatic bodies which arose among the journeymen from 1803 onwards. Saint-Léon was also able to refer to a manuscript ritual of a later date, which shows that even since 1858 the dialogue has been recast in the parent society. From this we learn that the ceremonies are the following:—*Initiation*, the details may differ in each craft; *salut de boutique*, or ceremonial summoning of the compagnons to a meeting; *entrée de chambre*, or presentation of the compagnon to the premier en ville on his arrival at a town, when he proves himself a compagnon by giving the passwords; *conduite*, or farewell to a departing compagnon, when he is escorted to the outskirts with a special ritual, including the embrace known as the *guilbrette*; and, finally, the funeral ceremonies, at which some crafts keen, or howl. There is further the *Topage*, which is the greeting of a strange compagnon on the highway, with whom you proceed to fight or drink according as he is or is not a hereditary foe by reason of his craft, or division of the Devoir. There is also the *appel compagnonnique*, which is part of the *salut de boutique*, but may be used separately. The whole of this apparatus of ritual is unfortunately completely modernised, and betrays at every turn its indebtedness to craft usages; I give a more detailed account of it in the Appendix to this paper.

There are elaborate dialogues, but Saint-Léon has printed in parallel columns the Compagnonnage dialogue and that of a French Lodge of Freemasons of Auvergne in 1769, from which it has obviously been adapted wholesale; and all French craft ritual of the period is merely the supposed contemporary English

¹ Heckethorn Secret Societies ii., 70. G. i., 239.

² *A.Q.C.* xxvi., 4.

working translated. In this case, as usually happens in these rituals, the G. is still explained as standing for God, the English word, and we also find the phrase 'la houpe dentelée,' which is a mistranslation of an English technical phrase, as was pointed out by Bro. Dring in *A.Q.C.* xxix., 260.

As early as 1803¹ a degree was imported into the Compagnonnage, which appears to have been the degree known in French masonry as 'maître ecossois,' and the innovation was the cause of serious dissensions; the practice of adapting craft usages then begun, if not earlier, has gone on ever since.

But however the dialogues and the ritual may have been modernised, there are still preserved three practices which date back to the very earliest days of the Tour de France, although they have no doubt undergone modifications, and these are the *Topage*, the *Guilbrette*, and the *Hurlement*, or howling at a funeral.

Whether the *Topage* involved any ritual or use of passwords originally cannot be stated. At present the cane may be held in various ways to indicate war or peace from the outset,² and there is a set form for the greeting,³ although the peaceable or timorous can always evade an actual conflict. The dialogue is given by Gould,⁴ and somewhat differently by Saint-Léon, while a correspondent of Perdiguier gives yet a third account of it.⁵ But they all agree as to the general tenour of the dialogue, which is as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| A. Tope. | B. Tope. |
| A. What trade? | B. Carpenter. |
| A. Compagnon? | B. replies with the prescribed
formula, and goes on:
And you, pays? |

A. Stone cutter; then follows the question as to the particular Devoir, unless the very mention of the trade has itself proved a *casus belli*. The peaceable could avoid trouble by ignoring the Tope; but once the question Compagnon? was asked, the issue was one of peace or war, although the parties might content themselves with abuse instead of actual fighting.

Perdiguier⁶ mentions that the locksmiths and joiners of Solomon have their own method of greeting, and at a later date, we learn from Saint-Léon, the proceedings were very elaborate, the greeting was preceded by a particular way of removing the hat, and the embrace, if there was one, resembled the *guilbrette*.

The *guilbrette* was gone through at the public farewell ceremony, and is described by Gould⁷ (*vide* Appendix). The details of the *conduite* itself vary. That of the hatters is described in the Sorbonne revelations. Another is given in the MS. Rituals in the Lodge Library, and the proceedings are made to represent the Journey to Calvary. Perdiguier describes one he witnessed among the farriers. That of the cordwainers, according to the disclosures of 1858, is elaborate, and reminds one of the Sorbonne ceremonies, as a ceremonial feast is partaken of. We learn from Arnaud that the bakers have a long dialogue, and a dance. But in all there seems to be a *guilbrette*, and the words whispered may include the passwords.⁸ The *guilbrette* itself seems to be recognised as a practice common to all crafts belonging to the Tour, and no crafts are mentioned as not practising it. It is also gone through at funerals, when the words that are whispered may be the passwords, but are more likely to be those of the *appel compagnonique*, which also are used when howling. One compagnon says, "Honneur aux bons compagnons, s'il y en a." The other replies, "Assurement il y en a." Saint-Léon seems to suggest that the word *Guilbrette* is going out of use and is being replaced, in all but a few crafts, by the simpler word "acolade,"⁹ without, however, any variation being made in the ceremony itself. We have to assume, apparently, that the custom is as old as the Tour.

¹ Rylands, *A.Q.C.* ii., 58.

² Arnaud, 281. S.L., 259.

³ *cf.* P.M. i., 109, 197, 199.

⁴ G. i., 225. S.L., 257.

⁵ P 3, ii., 78.

⁶ P 2, i., 60.

⁷ G. i., 229. *cf.* P.M. ii., 8.

⁸ Guillaumou, 51. Le Secret dévoilé, 29, 122.

⁹ S.L., 251 n.

Where the journeymen of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries took it from I cannot suggest. The name seems on philological grounds to indicate a Teutonic origin. The only sources that would seem *prima facie* in the least probable would be Celtic or Teutonic tribal customs; and then arises the problem of transmission. But the alternative of deliberate invention by the journeymen of the Tour is equally difficult. There does not seem to be any Scriptural analogy, or Biblical incident which one might suggest was being reproduced. The question is one for folk lore students. In any case, the ceremony has no connection with anything in our Craft observances; all greetings must have a certain similarity.

At the funeral, when howling, actual words are used; they are, as just stated, the words of the *appel compaignique*, which also comes into the ceremonial *salut de boutique*. It does not appear that any Guilbrette is given to the deceased, as Gould was inclined to think. Money is put in the coffin, or wine, or bread, and among some crafts, but not all, there used to be a custom of the *premier en ville*, or *rouleur* descending into the grave, over which a cloth was stretched, and from there giving the howl, to which the others replied. But this is now unknown. Here, again, however old the practices may be of which all this is a survival, we cannot recognise in them anything that is analogous to our Craft observances.

As described by Perdiguier, the Compagnonnage falls into three divisions, which are given at p. 215 of Gould's *History*, in a tabular form. They are the Sons of Solomon, the Sons of Jacques, and the Sons of Soubise. There are four principal and senior crafts, the stone masons, locksmiths, joiners, and carpenters. The first three are classed in two divisions, Solomon and Jacques. The carpenters alone are Soubise.

The first additions to the system were made by the Sons of Jacques, who gradually admitted craft after craft, with, as it turned out, disastrous results. At a later date the Sons of Soubise followed this bad example and admitted tylers and plasterers, according to Perdiguier's table, in 1792. At a still later date, apparently in 1834,¹ certain seceding carpenters proposed to call themselves Sons of Solomon, but they have never been fully accepted by the original members of the family.

The compagnons' regalia, so to call it, or craft clothing, although such a term would be misleading, consists of bunches and strings of coloured ribbons, and a cane. The ribbons were attached to the cane, and to the compagnon's hat, or coat, and the exact position in which they might be worn was rigorously prescribed for each craft, the seniors wearing them highest.

To these ribbons and canes we may readily concede a certain degree of antiquity; and we find two crafts that preserved the costumes of the days of Louis XIV.² in their ceremonies, viz., the nailmakers and silk weavers. The Compagnonnage in the nineteenth century also have an elaborate apparatus of emblems, with many of which we are familiar in the Craft. They have in the first place the square and compass; to which are attached the meanings of propriety and justice. These figure on all documents, and were at one time worn as earrings, by the *premier en ville*, as a sort of jewel of office, a usage which two crafts have preserved;³ among the Farriers earrings in horseshoe shape are worn by the departing compagnon at a *conduite*. The absurdity of bakers or shoemakers parading the square and compass was not lost on the critics of the system; but we can understand how new accessions to the *Devoir* would be ready, and indeed bound, to adopt its emblems, even though these were manifestly only appropriate to building trades. Indeed, it is not very clear what they have to do with locksmiths, although this craft is unquestionably one of the original founders of the Tour. In France, as in England, the square and compass is found in association with the master builder, *vide* the tomb of Maitre Libergier, illustrated at *A.Q.C.* viii., 109. We need have no difficulty in supposing that journeymen in the building trades used the square and compass symbolically from early times. Of

¹ S.L., 91 n.

² P.M. ii., 8.

³ S.L., 260. P.M. ii., 9.

the particular use that is associated with using one point or both, there seems to be no trace.

Saint Léon¹ tells us that in addition to these emblems that are used openly there are a number of "mystical emblems" of which secret explanations are given during the ceremony. The list includes three ornaments; three moveable and three immoveable jewels, and much else, most of which is manifestly simply adapted from Craft working. These emblems are not referred to in the exposure of 1858, and Perdiguier seems to have known nothing about them.

A constant cause of feuds was the attempt by some junior and more recently admitted craft to wear its ribbons in a manner reserved for a senior body, a practice which inevitably led to fights at sight. In these conflicts the trophy of the victor was the cane, or the ribbons, and the cane was a formidable affair, four or five feet long with a heavy head.

In fact, the greater part of the differences that existed in Perdiguier's day were due to the introduction to the system of new crafts, who brought with them their own fashions, and who were purposely enjoined to adopt the Compagnonnage emblems and names with a difference, an instruction they were not always prepared to obey.

But with these comparatively recent developments we are not now concerned. It is more to our purpose to recognise that originally the Tour was confined to four crafts, namely, the stone masons, joiners, locksmiths, and carpenters, all more or less building trades.

Between the Sons of Jacques and the Sons of Soubise there is no distinction to be drawn in respect of their ceremonies. Both alike use the title Compagnons du Devoir. The Sons of Jacques, with the exception of the three senior crafts, and the Sons of Soubise without exception, howl, and all tope. All agree in ill-treating their novices, and all use 'tu' in addressing one another. Also all agree in only admitting Roman Catholics to their mysteries.

But with the Sons of Solomon the position is different. They do not tope, with this exception, that the stonemasons follow this practice when meeting Sons of Jacques. They do not howl. And they treat their novices well, and are in complete harmony with them. Further, their locksmiths and joiners forbid the use of 'tu.' The Sons of Solomon also call themselves Compagnons du Devoir de Liberté, and admit Huguenots and non-Catholics.

While all the rest of the Compagnonnage, whatever division they belong to, call each other 'pays,' which to-day means country, and is presumably a corruption of some mediæval form of address, the stone masons of both divisions use yet another form, 'coterie,' which to-day means circle of acquaintance, set. Further, each compagnon on admission selects a nickname, and these are framed on a special system, which varies with each division, and sometimes with the particular craft. The three divisions also have distinct sets of sobriquets for their novices and compagnons, and even within the one division different names are given. To all this I refer in detail later on.

There is yet another distinction, and that is that among the Sons of Solomon the *Rouleur*, or agent in charge of the business of finding employment for compagnons in each town, does not tell the employer if the workmen he brings him are full compagnons or only novices,² and the master pays all alike. Among the Sons of Jacques and Soubise the master knows which are novices and pays them less accordingly. But in every case the master has to take the men the *rouleur*, who is himself a compagnon, chooses to bring him.

I think that an analysis of these points of difference leads to the conclusion that many of them go further back than the era of new admissions; and that some indicate the existence in the very earliest times of bodies with different observances. Bro. Rylands³ has pointed out that no newly formed association would call themselves "Sons of Solomon"; and considers for that reason that the Sons of Solomon are the oldest branch. Nevertheless, some of these differences suggest to me that the Sons of Solomon, as they existed in Perdiguier's time, were a reformed association; and I am inclined to believe, as I shall show, that

¹ S.L., 261.

² P 2, i., 52.

³ A.Q.C. i., 155.

the whole system in its modern form is the result of changes introduced into the Compagnonnage at a time when the three divisions were already well defined, whatever may be their relative antiquity.

With regard to the *Topage*, the distinction that exists cannot be due to any reform unless there was one after feuds had begun to develop. To greet strangers in passing is a widespread custom, and in France is probably older than the Tour. With its institution the greeting could be utilised to indicate one's membership of the society, and it is natural to suppose that this was the case. After the period of feuds had begun, such a practice would, and in fact did, result in constant fights, and to abolish it would be a great reform. But in the Compagnonnage the present position is that there are only two crafts in one division that do not follow the practice.

With 'tu' and 'vous' we are on surer ground. This is certainly a change made at some time or other with the intention of adopting the usages of people in a higher social position. To-day in France the peasantry and working classes as a rule say 'tu,' and it is noted as an exception to this rule that the Compagnonnage use the more dignified form of address. As late as the twelfth century 'tu' and 'vous' were still used indifferently as we see from the dialogues in *Aucassin and Nicolette*, which is dated between 1150 and 1200. But certainly by the seventeenth century the use of 'vous' was established as that of the polite classes, 'tu' being the language of a peasant or artisan. To-day in France in the upper classes, the 'tu' is only used between great personal friends, and when speaking to children or inferiors. The craftsmen who replaced 'tu' by 'vous' did so, we must suppose, to distinguish themselves from the rank and file of the labouring classes.

So also with the distinctive treatment of novices. No employer is going to treat them the same as full companions in early days, while he has a voice in the matter; but as the journeymen get more power into their hands, and are more and more able to dictate to their employers, such a distinction might well be abolished, and the rule that we find in force among the Sons of Solomon introduced.

Next, let us take the fact that the *enfants du Devoir de Liberté* admitted Huguenots,—a great point is made of this in 1655. This must manifestly have been an innovation at some time. To put the proposition the other way about, and say that originally there were no distinctions made on religious grounds, and that the Sons of Jacques introduced them by prohibiting the admission of Huguenots, is, I think, inadmissible. Their admission is consistent with, and, indeed, explains, the title 'de Liberté,' which is a phrase added to the original title of 'Compagnons du Devoir.'

I may here notice what appears to be a discrepancy. The saddlers in 1655 admitted Huguenots. But they joined the Sons of Jacques in 1702, according to Perdiguier, and whenever they did join they presumably conformed to their practices. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes which left no Huguenots in France was in 1685, and if, without accepting Perdiguier's date absolutely, we agree that the craft came into the Compagnonnage at all events at some date subsequent to that enactment, the difficulty, I think, disappears.

The system of nicknames, which is another point in which the divisions differ, also gives indications of changes of system purposely introduced. A nickname was a necessity at a time when membership of a journeymen's association was a criminal matter, but, of course, at a much earlier date a man of the working class had no name other than what we should to-day call a nickname; he was John Miller, or Tom o' Bolton.

The nicknames¹ of the Compagnonnage are thus arranged:—

- (i.) A joiner or locksmith of Jacques; Hyppolyte le Nantais, equivalent to an English "John o' Bristol." The exact and literal equivalent of Hyppolyte le Nantais would, of course, be John the Bristolian. But, whereas French readily uses these adjectival forms, they are

¹ G. i., 222. P 2, i., 37, 56. P 3, i., 60.

foreign to our English idiom; and an Englishman, to convey the same idea, would put it in the form I give, 'John o' Bristol.' I give it, therefore, with that understanding.

- (ii.) A stonemason of Jacques (to-day), or of Solomon; La Rose de Bordeaux, English equivalent, The Rose of Bristol.
- (iii.) A joiner or locksmith of Solomon, and all others, including the carpenters, Sons of Soubise, but excluding (iv.); Languedoc la Prudence, or Bordelais la Rose; English equivalent, Lancashire Honesty, or Bristol Rose; if the place name is that of a district it stands, but if it is that of a town it takes an adjectival form.¹ As before the literal equivalent of Bordelais la Rose is Bristolian, the Rose; the man called La Rose who comes from Bristol. I give Bristol Rose as representing the idea in an English idiom better than a literal rendering can do.
- (iv.) Four crafts of Jacques, the hatters, cobblers, ropemakers, and weavers; La Rose le Bordelais; English equivalent, The Rose, the Bristolian. This last form is almost as awkward in French as it is in English.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the locksmith and joiner of Jacques preserve a genuine mediæval nickname, and that the stone mason has one almost as good, and, indeed, more useful in times of persecution, as it entirely sinks the identity. The third system will pass muster, it is better in French than it is in English; but the fourth appears to be a variation made for the sake of variation, regardless of euphony.

Perdiguier² found an inscribed stone in Languedoc, showing this system was in force in 1640, at least as far as the stone cutters were concerned; but at that date the stone cutters of Jacques followed the fourth system. They do not now do so.

We may next consider the sobriquets. Previous to 1803 only two degrees, so to call them, were recognised throughout the Compagnonnage, those namely of novice and compagnon, except in the case of the joiners and locksmiths of Solomon, who are stated to have recognised two grades of compagnon, but how early they did so does not appear. In each division these degrees were called by special names, thus:—

Stone masons: Sons of Jacques; Compagnons passants, Loups garoux,
Bons enfants.

Novices: Aspirants.

Sons of Solomon; Compagnons étrangers, Loups;

Novices: Jeunes Hommes.

Joiners & locksmiths: Sons of Jacques; Devoirants, Chieus;

Novices: Aspirants.

Sons of Solomon; Gavots (two sections);

Novices: Affiliés.

Sons of Soubise: Compagnons passants, Drilles or Bonsdrilles, Devoirants.

Novices: Renards.

Later additions to the Sons of Jacques³ follow the nomenclature of the joiners and locksmiths of that division.

If the original term was devoirant, which would be a natural epithet of followers of the Devoir, this is easily turned into devorants=devourers, and, in fact, the word in Perdiguier's time is more often so written; and being given devourers, wolves, dogs, and foxes are a natural development. But were-wolves as a sobriquet seems likely to be a later form, an attempt to outdo the dogs of the joiners and

¹ Simon, 91 n.

² P 2, ii., 85.

³ P 2 i., 57.

the wolves of Solomon. It may be as well to point out that whereas "were-wolves" among ourselves are a wholly unfamiliar idea, almost requiring a foot-note, the *loup-garou* has always been a familiar figure in the *dramatis personæ* of the folklore and the nursery in France.

Perdiguier himself, as it happens, provides an illustration of this. He tells us in his *Memoirs* of the old grandmother who thrilled his infancy with stories of demons, ghosts, and *loups-garoux*.¹ The fact that the *loup-garou* is a fictitious beast is not, I think, material. It only suggests that the name was taken at a time when the existence of the creature was still believed in, and for that the seventeenth century is not too late, nor, indeed, would the eighteenth century be among the French peasantry.

Again it is quite natural in a society the distinguishing feature of which is its organised Tour for its members to style themselves *Compagnons passants* in contradistinction to freemen or journeymen of fraternities in the towns they passed through who made no Tour de France. *Compagnons étrangers* is perhaps simply another version of the same idea. Among the stonemasons themselves the tradition is that they were all originally *étrangers*.²

Gavots is explained as meaning hillmen, or persons who took refuge in barges (*gavotage*) on the river during a persecution, and the former of these two explanations, at all events, is admissible, as Perdiguier³ says it still survives as a local name for hillmen in Provence. Either interpretation suggests a connection with the Huguenots or other heretics, whom the Sons of Solomon allow to join their societies; assuming the second explanation to have a value, it reminds us of actual incidents of the Huguenot persecutions, and the Albigenses and other early heretics were also hillmen to a large extent.

The story that has been constructed to explain the sobriquets which Perdiguier gives in his *Question Vitale* may be dismissed as late and wholly valueless, as Bro. Rylands⁴ points out; but in passing we should note that the whole system preserves only two archaisms, *gavots* and *bonsdrilles*.

Taking next the practice of howling at funerals; this very ancient custom, known to Celts and Bretons, and also in the East, is practised by the Sons of Soubise, and all the later additions to the Sons of Jacques, but not by joiners, locksmiths, or stonemasons, whether of Jacques or Solomon. The seceding carpenters who have tried to join the Sons of Solomon both howl and tope, preserving in their new society the usages of their old one. The Sorbonne disclosures make no reference to the practice. The fact that all the later crafts have the practice perhaps indicates that it survived to a late date outside the Compagnonnage among the peasantry, with whom it was a custom from pre-historic times, a custom maintained among the workmen's fraternities.

Out of all these apparently conflicting distinctions and cross-classifications it is possible, I believe, to frame a scheme, to put forward a tentative reconstruction of the development of the system which will account satisfactorily for all of them. It is as follows:—

In the fourteenth century, the following organisations among the building trades:—

STONEMASONS. *Compagnons étrangers du Devoir.* Sons of Solomon, 'loups,' call each other 'coterie,' tope, do not howl, type of nickname: La Rose de Bordeaux.

JOINERS & LOCKSMITHS. *Compagnons passants du Devoir.* Sons of Jacques, 'chiens,' call each other 'pays,' do not tope, do not howl, type of nickname: Hyppolyte le Nantais.

CARPENTERS. *Compagnons passants du Devoir.* Sons of Père Soubise, 'bons drilles,' call each other 'pays,' tope and howl, type of nickname: Bordelais la Rose, or Languedoc la Prudence.

¹ P.M. i., 56.

² P 2 i., 37.

³ A.Q.C. ii., 55. P 1, 186.

⁴ A.Q.C. ii., 58.

Being building trades, these associations have long since been accustomed to travel, and have already organised the arrangements for assisting travelling journeymen, if, indeed, they have not got to the stage of prescribed itineraries. But they are distinct societies with their own usages, their own names, and perhaps their own legends. The one thing they have in common is the *Devoir*, the Charge that Solomon gave them all at the Temple; they are all *devoirants*. Perdiguier's phrase is precisely '*Salomon leur donna un devoir.*'¹ He uses the actual word, just as we say in our *Old Charges* that David or Euclid gave their masons a *Charge*.

Owing to the development of Huguenot opinions in Southern and Western France, these organisations are divided on the question of the admission or non-admission of heretics, and both the stonemasons and the joiners and locksmiths are affected. The party of tolerance call themselves *Compagnons du Devoir de Libcrié*, and include stonemasons and seceding joiners and locksmiths, which latter now style themselves *gavots*, as a reminder of the persecutions, or of the mountains in which the Albigenses and other early heretics lived. It is of a piece with their tolerance in matters of religion that they now also adopt a better attitude towards their novices, who are henceforth well treated and conceded privileges.

But such stonemasons as are not prepared to adopt the new ideas transfer their allegiance to Jacques, and to distinguish themselves from their old associates, the 'loups,' they now call themselves 'loups-garoux.' They still, however, preserve their special form of address 'coterie.' And while they conform to the usage of their new Society, and call themselves 'passants,' they preserve the recollection that they were originally 'étrangers.' The reformed locksmiths and joiners take the opportunity to drop the vulgarism 'tu.' As a smaller detail, they also strengthen their position as against the masters by adopting the practice of not letting them know whether workmen are full *compagnons* or not. This is another benefit conferred on the novices, although it is true it is at the masters' expense.

There is a general tendency among them also to irreverence in their ceremonies, which brings about the events of 1655. But the Sons of Jacques, on the other hand, are strict in their adherence to and reverence for religion and the Church,² and at a later date we find the Church supporting their societies.

After the Sorbonne disclosures there is a period of abeyance, or at least of quiescence. But we hear of a journeymen's organisation in Paris in 1683; and they exist, albeit more or less clandestinely, all over France. That at Paris is the hat-makers, Sons of Jacques, and this division has by this time commenced to throw open its ranks to other trades. The ceremonies of howling and toping are maintained by all the newcomers; and in 1730 occurs the first outbreak of actual hostilities between divisions of which any account has come down to us; the Sons of Jacques and Soubise joining in a pitched battle at Crau against the quondam reformers, who are now an exclusive society, holding advanced and unpopular views, and in a minority. From that time onwards the history is the long story of feuds of all kinds that I have already alluded to. Although I can find no specific reference to battles between Sons of Soubise and Sons of Jacques earlier than 1836,³ they must have occurred long before.

The only detail left unaccounted for in this scheme is the present system of nicknames, and this also can be fitted into it. We know that the stonemasons of Jacques, seceders from Solomon according to my hypothesis, adopted a system that was followed by four of the accessions to the Sons of Jacques, namely, La Rose le Bordelais; and Perdiguier, when he visited St. Gilles, found two such names of dates 1655 and 1656. They must at some later time have dropped this awkward fashion, and reverted to their old style of Le Rose de Bordeaux, which their brethren of Solomon had always preserved, as this is the style they follow at the time of Perdiguier.

It is not too much to assume that the seceding joiners and locksmiths adopted among the Sons of Solomon the style that the carpenters of Soubise were already using, as the simplest way to distinguish them at once from their colleagues of Solomon, and their own craftsmen of Jacques.

¹ P 1 i., 159.

² S.L., 60.

³ Simon, 53.

All newcomers except four adopted the system of Soubise and the joiners of Solomon.

This reconstruction of the political history of the *Devoir* is admittedly hypothesis from end to end; but it appears to fit the facts, and some explanation is required of the extraordinary complexities and diversities of the system as exhibited in the table at p. 215 of Gould. A hypothesis of some kind is necessary before we can attempt to form any opinions as to the connection between the Compagnonnage, as to its legends at all events, and the Craft in England.

From its earliest foundation Paris must always have been on a traffic route going down the valley of the Saone and Rhone to Marseilles; and by the end of the thirteenth century St. Mary Magdalene's cell at Sainte Baume, near Marseilles, was a place of pilgrimage for all France.¹ Similarly the valley of the Loire was also a traffic route from the earliest times, and Tours, another great place of pilgrimage, lies on the river. Again the pilgrim routes to Compostella lay along the shores of the Bay of Biscay and the Gulf of Lyons.

For pilgrims on their travels there were hostelries in every important town, if not in every village of any pretensions on the line of march; and at a very early date we find the Cistercians in Southern Germany² in a position to assert that brethren of their fraternity could make the journey to Rome, stopping in their own hostelries the whole way. Thus what we may call the mechanism of pilgrimage or journeying was organised at a very early date, and the compagnons may well have travelled in these regions long before they bridged the gap in between, the gap formed by Guienne and Gascony, provinces of a hostile power as late as 1453.

It is quite possible, therefore, that during the fifteenth century there were organisations of travelling journeymen on two great routes, Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and Paris, Orleans, Tours, Nantes, who visited all places of architectural importance. From Toulouse to Montpellier, where there was a gild of masons whose statutes of 1586 are reproduced by Gould,³ was also French territory, although it is significant that the reason for the enactment at so late a date as 1586 is that the old laws had been lost in the wars and disorders. Gilles, in Languedoc,⁴ was a place much visited by the stone cutters in the middle ages, although neither Perdiguiet nor Arnaud give it as on the Tour. But Perdiguiet visited it independently.

But the complete circuit was not laid out by craftsmen interested in architecture, at all events not the circuit known to Perdiguiet, and it may well date from a later time, although the observances were probably in force as soon as travelling among journeymen became organised, and that must have been as soon as the journeymen themselves were organised communities.

We must suppose a time when the three organisations which I believe to have existed originally lived side by side in perfect harmony and met on their travels. The seventeenth century sees the travelling organised as an actual circuit, a true 'Tour de France'; the same century sees the question of the admission of Huguenots become a burning one, culminating in the split and re-arrangement I have suggested, which may have taken place at Orleans. There is a contemporary deterioration in the ceremonies of one division, due to anti-clerical and radical elements, and this is very certain to be denounced almost as soon as it has declared itself. We may take it, I think, that the pious association of 1639 was denouncing a new development, and not any long-standing and well-known practice of the compagnons.

The only difficulty about all this is that we do not hear of actual battles between the divisions until 1730. Perdiguiet, however, speaks of the conditions of feud and strife as having begun at Orleans, in 1401, and lasted ever since; and while I do not think we can accept his date, the tradition itself is probable enough, and may represent an actual fact. The revelations of 1655, at all events, intro-

¹ A.Q.C. ii., 62, and works there cited.

² G. i., 111.

³ G. i., 203.

⁴ Jameson, S. & L. Art. ii., 769 n.

duced a cause of strife if it did not already exist. The cordwainers seceded, not to be re-admitted to the *Devoir* till two centuries later; and other crafts, as, *e.g.*, the tailors, the worst offenders, seem to have retired from it for good and all and never sought re-admission. But among those that remained it is easy to see that there must have been much ground for recriminations and ill-feeling.

Although there seems to be no historical ground for Perdiguier's allegations as to a dissension at Orleans in 1401, there was an incident in 1567 which is not without significance, as the Huguenots on that occasion burnt the cathedral. It was in 1601 that the foundation of the new building was laid, and Bro. Rylands¹ has pointed out that the architect's name was Jacques Gabriel, and no doubt stonemasons of both divisions were employed on the work as it progressed. If, as is probable, the divisions were already at enmity, there would be ground enough for the tradition to exist at a later date.

The different crafts celebrated their own patron saints on the appropriate days,² even in the cases where the crafts were divided between Solomon and Jacques, and in so doing were no doubt perpetuating a practice that was anterior to the Tour de France; the stonemasons took as their anniversary the Ascension.

But the Sons of Jacques all made a great feature of the pilgrimage to Sainte Baume, the cave where the Magdalene was said, in the Provençal legend, to have ended her days, and where her relics were discovered in 1279.

Although the Sons of Solomon are not associated with any pilgrimage,—and this is only what one would expect, at all events in 1655, from their whole attitude,—yet the locksmiths and joiners of Solomon claim an association of their own with this same locality. Perdiguier³ says: "When the compagnons of the *Devoir* of Liberty, coming from Judea, landed in Provence, they re-assembled on the heights of Sainte Baume, and thence descended to the valleys and plains"—where they were accordingly called *gavots*. This seems to me to be a confirmation of my hypothesis; it suggests that the seceding locksmiths and joiners not only adopted a new sobriquet, but felt it incumbent on them to give a new explanation of their association with Sainte Baume. As Sons of Jacques it was their place of pilgrimage, as it has been for Sons of Jacques ever since; but as Sons of Solomon they worked it into a legend of their coming from Judea, and Solomon's Temple, to Provence. A legend of the craft being at King Solomon's Temple, where he gave them a Charge, was apparently the common property of the building trades. This almost involves a further legend of their coming to France, and the stonemasons who called themselves Sons of Solomon must surely have had some story to that effect. We may, therefore, add to the suggestions as to the first dispositions of the three associations that the original Sons of Solomon have a legend of their having been at the Temple, and that the Sons of Jacques make the pilgrimage to Sainte Baume; but the Solomon legend in its earliest form probably made no mention of this locality.

In any case, we have at an early date three divisions, the Sons of Solomon, which included the stonemasons, and, as I suggest, consisted of them alone; the Sons of Jacques, which included the locksmiths and joiners; and the Sons of Soubise, as to whom there is no difficulty. They have always been the carpenters, and until a comparatively late date included no other crafts. Solomon we know, but who were Jacques and Soubise?

It is, perhaps, not remarkable that a craft gild or association of stonemasons should adopt Solomon as their founder, and as we see from the exposure of 1858 the Compagnonnage actually then had as two of its passwords Boaz and Jachin, which Brethren perhaps need not be reminded are the names of the two pillars at the entrance of K.S.T. In the *Devoir* these are taken as passwords, the president gives J, and the candidate replies with B. Whether this was the case in the sixteenth century, or even the seventeenth century, we do not know, but it is noteworthy that one of the mediæval gates of Orleans was at one time called Jaquin.⁴ According to the same exposure, the *Devoir de Liberté*, that is the

¹ A.Q.C. ii., 62. ² P 2. i., 64. ³ P 1. 186. P 3. i., 61. ⁴ A.Q.C. ii., 61 n.

Sons of Solomon, used these words somewhat differently to the Sons of Jacques, and added a further password, Tubalcain; but once more it would be quite unsafe to assume that this was an early practice.

There is a trace of another tradition among the stonemasons of Paris, but apparently not elsewhere. These claimed that as a special privilege granted them by Charles Martel they were exempt from watch duty.¹ But whether this has anything to do with the journeymen masous of a later date does not appear, and Charles Martel appears to be unknown in Compagnonnage legend. He is, of course, a familiar figure to us in our own *Old Charges*.

Perdiguier refers to the legend of Solomon, he was himself of this division. He tells us that Solomon gave the stonemasons, locksmiths and joiners a charge and incorporated them in a fraternal manner while they were within the precincts of the Temple, and that the two other divisions also claim to have come from the Temple under their respective founders. He goes on to say²: "The stonemasons are the oldest of all the Sons of Solomon." "As to them, people put about an old tale which refers to Hiram, as some say, but others say Adonhiram; there are crimes and punishments in it; but I leave this fable for what it is worth." The phrase is identical in all three editions. It seems to confine the fable, whatever it was, to the stonemasons; and it is clear that Perdiguier is not making veiled allusions to a cherished secret, but is mentioning a story he has himself a profound contempt for and disbelief in. At a later page he says he believes as little in the story of the murder of Jacques as he does in that of Hiram; and in the second edition he says³ in terms "The compagnons étrangers have no authentic details of this fable which is quite new to them"; and goes on to suggest it is borrowed from Freemasonry. Saint-Léon gives us the full text of this Hiram legend, and this places the matter beyond all doubt. It is the legend as we find it in the eighteenth century examinations, with the names of the three villains as Holem, Sterkin, and Hoterfut, but otherwise practically word for word. Bearing in mind that we have already seen that the examination, as it was practised in Perdiguier's time, was taken straight from a French translation of a contemporary English lecture, we need look no further for the origin of this story, and it is gratuitous to endow the Sons of Solomon with any Hiram legend at an earlier date, in the complete absence of any evidence for it. It was the Sons of Solomon who introduced into the Compagnonnage, in 1803,⁴ a new and masonic degree, the cause of endless strife and discord.

Nothing is said in the Sorbonne disclosures of any legends, with the single exception of the reference to the three first compagnons. I do not believe this has any connection with the three Founders, Solomon, Jacques, and Soubise. The Compagnonnage legends are wholly free from objection on the score of impropriety; they do not to-day offend on the score of irreverence; and the tailors, like all other crafts, had their own initiation ceremony; moreover they left the Compagnonnage for good in 1655.

We are left, then, with the statement, made in 1830, that the compagnons claim that Solomon gave them a charge. Solomon does not give a charge according to our legendary history, but David does, and his charge is confirmed by Solomon. And the French phrase does not convey quite the same meaning. The act is that of the founder of an order, and implies what monks spoke of as a Rule; it is something more than a mere set of moral instructions, it implies privileges as well.

That skilled masons originally came to France and England from the East, or at least from the South, may be called a historical statement. In England a tradition is in existence as early as the *Book of Charges*,⁵ say, in the thirteenth century, in which the original home of the masons is not Palestine but Egypt, and the founder of the Order is Englet, or Euclid. The craft passes from land to land, and Athelstan reforms it in England.

¹ G. i., 200. ² P 1, 161 "on fait courir sur eux." ³ P 2 ii., 80, and P 3 ii., 75.
⁴ A.Q.C. ii., 58. ⁵ Cooke II 643 *et seq.*

At a later date an elaborate history is written in which Solomon is mentioned, but is in no way specially prominent; but the science comes from the Temple into France, and Charles II. is credited with the reform of the craft in that country. The date of this compilation is towards the end of the fourteenth century. At a still later date, early in the sixteenth century, the history is recast, Charles II. is now replaced by Charles Martel, and a mysterious personage is introduced who brings geometry into France from King Solomon's Temple. (By a later interpolation in the text he is made to teach it to Charles Martel,¹ but we can safely say that that is not how he first appeared in the narrative.)

It is, perhaps, not assuming too much if we say that in the thirteenth century the English masons had their tradition of Egypt and Euclid, while the French had theirs of Palestine and Solomon; the English reformer being Athelstan, while the French was either Charlemagne, or Charles Martel; possibly both in legends of the North and South respectively. The writer of the *Cooke Text* has heard something of the French legends;—he constantly makes allusions to old books of masonry;—and accordingly he introduces into his narrative a reference to them. The writer of the revised text in the sixteenth century has heard, or read, a story of an actual individual who brought geometry to France from Solomon's Temple, and he introduces him, and calls him *Namus Grecus*,—or whatever it was he did call him originally. Now *Namus Grecus* is nothing like Jacques or Soubise, but the most generally received *Compagnonnage* legend is nevertheless precisely this, that Jacques and Soubise were at King Solomon's Temple, and came from thence into France with their skilled masons. There is then some ground for supposing that, by about 1500 at all events, the *Compagnonnage* had, in addition to the tradition of an origin in Judea, which was common to all the building trades, a definite story of a founder who brought the craft in person into France. But this is, apparently, not a story that is told by the original Sons of Solomon; it is a legend of the second division, the Sons of Jacques. *Perdiguier's* words imply that, apart from modern innovations, the Sons of Solomon, stonemasons, have no legends. It is difficult to imagine that they never had any story of their coming to France; I have already suggested that when the joiners and locksmiths of Solomon recounted the story of their assembling on the heights of Sainte Baume they were amplifying for their own purposes a legend that was already current among the stonemasons.

Perdiguier himself and others have attempted to rationalise the story, to say that the Jacques who founded the society was Jacques Molay, the last of the Templars, or Jacques the architect of Orleans. The legend itself is given in full by Gould,² from *Perdiguier*, who cannot refrain from making the remark that it will not stand serious examination.

The most patent anachronism in it is precisely the original anachronism of *Namus Grecus*, namely, that at the time of King Solomon's Temple there was no civilisation to come to in France.

But the general plan of the legend is that of one of the Lives of the Saints, as Bro. Rylands³ has pointed out. In fact, there is no St. Jacques that will fit in, and the pilgrimage of Sainte Baume was made to St. Mary Magdalene and St. Maximin, who do not help us. Bro. Rylands suggests that the original ceremony of initiation being, as we know, often based on incidents in the New Testament, the whole legend is an elaborate parable of the life of Our Lord, purposely disguised; and he also considers it is of quite modern construction. I am inclined to think that at a very early date there was a story of some actual person who came from K.S.T. to France; the anachronism involved could hardly escape detection if such a tale was invented at any late date; and that on that foundation the elaborate legend as we now have it was pieced together, details being added up to comparatively recent times. At Jacques' death, his girdle is given to the carpenters, an incident that is an obvious imitation from a legend of the Virgin. This incident must needs be of a date anterior to any feuds between the two divisions. On the other hand, Soubise, or his followers at all events,

¹ A.Q.C. iv., 215.

² G. i., 217 (*vide* Appendix).

³ A.Q.C. ii., 60.

try to murder Maître Jacques. This would seem to be an incident purposely introduced after differences had arisen. At what date they did arise I cannot say.

At the same time, there are other instances in which elaborate legends were fabricated in quite recent times. The legend Perdiguier¹ gives is only one of several, for, as he says, each craft has made up its own, all more or less unconvincing. In the MS. in the Lodge Library is yet another legend of Jacques which makes him the son of a mason at Kilwinning, and links him with the Templars and Jacques Molay. It is manifestly the merest compilation, and late at that. The organisation of the Independents, which only came into existence in 1823, produced a legend of William Tell; while the carpenters who seceded from Soubise found fault with Perdiguier² because he refused to take seriously the founder they had provided themselves with,—the Père Indien, who was at K.S.T. with Maître Jacques and Soubise.

I have no intention here of again going over ground that has been already so thoroughly explored by Bros. Gould and Rylands. Whether the orthodox legend of Maître Jacques be late or early, it, in fact, offers no features of similarity with anything in our Craft. But there is this in common, that just as we have a ritual (with dialogues), and a wholly distinct legendary history, which is, indeed, to-day well-nigh forgotten, the Compagnonnage has the same system, a series of ceremonies, and a legend to which they contain no allusion, although they do appear to have kept up to a much later date than we did the practice of reading the legend to the candidate. Who Maître Jacques was, or, rather, how or why the name Jacques came to be selected for the hero of the story, remains unexplained; I, at all events, can offer no solution of the question.

Soubise is introduced into the Jacques legend, no doubt, at a late date, but he appears to have no distinct legend of his own; and the Sons of Soubise naturally do not accept the story of their founder and his disciples told by the Sons of Jacques. Is it possible that the original legend was that Solomon the King gave the four crafts their *Devoir*, that Jacques the Master brought them to France, and that Soubise the ecclesiastic organised them, like our St. Alban? It would not be difficult, in early times, for the carpenters to develop the share allotted to their founder, and to make him be also present in the Temple. The Sons of Jacques would no doubt resent such emendations, but the suggestion offers an explanation of the enmity between the Sons of Jacques and those of Soubise, for which there is otherwise no very apparent reason. Perdiguier,³ in his second edition, says he can find out nothing about him. In the third,⁴ all he can say is that he has read a life of him which was merely a moral romance, that did the author much credit,—and he will not now devote more time to it. The phrase is somewhat contemptuous. Later on⁵ he hazards a conjecture that the Père Soubise was a monk who obtained a charter for the carpenters and united them to the Compagnonnage. It would certainly seem as though the Sons of Soubise had originally no detailed legend: Soubise is a small village near Rochefort, but not on the Tour, and there actually was a Père Soubise in history, the Cardinal de Rohan.⁶ The explanation may after all be that the Sons of Soubise were carpenters who went the Western Tour, down the valley of the Loire, and received some protection from the powerful landed proprietors of the district; but, if it was so, they have forgotten all about it. It is hardly necessary to say that Père Soubise as a title is Christian, and the name Soubise is wholly French.

There is a saint who might be the original of the Père, were it not for the difficulty of explaining how, being a saint, he should come to be spoken of by the less honourable title, and that is Saint Sulpice. (The well-known church in Paris is not his.) He was an actual individual, the biographer of St. Martin of Tours; who in his old age retired to a monastery at Marseilles. Thus he is connected with both the Western and Southern traffic routes. He had some fame as a church-builder; I do not find, however, that he has any special interest for carpenters, or journeymen. But the name, were it not for the title Père, would be a tempting one on which to found a theory. It is, at all events, probable

¹ P 2 i., 26. cf. Arnaud, 374 for instances of them.

³ P 2 i., 31.

⁴ P 3 i., 40.

⁵ P 3 ii., 255.

² P 3 ii., 277.

⁶ A.Q.C. i., 163.

that originally Père Soubise was an independent personage, who came to be linked up with the Jacques legend after the development of the Tour; and his first connection with it was in all likelihood amiable and honourable; the details that make his followers take a discreditable part in the narrative are additions due to the later times of feuds and ill-feeling.

CONCLUSION.

The Compagnonnage, then, is in its origin a grouping of associations of journeymen, in connection with a system of organised assistance for them as they travel through Southern France; and this has reference to a practice that never developed in England, and that was, on the contrary, made illegal at an early date. The building crafts no doubt had their own organisations in both countries at a very early date; but in practice the traces of them in England are few and uncertain, and in France the Tour was developed independently of these trades, and without reference to their particular requirements and predilections. In both countries there are hints of early legends of a great simplicity, connecting them, in the one case with Egypt and Euclid, and Athelstan as a reformer and benefactor; in the other with Palestine and Solomon, and with Charlemagne, or Charles Martel.

The compilers of our later and more elaborate histories would seem to have been familiar with the French stories. In England a quasi-historical account of the Craft is deliberately compiled, and as time goes on is materially modified. In France we have instead a Life of one individual on the model of the Lives of the Saints, but this also is much altered at a later date. This legend is the common property of all the trades belonging to the great division of Sons of Jacques; whereas the English narrative is the special property of masons alone. Other crafts probably possessed at one time similar legends specially constructed to suit their requirements; but such accounts of them as we have indicate that they also usually took the form of a life of a patron saint. In England in the early years of Grand Lodge there is in existence a legend connected with the Temple, and it is closely bound up with certain ritual observances. It appears in France as a legend solely, but its appearance is late, and the conclusion is unavoidable that it has been deliberately taken over from the English original. At an early date in the Compagnonnage elaborate initiations are in use; which are based on, and in some cases become travesties of, church ceremonies. Of this in England there is no trace. But we find in England in the early days of Grand Lodge a ritual in dialogue form, a type known to the French operatives in the previous century. When, however, at a much later date, we are able to examine a French dialogue ritual, it is once more manifestly derived from an eighteenth century lecture in an English Lodge. The French working has clearly been revised at various times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and we have actual evidence of such revisions after 1858. With the rest of the ceremonies of the Compagnonnage, as disclosed in the nineteenth century, our Craft working has no general similarity; the French passwords are seen to be derived from the Old Testament, but it is uncertain whether they are still the actual passwords of previous centuries.

As time goes on, the Compagnonnage as a system breaks down. In the first place its functions as a benefit society are now performed by a number of other organisations managed on modern lines; in the second, the railway automatically does away with all that was peculiar to the Tour de France; in the third, there is a very definite reaction against ceremonies and legends which are felt to be anachronistic and absurd, if not actually objectionable.

But the ultimate cause of its decline is the hopeless anarchy into which it has fallen through intestinal feuds, arising out of disputes about relative seniority, disputes with new crafts that have gained admittance to the society against the wishes of others belonging to it, and disputes based on the very absurdities of the legends themselves.

With all this, happily, our Craft to-day has nothing to do; we have never since the decline of Operative Masonry attempted to concern ourselves with the

practical affairs of the trade, and it is to this circumstances we owe it that we are still a living force in our own restricted sphere, and not a mere survival, of only archæological interest except where deliberately modernised, which is the present condition of the COMPAGNONNAGE DU TOUR DE FRANCE.

APPENDICES.

(a) SUMMARY OF THE IMPIOUS, SACRILEGIOUS, AND SUPERSTITIOUS PRACTICES WHICH TAKE PLACE AMONG THE COMPAGNONS. (The Sorbonne disclosures of 1655.)

The Devoir of a Compagnon is alleged to consist of the three precepts: to honour God, to protect the master's interests, and to support the Compagnons. But in fact the Compagnons do just the reverse; they greatly dishonour God, by profaning all the mysteries of our religion; they ruin their masters, by emptying their workrooms of labour whenever one of their faction complains of having been insulted; and they ruin themselves by the fines which they levy on one another for breaches of the Devoir, to be spent in drink. Besides which the Compagnonnage does not in any way help towards attaining the mastership. They have a system of government of their own, and elect officers, a president, a deputy, a secretary, and a bailiff, and the various towns have an organised system by which they keep in touch. They have a password by which they recognise one another, and which they keep secret. They form everywhere an offensive league against the apprentices of their trade who are not of their party, beating them and ill-treating them and soliciting them to join the society. The impieties and sacrileges which they commit when admitting them as members vary according to the different trades. They have nevertheless much in common; in the first place, they make those whom they admit swear on the Gospels not to reveal, to father or mother, wife or child, or confessor, what they are now to do or see done. For these ceremonies they meet at their tavern, which they call 'the mother,' because it is there that they usually assemble as if at a common mother's, in which they choose two rooms conveniently placed for going from one to the other, one serving for their abominations, and the other for the feast. They close carefully the doors and windows to avoid all chance of being seen or surprised. Secondly, they elect sponsors for the candidate, give him a new name, such as may be decided on, go through a mock baptism, and perform the rest of the accursed ceremonies of admission according to the particular usages of each craft, and their hellish traditions.

(The above is in Gould, with a few verbal modifications. He also gives in full the accounts of the ceremonies peculiar to certain crafts, to which allusion is made in the text, the resolutions of the Doctors, and their observations. In the president, deputy, and 'sergent,' which for want of a better word I have translated 'bailiff,' we recognise the *premier-en-ville*, *second-en-ville*, and *rouleur*. It should be added that St. Léon explains this last as equivalent to 'rôleur,' the official in charge of rolls or lists of masters who can give employment.)

(b) THE LEGEND OF MAITRE JACQUES.

(This is given in full, from Perdiguier, by Bro. Rylands, in *A.Q.C.* i., 158 *et seq.* But as this vol. is probably not accessible to many readers, I give here an abbreviated account of it. This is practically St. Léon's account, and he also refers to another account which makes Jacques identical with Jacques de Molay. In the text I refer to yet a third story which makes him the son of a Scotch mason who is present at Molay's execution. These at all events are late and the original legend bears clear indications of having been revised. But as suggested in the text, I believe that a story of a mysterious personage who brought the craft from Palestine to France is very old indeed, and while the French

Compagnons made of him a quasi-saint and constructed for him a regular life, the Old Charges did no more than to introduce him as one of the characters in their History. But I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of the name by which he is known in either country.)

Maitre Jacques was born at Carte, now St. Romili; (this locality is in fact unidentified); and in his childhood he learnt to cut stone. At the age of fifteen he set out on his travels and visited Greece and Egypt, and having heard that Solomon was making an appeal for the assistance of skilled artists, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty-first year of his travels and joined the workmen engaged on the Temple. Here among other works he cut two twelve sided pillars, known as Vedrera and Macaloe, on which Old Testament scenes were sculptured. He was then made master of the stone-cutters, masons and carpenters. When the Temple was completed he left Jerusalem with Maitre Soubise. But he and Soubise soon fell out, and whereas the latter went to Bordeaux Jacques went to Marseilles, with 13 compagnons and 40 disciples. For three years he travelled in France, but he was constantly attacked by disciples of Soubise, from whom on one occasion he had to hide in a marsh. He finally retired to the hermitage of Sainte Baume, and there he was betrayed with a kiss by a traitor among his disciples to five assassins, who stabbed him to death. With his dying words he forgave them and instructed his compagnons that for the future they should give to all whom they made compagnons the kiss of peace that he now gave them. After his death there was found on the body a small piece of reed, a memorial of the reeds which had once saved his life. He was buried with great solemnity, and his garments were then divided, being thus distributed: his hat to the hat-makers, his tunic to the stone-cutters, his sandals to the locksmiths, his cloak to the joiners, his girdle to the carpenters, his pilgrim's staff to the wheelwrights. The traitor threw himself into a dry well which was afterwards filled in.

The similarities to the Story of the Passion are obvious. It will be also noted that from the very first Soubise is associated with Western France and Jacques with the Midi.

(c) THE ADMISSION OF A NOVICE.

[I have not thought it necessary to exhibit the ceremonies in full. In the first place they differ not only between one trade and another, but in the same trade, at different times. They were all, however, closely similar within their respective Devoirs, or so, at least, we are led to understand from the exposure of 1858. Accordingly, what follows must be understood as no more than a concise account of the state of affairs in the middle of the nineteenth century. The authorities are Perdiguier—speaking always with first-hand knowledge; the exposure of 1858, which is probably as reliable as such things usually are; and Saint Léon, who, writing in 1901, tells us he has used this very exposure and also had access to two similar publications of a later date, and to independent manuscripts.¹ There are also notices, especially of the Conduite and Guilbrette, in Arnaud and Guillaumou.]

The general assembly² of the compagnons in the town being convened, as usual, for a Sunday morning, the rouleur introduces the novice, knocking in a particular manner at the door to gain admission. He presents him to the premier-ville, saying—Here is a young man who wishes to join the Society. The premier asks him a series of questions, with the object of bringing out quite clearly that he wishes to join that particular society, and not any other of the Devoir (societies not belonging to one of the three divisions are presumably ignored).

The rules to which all must submit are then read out. They are: that each must take his share of the expenses; he must be courteous; } not use "tu" among joiners of Solomon } not give nick-names; } be respectful to the mère, and all at the society's inn; be always properly dressed, clean, and orderly.

¹ S.L., 209.

² P.M. i., 98.

The novice is told he may withdraw if he is not prepared to submit to these regulations. But having announced his submission, the ceremony is at an end.

[Note that the analogy is not with our apprentice ceremony to-day, but with an actual apprentice admission of the middle ages. No blindfolding, no elaborate oaths, no secrets of recognition.]

(d) THE PRELIMINARY TEST FOR A CANDIDATE COMPAGNON.

(Not referred to by Perdiguier; whose society do not require masterpieces from their candidates.¹ But is in use among tanners and shoemakers.)

The masterpieces of the candidates are placed on a table in the assembly room; and all present inspect them; if at this stage three compagnons consider that the candidate should not be received, he is put back accordingly; but otherwise he is summoned and a compagnon then points out all the defects in the work; he is also asked if he can pay the necessary fees; and if he can satisfy them on this point is allowed to retire, and the compagnons then vote as to his admission.

(e) THE SALUT DE BOUTIQUE.

[Saint Léon says that this has entirely gone out. It is referred to by earlier writers and given at length in the *Secret*. Moreau makes merry over it.]

The Rouleur's duty is to summon each compagnon individually for the meeting. This he does by going to the workshops, or to the lodgings of the compagnons. When they are ready to receive him, he places his cane on the floor, and a second cane is placed across it at right angles.

Each compagnon then stands, with his hat held against his right ear, in one hand, and the other hand on his heart, leaning his head to the right. The Rouleur says, or rather mutters, "Honneur aux bons enfants, s'il y'en a," three times. The compagnon who is being summoned replies twice, also muttering and not speaking out, "Assurement il y'en a." Then they stand with their feet in the angles of the canes, each holds the others left hand in his, and keeps his hat in position; and they thus go through a dialogue; during which they step out of the cross to repeat the "appel," only now, instead of saying "enfants," they say "compagnons," the Rouleur giving the appel twice, and the compagnon replying once. The rest of the dialogue is gone through; it is not worth giving in full; it relates to the duties, etc., of the "bons enfants," but the last question and answer are interesting: they are as follows:—

Compagnon: Where is your kit?

Rouleur: It is not my kit, it is our kit; but in passing through the forest of Trois-Buissons,² the rain, hail, and distress were so great, that I have left only the { fragments of kit that I have on me; but as soon as there is work { I hope
{ semblance of kit that I have on me; but as soon as there is work { it will
{ you will let me take part in it, and the kit will be renewed. }
{ all renew itself. }

On the termination of the dialogue the Rouleur announces the time of the meeting.

(f) THE INITIATION.

Perdiguier avoids any description; Guillaumou³ gives it very fully; and there are several in the *Secret* for different societies. Saint Léon gives a much later form. The differences are such that it is doubtful what was the form in, say 1803, or at a period previous to the introduction of masonic influences. But the outline that follows probably gives all that was in the original ceremony.

The room is arranged to represent the Temple. Here the candidate is introduced, blindfolded, after he has divested himself of all money and metals; and he is taken all round the room, backwards and forwards, as though he were making some difficult journey, now stooping, now stepping high. After a

¹ Le secret, 16.

² Secret, 19. cf. Guillaumou, 56.

³ Guillaumou, 34. Secret, 20. S.L., 211.

dialogue, the candidate is invited to abandon his religion, to join in coining false money, or to join in sharing the cash belonging to the novices. Saint Léon mentions a test of a later date. He is called on to stab a supposed perjurer. He is told he has failed in the test and a pretence is made of pushing him out of the room; but when, in answer to a question, he declares he still wishes to join the society, he is restored to light, and takes an obligation as to the secrets. After he has repeated, "I swear; I swear; I swear," a compagnon says, "And you, brethren, if the 'pays' becomes a perjurer, say what he will deserve," and the compagnons reply, "Death." Then he is made to drink a mixture of wine and salt, to choose three compagnons as godfather, godmother, and priest, and to select by lot his future nickname; the lot is a pretence, he has chosen it already. He is then baptized with it. He is given his ribbons; and the ceremony may conclude with the reading of a moral lecture.

The red ribbon is explained as being the blood of Maître Jacques. He is also given his "affaire," the equivalent of our Grand Lodge Certificate; but it is issued by the Ville du Devoir over the signature of the Premier-en-ville.

Saint Léon gives an account of the ceremony in the *Union compagnonnique*, but, as he says, it is merely a close imitation of Craft usages; and the society itself has only been in existence since 1889.

In the *Secret* are also detailed the ceremonies of the Sociétaires, Indépendants, Devoir de Liberté, and Ère nouvelle. All are creations of the nineteenth century; and we need devote no further time to ceremonies that are conscious inventions.

But in the ceremony as outlined above we can see the traces of an earlier system; we can presume that there was always a test of character, an oath (although there seems to be no elaborate penalty as part of it), and a drinking of wine and salt; as also a baptism. The last we find in 1655; the bitter cup is an obvious reference to an incident in Holy Writ.

(g) THE GUILBRETTE.

The peculiar posture which the compagnon has to adopt when first introduced to the premier-en-ville is the same as that he and the rouleur adopt when going through the dialogue of the Appel Compagnonique, *vide* Appendix (e). But for the conduite and funerals yet another posture is prescribed, and this used to be known as the Guilbrette, although as noted in the text St. Léon tells us it is now generally called the Accolade.

The canes being laid cross-wise, the two compagnons stand respectively in the second quadrant facing the first and the fourth quadrant facing the third. They then turn inwards placing their right feet in the opposite quadrants, and grasp each other's right hands. They then embrace, *i.e.*, each kisses the other's cheek. There does not seem to be any gesture precisely equivalent to 'left hand over back.' Words are whispered, and at the funeral these would appear to be the passwords. The rest of the ceremonial at funerals is described in the text. Bootmakers and bakers at their funerals do not merely whisper a word but go through a prescribed dialogue. In any case all present go through the procedure in pairs and then kneel and pray at the edge of the grave, into which they then each throw three spadefuls of earth.

(h) THE CONDUITE.

The details seem to vary in different trades. Perdiguier¹ describes a conduite of farriers; Guillaumou one of his own society of shoemakers; the *Secret* gives another account, and Saint Léon yet another, but he adds that the practice is now all but extinct. After initiation the compagnon has to learn the dialogue of the conduite, and the dialogue of the ceremony next described, the *entrée de chambre*, because he himself will be taking part in both as soon as he leaves the town of his initiation to proceed on his Tour.

¹ P 2 i., 64. P.M. ii., 8. Guillaumou, 57. Secret, 29. S.L., 255. *cf.* also P.M. ii., 52.

A vote of thanks to Bro. Vibert for his valuable paper was unanimously passed, and comments were made by Bros. J. E. S. Tuckett, Gordon P. G. Hills, W. B. Hextall, Herbert Bradley, and E. H. Dring.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT said:—

It is remarkable how little attention the Compagnonnage has received in the course of the 31 volumes of our *Transactions* and indeed at the hands of English Masonic students generally. This neglect of an important subject might be regarded as unfortunate, but there is, at any rate, this compensation, namely, that the subject has been left to drop like a ripe plum into the capable hands of our Bro. Vibert, the Brother we should all of us probably have selected as particularly well qualified to do it justice. Hitherto those who were not prepared to consult the French originals had to rest content with the Chapter in Bro. Gould's *History* and the two Papers in vols. i. and ii. of *A.Q.C.*, by Bro. Rylands. Bro. Vibert, besides adding considerably to the stock of available information, has rendered valuable service by his careful examination of the various problems which arise out of the evidence taken as a whole. Of these problems, the two which stand out as of particular interest and importance to students of Freemasonry are:—

- (1) The extent to which Freemasonry and the Compagnonnage borrowed Legends, Ritual, or Customs from each other, and the date or period when such transference (if any) took place.
- (2) Did the Compagnonnage possess *any* Hiram Legend before the Grand Lodge period in Freemasonry?

As regards the first the evidence is clear that the Compagnonnage borrowed very freely from Freemasonry during the nineteenth century and perhaps a little earlier. Also that the tribute was levied very freely upon that portion of the Masonic store which appertains to what we call 'High' or 'Additional' Degrees, and this is a point to which I wish to direct special attention.

As regards the second problem, Bro. Vibert dismisses with an air of emphatic finality the theory of any knowledge of the (any) Story of Hiram by the Compagnons before they annexed the very much elaborated Hiram narrative with the details concerning Hoben, Sterkin, and Oterfut much as it appears in the pages of *Les Plus Secrets Mysteres des Hauts Grades de la Maçonnerie*, by Berage, 1767. Bro. Vibert may be right, but the evidence does not seem to justify any very decided opinion. From Perdiguier may be deduced a meaning quite different from that which has commended itself to Bro. Vibert, who seems to rely upon the following passages:—

- (1) . . . people put about an old tale which refers to Hiram, as some say, but others say Adonhiram; there are crimes and punishments in it; but I leave this fable for what it is worth (*L. du C.*, 1840, p. 161).
- (2) . . . we know no more about the murder of Maître Jacques by Père Soubise, than of the murder of Hiram by the Compagnons étrangers. . . . he (Perdiguier) believes as little in the story of the murder of Jacques as he does in that of Hiram (*L. du C.*, 1841, pp. 40 and 80).
- (3) . . . As for this history of Hiram I only regard it as a sufficiently ingenious fable . . . The Bible, the only book with real authority as to the builders of the Temple of Solomon, says nothing of the murder of Hiram, and for my part I do not believe it. The Compagnons étrangers and those of la Liberté have no authentic detail of this fable, quite new for them, and I think the Compagnons of the other Societies are in no better position: I look upon it as an invention entirely masonic and introduced by those men initiated into the two Secret Societies (*L. du C.*, 1857, ii., p. 75).

Neither Perdiguier nor any other of the Compagnonnage authorities state that prior to the late introduction of a *Masonic* Hiram Legend the Compagnonnage was destitute of *all* knowledge of H.A.B. Is it not quite reasonable to understand that Perdiguier is objecting to and expressing contempt for the elaborated *Masonic* Hiram Legend with the added details concerning crimes and the punishments meted out to Hoben, Sterkin and Oterfut—in fact, the ‘High’ Masonic Degree Version of the Story? The doubt between Hiram and Adonhiram indicates that this is what is in his mind. Quite rightly he calls attention to the absence of ‘authentic’ details, and, pointing out that the Bible has no mention of even the murder itself, he states his own conviction that the murder is not an historic fact—an opinion in which very many Freemasons to-day would readily join. By this opinion he means to imply that still less can any reliance be placed in the minute details which are the characteristic feature of the particular version of the Legend to which he refers. The three extracts given above do not then necessarily mean that Perdiguier is to be quoted as authority for the non-existence of a genuine Compagnonnage-Hiram Legend. Other portions of his writings quoted by Bro. Rylands (*A.Q.C.*, vol. i.) show him to be a witness and a powerful one on the opposite side. Thus:—

- (1) He gives a Compagnonnage Song (I., 211) containing:—

“Jerusalem . . . abode of our Founder (Solomon) . . .
There was built the Temple of glory and by Hiram all was
directed. All his Labours rest in the memory of the Com-
pagnons du Devoir etranger.”

- (2) Another Song of the Etrangers (I., 216) has:—

“Behold the bright Star . . . On the horizon brilliant
with fire, Hiram compass in hand seems to trace for you the
outline of the shores and banks of Jordan.”

- (3) In the Engraving of the “Departure of the Three Founders” which illustrates the 1857 Ed. of Perdiguier’s book a most prominent place is assigned to Hiram who, with outstretched arm and compass in hand, stands next to K. Solomon on his left hand (*L. du C.*, 1857).

[At *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 16, is a reproduction of a Clearance Compagnonnage Certificate (date 1860) showing Hiram compass in hand with a plan of K.S.T.]

- (4) “. . . This expert and skilful mar is without doubt that other Hiram who is looked upon as one of the Architects of the Temple” (*Note by Perdiguier on K. Hiram’s Letter*).
- (5) “. . . Maître Jacques, one of the Head Masters of Solomon and colleague of Hiram” (*L. du C.*, i., 34).
- (6) Perdiguier says that Jacques pronounced the ACTE DE FOI at his reception before Solomon, Hiram, and the ‘Grand Sacrificateur.’
- (7) “. . . (The Joiners) wear white gloves because, as they say, they did not steep their hands in the Blood of Hiram” (*L. du C.*, i., 46).
- (8) Perdiguier says that the Compagnons call themselves *Chiens* because a *dog*¹ discovered the hidden body of Hiram (*L. du C.*, i., 61).

So far from being gratuitous to endow the Compagnons with a genuine Hiram Legend of their own, it appears impossible to escape the conviction that such really did exist. The difficulty is that we know next to nothing concerning its contents. We dare not even assert that it included the Story of Hiram’s Death, but we should be entitled to feel the liveliest surprise should it ever be proved that the fact were otherwise. The presence of Hiram in the engraving mentioned above does not tell against this view, for in the background may be seen the Temple Buildings still in process of construction and far from nearing completion. Nor have we reliable evidence as to the date of this presumed legend, but perhaps

¹ The ‘High’ Degree Hiram Legend contains a dog, but that sagacious animal was employed to track the *murderer*, not the *murdered*.

the following may be regarded as some slight indication in favour of its pre-1717 existence. In 1651-55 the Sorbonne Doctors had before them a "Legend of the Three First Compagnons" and by the "Three First Compagnons" must surely be meant the Three Founders of whom K. Solomon was certainly one. The genuine original Compagnonnage Hiramic Legend may very well have formed part of the Solomonic Legend which did exist in 1651-55. Unfortunately there is no certainty, and it must with regret be admitted that no fresh light has been shed upon the origin and history of the Legend of our M.M. Degree. But further discoveries may be made and the Compagnonnage must still be regarded as a possible source of enlightenment upon that important subject. In the course of a valuable paper, *The Quatuor Coronati in Belgium*, which appears in Vol. xiii. of *A.Q.C.*, Bro. Count Goblet d'Alviella (p. 80) says:—

I am more inclined than many of our English brethren to believe in the genuineness of the legends retained by the French Compagnonnages . . . whatever they became in recent days, they represent, not, as some French authors will have it, a secret opposition society formed within the corporation against the tyranny of the Masters, but the survivals of these corporations themselves, the remnants of an organization akin to the Flemish *ambachten*, to the German Fraternities, and in England to the trade guilds, which, mixed up with elements proceeding from other quarters, have given rise to our Free-Masonry . . . (The Compagnonnages) bear, in their rules as well as in their ceremonial and way of thinking, the stamp of the Middle Ages . . . what is common to all their organizations must be older than their division. Among the traditions that were held by all . . . were . . . that the Compagnonnage dated from the building of Solomon's Temple, that their Charges or Devoirs proceeded either from the great King or from one of his principal architects (and) that this Master was betrayed and murdered by some fellows of the Craft

Bro. Count Goblet d'Alviella then goes on to suggest the theory that the Murder of Jacques and the Murder of Hiram are really one and the same:—

The science of Mythology teaches that names are much more easily altered or exchanged than legends; the hero varies, the myth remains.

Against this view, however, there is the evidence—apparently sufficient—that Hiram and Jacques both play some part in the Legend of the Foundation of the Compagnonnage. But even a story rightly belonging to one might in process of time become transferred to the other.

Bro. Vibert acquiesces too readily in the charges of irreverence and impropriety made by the Sorbonne Clerics against the proceedings of the Compagnons in 1651-55. The whole of the evidence is in Bro. Gould's *History*, and each can read and judge for himself, but after most careful consideration I can find nothing which deserves to be described as "Skits on the Mass and blasphemous accordingly." On the contrary, a simple, homely, but rough kind of reverence is shown throughout, betokening a very real faith and comparing very favourably with the uncouth buffoonery which is to be found in many of the so-called 'Pardons' and Religious Mystery Plays which were produced under immediate clerical patronage. But the Compagnons were undoubtedly guilty of two very serious offences from the point of view of the orthodox Roman ecclesiastic:—(1) Performing the Act and using the Words of Consecration. This would, of course, be shocking to the Clericals, and it is to this they refer¹ when they say "what more enormous sacrilege than to sport with the mysteries of religion . . . than to abuse the sacred words." A considerable part of the Compagnonnage never came under the authority or control of the ecclesiastics, and for that reason alone would be regarded with suspicion and treated in a hostile manner.² (2) Refusal to divulge the Secrets of the Society in the Confessional when called upon to do so.

¹ Bro. Gould thought that what was denounced was the use of Scriptural Names as Passwords, but this appears less likely (*Hist.*, i., 238).

² See *A.Q.C.* 'xiii., p. 80. Count Goblet d'Alviella puts this even more strongly.

In spite of its utter futility it has always been a favourite argument with those who advocate compulsory auricular confession that wherever there is a refusal to disclose a matter it must necessarily be because that matter is foul and shameful, and charges of 'impurity' and such-like follow with or without evidence in support. We do not know the 'Legend of the Three First Compagnons,' but we may rest assured that because a body of Roman Catholic Divines labelled it as "full of impurity" (*la quelle est pleine d'impureté*) it by no means follows that the Legend contained the slightest trace of 'impurity' in our sense of the word. Bro. Rylands (*A.Q.C.* i., p. 122) very wisely cautions us that "the French words, *impureté* and *écoles publiques d'impudicité*, in the mouth of an ecclesiastic are capable of other interpretations." Nor must we allow ourselves to be led astray by Thory's additional details concerning a picture of the gallantries of three tailors and a banquet-lecture concerning those obscene adventures, for Bro. Gould (*Hist.* i., p. 238) warns us that Thory gives no authority for his statement, and we must also remember that in moments of relaxation such things were formerly admitted as legitimate topics of conversation in the best and politest circles, both at home and abroad.

A very interesting detail in Compagnonnage observances is the *guilbrette* or ceremonial form of greeting. Bro. Speth proposed as a possible derivation for this curious word:—

guil=guild *brette (bret)*=a cry or lamentation.

Accepting this, the meaning of *guilbrette*=*the cry or lamentation of the guild or brotherhood*. Now let us consider the action.

Two Compagnons meet—lay down their canes so as to form a cross—step into opposite angles—each makes a half turn on the left foot—at same time advancing the right foot to next angle—they are now facing inwards and one foot is at rest in each angle—hand to hand—embrace, *i.e.*, hand over back—kiss each other—remain for a moment clasped in each other's arms—*something is whispered* while in this position.

At a funeral the Compagnons all perform the *guilbrette*, presumably in pairs. After the coffin has been lowered:—

A Compagnon descends into the grave—a sheet is stretched across its mouth—cries of lamentation come from below—those above respond—if the deceased belongs to the Carpenters, Sons of Soubise, at this point 'something occurs' below the sheet, but we are left by Perdiguier to guess as to its nature.

If I understand Bro. Vibert correctly he does not know exactly what is said in a whisper during the *guilbrette*, but he thinks that it includes the Passwords and a cry 'A Moi, Rouleur.' Now 'A moi' is a call for help and is the exact equivalent of *Come to my aid*. With such a derivation and meaning as that proposed by Bro. Speth attaching to such action as has been described with the words given by Bro. Vibert and his assurance that the whole ceremony is of considerable antiquity, most of us will feel that the *guilbrette* is of great Masonic interest even if in the end we are forced to the conclusion that it is devoid of Masonic significance. But Bro. Speth—an accomplished linguist—seemed to be far from sure of the derivation, and it may not be amiss to venture on some others as *possible*, which is, however, a question for the expert philologist.

guille, *s.f.* (thirteenth century)=finesse, fourberie, fausseté, ruse. Described as 'mot fort ancien' occurring in *Les Fabliaux de Barbazan*, *Le Roman de la Rose*, and in *Le Roman du Renard*. Said to be akin to 'ghile' (Arabic?). Hence *guiller*=to cheat, to fool.

breste, *s.f.* (twelfth century)=snare.

brette, *s.f.* (still used)=rapier, sword. Hence *brettailler* and *brettailler* =to fight, to tilt. Also *bretteur* and *brettailleur*=a fighter, a bully. Also *bretuder*=to crop.

brett, *s.n.*=board, plank, table.

bretter, v. (seventeenth century) also *bretteler*=to indent, to hatch, to draw with broasting chisel. Hence *bretture*=tooth on a broasting chisel. Also *bretture*=rough drawing of stone.

bretter, v.=*jaser*=to chatter, to blab secrets or scandal. This is said to be derived from the fact that the fair Bretonnes who are called *Brettes* are not as a rule *muettes*.

Bro. Vibert gives it as his opinion that the word *guilbrette* seems to suggest a Celtic or Teutonic origin, and he notices also that the *hurlement* (howling) is a Celtic and Breton custom, which, by the way, survives even to this day. May not *guil* be derived from the Old Celtic word *kil* or *cil* (kēēl) which means 'back' in the sense of part of the human body. Combine this Celtic origin for *guil* with the Celtic *bretter*=to blab secrets, and we seem to arrive at an explanation for *guilbrette* differing from Bro. Speth's but equally suggestive from a Masonic point of view. Is it certain that the *guilbrette* is older than the eighteenth century?

This evening's paper is certainly a notable contribution, and its author is to be congratulated upon his able treatment of his interesting subject.

Bro. VIBERT, *in reply*, said:—

I must gratefully acknowledge the very kind way in which the paper has been received. Naturally brethren have realized that it has not been possible this evening to read more than a condensed version of it. The cardinal point of interest in the enquiry is the question whether the *Compagnonnage* possessed the Hiramic Legend independently. Bro. Tuckett has brought forward several passages in support of the contrary view to that I have expressed; but the difficulty is that all are, as I think, of too late a date. The songs are of 1836 or later. We should distinguish between references to Hiram as the architect and builder and the definite narrative with which we are familiar and which alone constitutes the Hiramic Legend. I still think that nothing has been adduced that will demonstrate that the *Compagnonnage* had this narrative before the nineteenth century. The *Compagnonnage* Legend is one of a murder in France of the Founder who brought the Craft from Palestine, and who therefore corresponds to our *Namus Grecus*. There seem to be no similarities of detail between the two stories, and I believe them to be independent creations. I cannot suggest at what date the *Jacques* Legend first took shape, but I cannot see how either legend can be considered as a mere variant of the other. It certainly is the case that in both countries the Craft at some time constructed a murder legend in connection with a Founder or Master, but the details as well as the personages and localities of the two stories are entirely distinct.

With regard to the charges of irreverence and impropriety I quite agree that we should not attach too much importance to the language of the ecclesiastics; but I am afraid there are hints from other quarters of something of the kind, which, however, as I have said in the paper itself, are to be attributed to the particular attitude of one division of the *Compagnonnage*, and are not to be considered as a universal characteristic of it.

Into the question of the philology of the word *Guilbrette* I am not qualified to enter. I certainly feel that the custom must be an old one, but when Bro. Tuckett asks what evidence there is for it before the eighteenth century I must admit I have none. Yet I can hardly think that such a practice would be universal in the Society if it were not also of extreme antiquity.

I welcome Bro. Gordon Hill's suggestion that as Grenoble was a military outpost the *Conduite de Grenoble* may have been originally a military punishment; I can only say that the French authorities have offered no explanation of the phrase.

I may perhaps be allowed to add that Monsieur Martin St. Léon, with whom I have had a good deal of correspondence, has been kind enough to speak in very flattering terms of the paper and accepts my reconstruction of the

political history. He has also drawn my attention to the efforts now being made by himself and others interested in economic and social problems to revive the Compagnonnage. He writes: Just now the French Compagnons are making an attempt to revive their old associations and while keeping what is essential in these institutions to put them in harmony with the present needs and ideas of the working class. They are bringing together an increasing number of working men, the best and most moderate part of Labour which has nothing to do with Bolshevism, and they hope, owing especially to the excellent organisation of their technical teaching, to effect the renewal of the Compagnonnage.

The new movement publishes a paper, *Le Compagnonnage*, and its influence is wholly on the side of law and order and the peaceable amelioration of the conditions of industry.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

MONDAY, 22nd NOVEMBER, 1920.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., W.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., I.P.M.; W. B. Hextall, P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; Herbert Bradley, P.Dis.G.M., Madras, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, J.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., East Lancs., I.G.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—L. A. Engel, Arthur Heiron, Walter Dewes, S. J. Owers, G. E. Bolton, W. J. Williams, A. Presland, F. Morrish, Chas. S. Ayling, H. H. Harding, B. Barnes, W. C. Ullman, G. Derrick, Chas. H. Bestow, L. G. Wearing, Abdul Rahman, T. H. Thatcher, Jas. Powell, P.A.G.R., Geo. W. Sutton, F. S. Henwood, John Ames, R. Wheatley, W. Mason Bradbear, H. Hyde, H. A. Simpson, Geo. W. Bullamore, Chas. J. Watts, Leslie Hemens, F. W. Le Tall, W. B. Pailthorpe, Sydney Meymott, C. H. Blatchly, H. A. Badman, P.A.G.S.B., H. S. Goodyear, B. A. Smith, Gordon Clippingdale, A. J. Smith, J. E. Suter, Joseph H. Stretton, W. Wyld, W. F. Stauffer, J. Lawrance, W. H. Rowlands, J. Procter Watson, H. A. Matheson, Walter H. Brown, P.G.Stwd., G. H. Fennell, A. J. Collier, and William Alliston.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. Bodger, P.M., Lodge Johore Royal No. 3946; E. A. Ullman, J.D., Lion & Lamb Lodge No. 192; F. P. Reynolds, Chatsworth Lodge No. 3430; H. Green, Sanctuary Lodge No. 3051; H. P. Stessiger, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Sussex; J. M. Wesley May, P.M., United Northern Counties Lodge No. 2128; George Spencer and J. H. Neal, Hardware Lodge No. 3365; and W. Butcher and J. W. V. Mason, St. Ambrose Lodge No. 1891.

Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. Thos. J. Westropp; Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Count Goblet d'Alviella; John T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, Pres.B.G.P.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and William Watson, P.A.G.D.C.

The Meeting had been postponed from the 8th November in consequence of the illness of the Master-Elect, who was compelled to leave immediately after his installation.

One Lodge and thirty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle

Bro. Herbert Bradley, *C.S.I.*, Past District Grand Master of Madras, the Master-Elect, was regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett, assisted by Bros. W. B. Hextall, J. P. Simpson and Edward Armitage.

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

Bro. Lionel Vibert	S.W.
„ R. H. Baxter	J.W.
„ Canon Horsley	Chaplain.
„ W. H. Rylands	Treasurer.
„ W. J. Songhurst	Secretary.
„ F. H. Goldney,	D.C.
„ T. J. Westropp	S.D.
„ Sir Alfred Robbins	J.D.
„ William Watson	I.G.
„ J. H. McNaughton	Tyler.

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—That Bro. James Edward Shum Tuckett, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.Reg.*, Wiltshire, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and for his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge; and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.

A very hearty vote of congratulation was passed to the following members of the Lodge:—

Bro. Cecil Powell, on his appointment to the rank of Past Grand Junior Warden of the Grand Lodge of Canada.

Bro. Count Goblet d'Alviella and Bro. John T. Thorp, on the completion of their Masonic Jubilee.

Bro. W. Wonnacott, on his appointment as Sub-Librarian of the Grand Lodge of England.

The SECRETARY read the following paper:—

FIFTY YEARS OF MASONIC LIFE IN BELGIUM. (1870 - 1920).

BY BRO. COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.



BORN in Brussels on the 10th of August, 1846, I joined in 1870 an old Lodge, which, opened in 1798, had undergone many vicissitudes, but was then again strong and active. If someone would ask what were my main reasons for becoming a Free Mason, I should feel now more or less embarrassed, not that I had none, but perhaps because I had too many. For instance, there was the element of mystery which always surrounds the Lodges and exerts a certain amount of attraction on imaginative minds.

There was also the philanthropic work of the Craft which had found ample sway in organising during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 ambulances and other forms of assistance without distinction between the belligerents. I had also a vague idea that Lodges were safe asylums for young men, like myself, who felt inclined to give vent to their speculations on all kinds of subjects, without the inconvenience of premature publicity. I must add that accession to the Craft stood, so to speak, amongst my family traditions, as I knew that my father and my maternal grandfather had occupied there high positions. Being aware that Masons' sons were then admissible from the age of eighteen, I even asked my father one day whether he would not introduce me to his Lodge, the *Amis Philanthropes*, where he occupied the Chair. He smiled and answered that it pleased him to see me in such disposition, but that I had better wait until I had completed my studies for the law at the University of Brussels. I had the misfortune to lose him the next year. But I respected his wish, and waited four years before becoming a candidate through one of his Masonic friends.

A few words are needed to explain the state of Belgian Masonry at that time. Freemasonry had spread from England to Belgium in the first half of the eighteenth century with all the characteristics of the Mother Country. It abstained carefully from meddling with political and religious strifes, professing to be loyal to the King and even faithful to the Church, although strongly denounced by the Popes. In spite of these anathemas frequently repeated, Catholics remained numerous in its ranks, including priests, monks and Church dignitaries; for instance, Delbruck, Prince-Evêque of Liège, who conducted a Lodge in his own palace. Strange to say, this lasted for more than a century during the successive rule of the Austrians, the French and the Dutch, down to the first years of our national independence. But, soon after 1830, the vituperations of Gregory VII. and after him of Pio IX. brought such pressure on their flocks that one by one all the Roman Catholics dropped from the Lodges. In the fifties, this flight was about complete, while the clerical crusade against Freemasons rose to its highest pitch. British Masons, who quietly attend their Lodges, equally at peace with Church and State, can hardly realize the position of their Continental Brethren, who, as soon as they are spotted, find themselves denounced from the pulpits, slandered in the newspapers, undermined in their business, harassed in their domestic life, shunned like lepers wherever the clergy has full hold over the population. Those who have known Belgium at the end of the last century understand that there is nothing exaggerated in these statements. To tell the truth, these persecutions have more or less abated for the moment, thanks to the patriotic feeling which since the Great War has brought together all Belgians in a common hatred of their invaders. But I do not know how long this reprieve will last, and meanwhile there is not a single Roman Catholic who avows any feeling but contempt for or distrust of the Craft.

The result has been that, for nearly two generations, the anti-clerical parties, the Liberals and a few Socialists, have alone sought admission to the Lodges. These newcomers would not be human if, under the roof of the Temple, they did not take advantage of Masonic seclusion to talk over their grievances against the power of the priests. In 1854 the Grand Master, Pierre-Théodore Verhaegen, leader of the Liberal party in the House of Representatives, recognized officially this situation and had removed, although not without opposition, the clause of our Statutes which prohibited discussion of political and religious questions within the Lodges. This barrier once fallen, there followed a flood of discussions and even of motions which had nothing to do with Masonic work. Some Lodges went so far as to map out programmes of public reforms for which they claimed the assent and support of their members. Freemasonry was in danger of becoming a set of political clubs, if not a sectarian instrument. I confess that I was myself at first carried away by the stream and that I indulged in some motions, which were more or less appropriate in outside circles, but about which, a few years later, I should not have asked the opinion of the Lodge.

A reaction was inevitable. It was the work of a few able and earnest Masons, of whom Bro. Pierre Tempels, now in his ninety-sixth year, is one of the few survivors. They realized that the only chance for Belgian Masonry to escape from this suicidal tendency was, on one hand, to promote among its members the spirit of historical research which should bring back the true principles of the Craft, and, on the other hand, to revive the taste for symbolism which answers to the ethical and mystical sides of the Order. They understood that, at least in Belgium, they could not revert to the utter prohibition of talking religion or politics in the Lodges, but that, on the contrary, they ought to examine all the pressing problems of the day in a calm, scholarlike and truly Masonic spirit, without deciding between the diverging opinions of their members, that is to say, without ever asking for a vote on any question outside the affairs of the Lodge. This arrangement Bro. Tempels once modestly called the Belgian System; it might as well have been called the Tempels System. Its followers, at first few in numbers, having entered the Chapters of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, began by spreading their views in these calmer surroundings, then extended their propaganda to their respective Lodges, which they brought over gradually, and at last gained a footing in the Grand Orient, which is our Grand Lodge, with such result that to-day no one in Belgium would dream of dictating to the Brethren their platform or their religious tenets through the agency of the Lodges. As for me, I had soon joined this new school with heart and soul. I may add that henceforward I never diverged from that path, and, although I have since attained influential positions, both in Masonry and in politics, my friends are witness that I never tried to make use of the first to serve my views or my interests in the second. This may seem only natural to my English Brethren, but on the Continent the meaning of the Masonic tie is not always thus understood.

In 1874 I was appointed by my Lodge one of its delegates to the Grand Orient. Hardly had I taken my seat there than the Grand Master, Pierre van Humbeeck, chose me as his deputy to London, very likely on account of my knowledge of English, in order to open negotiations with the Grand Lodge of England. Our official relations had been broken when Verhaegen removed the prohibitions of discussing politics and religion in the Lodges. Our Pro Grand Master, Bro. August Couvreur, had just succeeded in renewing our relations with several Grand Lodges in Germany, and it was surmised that the same result might be obtained in England, so much more that the last Grand Master of the English Grand Lodge, Lord Ripon, having turned Roman Catholic, had just given up his Masonic allegiance and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII.) had been elected Grand Master in his stead. Although personally I was kindly received, I soon perceived that there was no use pressing the subject. All I could get was the verbal admission from the Grand Secretary, Bro. John Hervey, that Lodges should not be forbidden to receive, under their own responsibility, Belgian visitors who were properly qualified and furnished with

certificates issued by regular Lodges under the Grand Orient of Belgium. During my stay in London I was admitted to witness the solemn installation of the new Grand Master at a gathering of about ten thousand Masons, assembled, on the 28th of April, 1875, in the Albert Hall. This imposing ceremony left upon me a deep impression, which I did not fail to express in my Report to the Grand Orient and also in the May number of *Revue de Belgique*, a periodical of which I was then the Editor.

A few months later I obtained the permission to follow His Royal Highness as special correspondent of the *Indépendance Belge*, in his memorable journey to India. I had there occasion to visit some Anglo-Indian Lodges and to be present at the grand reception given to the Prince by the Freemasons of Bombay and surrounding districts. What especially struck me was the sight of Mahomedans, Parsees, perhaps a few Hindoos and Buddhists, wearing the Masonic badge over their native garb, close to Christians and Jews in European dress. I learned also that, in the initiations of the natives, at least amongst some Lodges, when the candidate has to take his oath, there are placed on the Altar, according to his faith, the Koran, the Tri-Pitaka, the Avesta or the Shastras, etc., and that there are even special officers chosen to carry these sacred Books in the Masonic processions. All this was to me a touching symbol of Masonic Unity and Toleration.

Amongst my fellow-correspondents of the English Press, who were very limited in number, there was a distinguished artist and learned antiquarian, who, some years afterwards occupied the Chair of the *Quatuor Coronati*, Bro. William Simpson, of the *Illustrated London News*. I found in him a most pleasant companion. As we often shared the same tent, I remember how often we conversed late in the night, while he was commenting on the magnificent ruins of local temples, narrating his former experiences in Tibet or throwing light on the symbols of Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism and their mysterious connections. When the journey was over, His Royal Highness honoured me with the medal struck in commemoration of this wonderful trip. How few are now left of those who were entitled to wear it!

On my return to Belgium I found the Grand Orient engaged in revising its Rituals of the three symbolic degrees. There was a question of suppressing, if not the Hiram's Legend, at least its actual representation. I fought hard against this curtailing of one of the most respected traditions of the Craft, and, having been entrusted by a special Committee with the forming of a new Ritual, succeeded not only in preserving but even in enlarging the great dramatic performance of the third degree.

Meanwhile I was gradually passing through the regular round of Lodge Offices: Deputy Orator in 1872, Second Warden in 1873, Orator in 1876, Worshipful Master in 1879. When I took the Chair, the *Amis Philanthropes* had just removed from a cold and inappropriate building (called the *Grand Concert* from its former use as a music hall) to a newly-built and spacious Temple, ornamented with all the appliances of Masonic art, and this transfer gave an impetus to both a stricter observation of the Rituals and more elaborate symbolism. At the end of my triennial term, the *Amis Philanthropes* had reached the zenith of their prosperity. Its list of members exceeded 500, recruited from all ranks and professions, including many artists, literary and public men of note. Its ordinary meetings were held once a week. Concerts and other festivities frequently opened the Temple to the families of the Brethren. One of my first cares had been to organize the Instruction for Apprentices and Fellowcraft. I renewed the custom that no Apprentice could be promoted above the first degree unless he had sent a written Essay or at least answered a certain number of questions connected with a course of Lectures I used to give on the History of the Craft, and which I did not cease delivering during thirty years, with a short interruption which will be explained later.

No need to say that in this period of active services my historical views underwent strong modifications, and, I may add, improvement, as I had to be so far satisfied with Oliver, Ragon, Clavel, Thory, Findel, until came my first

acquaintance with the Old Charges and with their critical treatment in the *Proceedings of the Quatuor Coronati* and in the unimpeachable History of the late Bro. Gould.

In 1880 I made my first journey to America. My father-in-law had directed a Lodge at Mobile (Ala.), and my wife's family counted some other members of the Craft who introduced me willingly to their Lodges and Chapters. I also remember attending a meeting of that curious Order, the *Eastern Star*, which revived, although in another and better spirit, the *Maçonnerie androgyné* of the eighteenth century. I have heard since that it got a footing in England, but I do not know with what success. I had expected to meet at Washington the celebrated Grand Commander of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, Bro. Albert Pike, for whom I had already the greatest regard as a symbolist and an historian, but he was away on a tour of inspection, and I had to be content with visiting the House of the Temple, where I was most kindly received. In fact, I was much impressed with the activity of Masonic life and the importance of Masonic buildings in America, a feeling still enhanced when, twenty years later, in 1904, I re-visited the States, receiving a still more cordial welcome, not only at Washington and New York, but also at Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago and San Francisco.

The electors of Brussels had sent me to Parliament in 1878. The war against the organization of public schools was then at its highest point, and the members of the Right did not lose an occasion to follow the Press of their party in accusing Freemasonry of standing behind the policy of the Liberal Government. One day I lost patience, and when a member of the opposite party reproached the Minister of War for not forbidding the officers of the Army to join Freemasonry, "an Association incompatible with military discipline and loyalty," I replied by quoting the first article of the Statutes of the Grand Orient: "Freemasonry, as a cosmopolitan and progressive institution, has for object to seek the truth and perfect humanity. It is founded on liberty and toleration; it formulates or invokes no dogma; it only requires from those who present themselves to its initiation to be honest men and to possess an intelligence able to understand and to spread Masonic principles," and I added: "In receding from this standpoint Freemasonry would commit suicide. You may deny the authenticity of a text. But what you have no right to contradict is my affirmation that, if Freemasonry, or any other institution to which I belong, tried to impose upon me either opinions which I reject or obligations opposed to what I consider as my public or private duties, I should not remain in it for twenty-four hours more. And I am convinced that all my Masonic Brethren who sit here would do the same."—All the Masons who were in the House assented at once by word or sign, and the Minister of Justice, Bro. Jules Bara, uttered from his seat: "Might all your Bishops say the same!"

In 1898 the Grand Orient chose me as Grand Master. But a few weeks after this election my position became rather awkward in face of the feelings caused by the triumph of the clerical party, which turned out of Parliament nearly all the members of the Left, including, of course, a score of well-known Masons. There was not a Mason left in the two Houses. Under the sting of this general exclusion, I had hard work to prevent the Grand Orient from altering his policy of abstention from active politics. The only measure I readily assented to was the opening of a public subscription for sustaining the public schools closed by the new Cabinet and for supporting the schoolmasters dismissed without compensation. On the 21st of November of the same year I received officially in our Temple about three hundred students from the University of Brussels who came to present me with a silver mallet, in commemoration of the part taken by our first Grand Master Pierre Théodore Verhaegen, fifty years before, in the opening of a University founded on the freedom of thought. In expressing my thanks I took great pains to explain to this young and enthusiastic audience that Freemasonry, in spite of what its enemies said, was neither a religion nor a political association, but simply a society of free and honest men who objected for others as well as for themselves to all interference with the autonomy of their reason and of their conscience. Many of these young

men have since joined the Lodges, where they have shown themselves true and devoted Masons.

When, three years later, my term was at its end, I addressed to the Grand Orient, from the Island of Corsica, where I was then travelling, a message of farewell, in which I went back to my favourite subject and uttered once more this sincere warning: "Do not forget that it is the idea of universal toleration and brotherhood, in opposition with ideas of caste, party and sect, which has made Freemasonry and will continue to form its essential character. Woe to the institutions which, even under the pressure of circumstances, desert their ideal and thus lose the reason of their existence. One has, of course, the right to dream its transformation in an instrument of propaganda, at the service of any political or religious scheme. But it would cease to be the Freemasonry as understood by our founders and practised by all the people of the earth."

This warning was not out of season, at least for certain Lodges. Towards 1890, the Lodge of Liège, *La Parfaite Intelligence et l'Étoile réunies*, was in danger of being torn asunder by political quarrels. After long squabbles on subjects which did not concern the Craft, the members agreed to insert in their Statutes, with the authorization of the Grand Orient, the following rule:—"The Lodge resolves that it will not take part either by itself, or by delegates, in any political, moral, religious or social question." By this simple return to the true principles of Freemasonry, peace and prosperity were at once restored, and the Lodge became again one of the pillars of the Belgian Craft. As a counterpart, events which befell about the same time to my own unfortunate Lodge showed still more plainly the necessity of some safeguard of the same sort. In the late eighties, the *Amis Philanthropes* had also fallen, on account of differences in political opinions, a prey to internal dissensions which soon drove away from its meetings all Brethren who objected to disturbances and struggles. In 1892, the remaining members appealed to me, from both sides, as to the only Brother, they said, who might still hold things together. I had more or less ceased to attend regularly, but I could not but accept the Chair, in spite of my misgivings. An armed peace ensued for two years. But towards 1894 fresh disputes arose on account of some questions connected with the University of Brussels, and I resigned.

There was no attempt to elect a new Master, and, six months later, a proposal was made to divide the Lodge into two, with a fair partition of the property. I agreed to draw the following scheme, which, after a hot debate, was carried on November 8th, 1894, by a large majority:—"There will be in the present building two Lodges. One, bearing the title *les Amis Philanthropes No. 1*, shall include all the members not having sent, before a date to be fixed by the Grand Committee of the Grand Orient, a written adherence to another Lodge; the other, called the *Amis Philanthropes No. 2*, all the members who have expressed up to the same date their desire to join it." The roll of the Lodge had then fallen to 420 members. By a strange coincidence, just the half, 210, asked to join the No. 2, the other half remaining with the No. 1. So ended the old Lodge *Les Amis Philanthropes*, after nearly a century of existence. But we were not yet out of difficulties. The two groups had hardly elected separately their Officers, when the No. 1 took advantage of the terms of the above resolution to assert itself as the real and only continuation of the former Lodge, claimed the whole property, and dropped the No. 1, while the matter was pending before the Grand Orient. In sanctioning finally, the partition, after three years of legal proceedings, which cost me a great deal of time and trouble on behalf of the Lodge No. 2, the Supreme Authority did not go so far as to oblige the No. 1 to keep its number against its will, but it decided that the two Lodges had an equal right to give themselves as a continuation of the ancient Lodge and assigned to them respectively the numbers 5 and 6 on its list.

It was not without deep heartrending that I witnessed and even helped this divorce by mutual consent. But it was the only way of securing the future of both parties, as the quarrel had gone so far that even the acceptance of the Liège solution could not have quenched personal animosities and restored fraternal

feelings. There is a French saying: "It is better to part than to err together." To-day, not only the two new Lodges, taken together, count more members than the old *Amis Philanthropes* at its best, but they live together under the same roof in perfect harmony, using the Temple in turn, with only their offices apart. In 1897 they met together to commemorate the hundredth year's Jubilee of their original Mother-Lodge.

The *Amis Philanthropes No. 2*, having adopted the Liège rule, chose me as its Master, and, when my term expired in 1897, presented me with a fine medallion in bronze by one of the best Belgian sculptors, Bro. Charles Samuel. Finding myself again in sympathetic surroundings, I soon returned to my former Masonic life, taking part in most of the proceedings of the Lodge and delivering there occasionally lectures on Masonic subjects or other matters connected with public or scientific interests. Many of these lectures treat of the history of Religions, a branch of study I have been teaching for more than thirty years at the University of Brussels. I may add that perhaps one of the reasons why history of Religions has become my science of predilection is because its final conclusions harmonize with the disposition of mind I have learned to practise and to cherish in the Lodges: toleration, not only negative toleration, which consists in letting others think and speak according to their lights, but active toleration, which encourages to seek underneath what divides men and what unites them. I always remember the fine saying of a Roman Catholic Prelate, Archbishop Feehan, at the Parliament of Religions of Chicago: "No matter how we may differ in faith and religion, there is one thing that is common to us all, and that is a common humanity." My Essays, related to Masonic subjects, have appeared in different Masonic periodicals, amongst which I am proud to range the Proceedings of the *Quatuor Coronati*. On two occasions I received from a jury chosen by the Grand Orient the Quinquennial Baertsoen Prize, instituted to reward the best book written by a Mason either on Masonic or profane subjects. The first time was for my book *Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America and India*, published in 1885; the second time for two other of my works: *The Migration of Symbols* (1890) and my Hibbert Lectures of 1891 on the *Evolution of the Idea of God as illustrated by Anthropology and History* (1894). In 1919 the prize was awarded at my urgent request to Bro. Lartigue for his Translation of Robert F. Gould's *Concise History of Freemasonry*, published in Brussels.

I had joined early the Chapter of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite attached to the Lodge *Les Amis Philanthropes*. Having risen to the 18th degree in 1876, I entered the Supreme Council as an active member in 1884, and was elected Grand Commander in 1900. The Supreme Council had also passed, like the Grand Orient, through a crisis after the reform of Pierre Théodore Verhaegen, in 1854. Several Lodges under the Grand Orient objected to open their meetings to political and religious discussion; they had left, therefore, the Grand Orient and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, but, when more moderate views prevailed on both sides, the seceders gradually came back, and in 1880 there was concluded between the two Belgian Authorities a treaty of peace and alliance which is still in vigour. According to its provisions, the Grand Orient governs only the three first degrees, and the Supreme Council the degrees from the 4th to the 33rd. This places all the Belgian Blue Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient, save that five of them can still work under the rules of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

At that time, the Supreme Council did not cut a very brilliant figure. The most active members of the Craft refrained from seeking its higher degrees. To tell the truth, its ceremonies were rather poor and meaningless, its rituals old-fashioned, and, worse still, carried out without punctuality or correctness. The small band of earnest men and learned scholars to which I have alluded above, understood that their work ought not to be confined to the Blue Lodges. Bro. Tempels introduced gradually in the Chapters the fine rituals of Bro. Albert Pike, and having obtained, with some of his followers, access to the Supreme Council, contributed to start there a new life which soon bore fruit.

I remember, as an interesting event, the International Conference held by representatives of the Chapters of the 18th degree from different parts of the world, who met at Brussels in 1886 to exchange their views on the rôle of Rosicrucianism and on the general history of Freemasonry. Amongst the contributors I recollect a remarkable Essay by Bro. Speth, where our learned Brother insisted upon the necessity of seriously studying the history of Freemasonry and where he gave a vivid account of the movement from which the *Quatuor Coronati* had just sprung a short time before. It is his clever and conclusive paper which induced several of his hearers, myself included, to join afterwards your Correspondence Circle. I do not know whether this Memoir, entitled *Quels sont les moyens à employer pour amener les Francs Maçons belges à aborder l'étude de l'histoire maçonnique?* has ever been translated into English or printed apart. It goes far beyond the limits of the Conference, and throws some light on the beginnings of the *Quatuor Coronati*.

There had been at Lausanne, in 1875, another Conference, more important, between the Delegates of the principal Supreme Councils of the World, in order to organize a general Confederation of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. Amongst the Brethren who were present were official delegates from the Supreme Councils of England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, France and Belgium. They adopted unanimously a Declaration of Principles which began thus: "La Franc-Maçonnerie proclame, comme elle l'a proclamé dès son origine, l'existence d'un principe créateur sous le nom de Grand Architecte de l'Univers. Elle n'assigne aucune limite à la recherche libre de la vérité et c'est pour garantir à tous cette liberté qu'elle exige de tous la tolérance." Then they voted a few amendments to the *Grand Constitutions of 1786*, and sanctioned a new *tuileur* which was to be common to all the Confederates. But part of this was not ratified by the Supreme Councils themselves, which, for different reasons, dropped out one by one. Yet everyone felt that something had to be done on these lines, at least in order to oppose spurious bodies of the 33rd degree, which were trying all the time to creep in amongst the regular and authorized organizations. Therefore, as soon as I was placed at the head of the Supreme Council of Belgium, I took up the matter, with the encouragement of Bro. Raymond, Grand Commander of France, and of Bro. Richardson, who held the same post in the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States. After six years of intermittent negotiations, which implied a trip to Washington, I succeeded in bringing to Brussels, on the invitation of our Supreme Council, the representatives of twenty-one similar bodies (amongst them the Grand Commanders of the United States, Canada, France, Switzerland, Italy, etc.) for the purpose of taking over again the work of the Conference of Lausanne. Unfortunately, the three Supreme Councils of the British Isles, although showing us perfect goodwill, declined this time to join, as they did not believe that this Conference might lead to practical results. Yet it was a success, so far as it brought out results which placed on a safe foundation the territorial jurisdiction and reciprocal relations of all the regular Supreme Councils. The Confederacy thus established met again at Washington in 1912, and was to meet at Lausanne in 1917, but had to be postponed to 1922 on account of the War.

Meanwhile the three British Supreme Councils, and some others, have chosen me as their Grand Representative near the Supreme Council of Belgium. I may also mention that I have been made Honorary Member of some distinguished English and Scotch Lodges: *Canongate Kilwinning*, of Edinburgh; *Gordon*, of Bognor; *Jerusalem*, of Bristol; a military Lodge at Aldershot; finally, the *Quatuor Coronati*, where I had the great honour of being received as one of its active members in 1909.

The Grand Orient and the Supreme Council had met at Liège, in October, 1905, in the Lodge *La Parfaite Intelligence et l'Etoile réunies*, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of their Alliance. This meeting was very successful and impressive. Remembering the service rendered by this Lodge to the true spirit of Masonic work, I reverted to my favourite theme: "Our Masonic ideals," I said, "stand above all differences in politics as well as in religion. They are grand enough to satisfy us. That is why, I, Liberal, exclusively Liberal in politics,

Liberal without restriction or qualification, who have passed thirty years of my life in preaching the unity and homogeneity of Belgian Liberalism, I regret here the departure of the last Catholics who still frequented our Lodges, half-a-century ago, and I rejoice at the initiation of Socialists, even if their presence should have as its only result to prevent us from becoming a branch of a special party." I had returned, as a gift, to the same Lodge's Library, the Certificate it had delivered in 1812 to my maternal grandfather, Bro. Count d'Auxy, in proof of his initiation, and which I had found in my family papers. The Librarian, in return, had presented me with a copy of the questions which had been put to my grandfather, on the day of his initiation, according to the custom still prevailing, and of the answers he had made—which shows how well the documents of the Lodge had been preserved for more than a hundred years. When, soon afterwards, my son presented himself to the initiation in the *Amis Philanthopes No. 2*, I asked the Master who had succeeded to me in the Chair to use the same questions for the new candidate, and I can say that the answers of the great grandson were quite equal to those of the great grandfather, at the distance of a century.

My increasing duties as Grand Commander did not prevent me from following the meetings of my Lodge and the Sessions of the Grand Orient, although it was sometimes hard work to combine these duties with my other occupations of Professor at the University and of member of the Belgian Senate, where I had been returned in 1900 by my native Province, Brabant, and where I sat as Secretary until 1910, and then as Vice-President. I even had to renew in the Upper House the public defence of Masonry which I had offered, nearly thirty years before, to the House of Representatives. On May 17th, 1912, a Senator from the Flemish Province of Limburg, the worthy and charitable, but too often one-sided Abbé Keesen, referring to an order issued long ago by the Military Authorities, but never applied to Freemasonry, which prohibited Officers of the Army to join "Secret Societies," asked the Minister of War why he tolerated that Officers should enter Masonry, "a Society of which the tendencies were in opposition with their military duties." I rose to remind him of the answer I had made in 1883 to the same imputation, and added: "How could I speak otherwise? We have in our Association Free Thinkers, Rabbis, ministers of Protestant Churches, leaders of Theosophy and Spiritism, Liberals, Radicals, Socialists, Flamings and Wallonisants. All these meet on good terms, because they know that they can express their views in all sincerity, without the Lodge taking sides between them, as they stand on a ground where divergence of opinion is tempered by the feeling of fraternity. This is the very reason why Catholics have ceased to frequent the Lodges. As for us, we consider this understanding, or, if you prefer, this promiscuity, as an advantage and an honour. Can you establish a single case where a Freemason has been placed between his Masonic obligations and his private or public duties as an officer or a citizen? Far from entering into conflict with the professional duties of officers, Freemasons exact from them loyalty to their flag and respect for their oaths. In an age torn as our own by quarrels of race, religion, party, an association which unites men for the common aim of study and charity deserves the encouragement of all good people. It is for having fulfilled this rôle that Freemasonry survived the many revolutions which have shaken the world, and, if it did not exist, it ought to be created, as a counterpoise to the disturbing elements which threaten our civilization." And the Minister of War, General Michel, although belonging to a clerical cabinet, did not hesitate to declare immediately: "In the Army we do not occupy ourselves with politics, religion or secret societies. We live together without ever agitating these questions. I do not enter the discussion, I simply tell the state of mind which exists in the Army."¹

As Freemasons, and as Belgians, we always hailed all attempts to dispel the international misunderstandings which suspended over our heads the menace of a war between our near neighbours. We therefore received with a feeling of

¹ All the quotations in this paper are translated from the *Annales Parlementaires du Royaume de Belgique*, the *Bulletins du Suprême Conseil* and the *Bulletins du Grand Orient*.

relief the account of the visits exchanged in 1912 and 1913 between the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of England and the Grand Masters of Germany, which were so promising for the future. The reassuring words, uttered on these occasions, were still enhanced by the announcement of the conference which was to take place on the 15th of August, 1914, at Francfort, where the German Masons were to meet with the representatives of the French Masonic organizations in the interests of general peace. It sounded like the herald of an era of disarmament and goodwill amongst the nations, at least in Western Europe. We were rudely awakened from these golden dreams, when, on the 4th of August, the Armies of the Kaiser, with the approval of the whole German Nation, Masons included, sprang treacherously on unprepared Belgium, to carry there fire and sword on their way to the conquest of the world.

The rapid advance of the Germans obliged us to close in turn all our Lodges, which immediately used their buildings for hospitals and ambulances, while the Brethren everywhere opened relief works. A few still held secret meetings at the peril of their liberty and even their life. The Grand Master, Bro. Magnette, did his duty nobly, when, in face of the horrors committed by the invaders on our civil population, he wrote, as early as the end of August, to the Grand Masters of the Grand Lodges of Germany, imploring them to accept the organization of a Committee instituted by neutrals to investigate the conduct of the German soldiers. For this courageous request, and for his renewed protestations, when Germans began to deport Belgian workmen to Germany, to perish there from hunger and from cold, he was himself arrested and temporarily imprisoned at Liège. On my part, before following the Belgian Government to Antwerp as Minister of State, I had prepared a solemn protest addressed to all the Supreme Councils of the world against the outrages perpetrated by the Germans against the most sacred principles of justice and humanity. It ended thus: "Whatever sacrifice the future holds in reserve for us, we are determined to stand by our duty, with the assistance of the nations which have decided to support us in our fight for the liberty of Europe and perhaps of the world. One must not lose sight that, in this terrible conflagration, there is something else than the direct interests of the involved parties. There is a cause dear to all Freemasons: that of Justice and Civilization endangered by the dream of universal domination, from a people which formerly stood in the first rank of modern culture, but who now reverted to the behaviour of the barbarian invaders." This circular was still in the hands of the printers when Brussels was occupied by the enemy, but I had taken with me a proof-sheet, and as soon as, after the fall of Antwerp, I reached Havre, I found in the Supreme Council of France willing friends to have it printed anew and forwarded to all its destinations.

Several hundred thousand Belgians, flying with their families before the invaders, as in the last centuries of the Roman Empire, had escaped to the neighbouring countries, where they received, especially in the British Isles, a full and unprecedented hospitality, which our hearts will never forget. The Freemasons who were amongst these refugees soon sought each other, and founded spontaneously, with the assistance of the local fraternities, Provisional Lodges, at London, Paris, Havre, The Hague, Calais and la Panne, the two last being near the line of fire, and, therefore, mostly frequented by Officers. A Chapter of the 18th Degree was opened at London by our Refugees in the building of the Supreme Council of England. These organizations, which lasted until the end of the war, have rendered invaluable service, not only for the part they took in assisting materially the poorer refugees, but also for helping to keep alive, in those hard times, the flame of patriotic feeling and Masonic principles. I visited most of them, and can testify that their proceedings were conducted everywhere with the utmost zeal and regularity.

I often ran over to England in those busy days, as I was entrusted with the mission of reporting officially on the principal centres of our refugees. I paid also a short visit to Italy on an official errand, with two of my colleagues from the Belgian Cabinet of Havre, M. (now Count) Carton de Wiart, representing the Catholic Party,

Bro. Vander Velde, the Socialists, and myself, the Liberals. We were warmly received at Rome, and had an interview with the King at his General Quarters, then near Venice, on the very day of June, 1918, when the Italian Armies began the great battle which was to avenge the defeat of Carporette and expel definitely Austrians from the Italian soil. Our mission being over, the Belgian Envoys were able to devote a few hours to their private aims. M. Carton de Wiart, of course, went to pay an unofficial visit to the Pope; Bro. Vander Velde repaired very likely to the leaders of loyal section of the Italian Socialist Party, and I put myself in communication with the heads of the two Masonic rival organizations, which, unfortunately, have for some years divided the Italian Brethren, the one recognized by the Confederacy of the Supreme Councils, the other by the Grand Orient of France and Belgium. Both tried to impress me with the legitimacy of their claims, and I undertook vainly to induce them to resort to arbitration. May they find in the near future their way to some understanding, as it is of great importance that peace should prevail amongst the two branches of the Craft in Italy, as elsewhere.

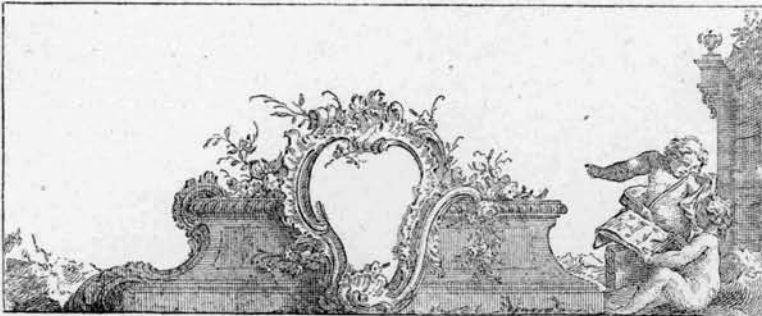
When the Great War was over, the members of the Provisional Lodges, like the other refugees, repaired to liberated Belgium, where they were greeted, with great demonstrations of joy, by those who had endured four years of misery and oppression. Freemasonry was amongst the first national institutions to revive. It had several important duties to fulfil at once, and these were promptly complied with: Mourning for the fallen victims, rewards for the most worthy of the survivors, dismissal of the former German members, abolition of all relations with the German Lodges. A great manifestation was prepared in gratitude to Bro. Magnette, who had so fearlessly sustained the honour of Masonry in face of a victorious foe. I must also mention a visit officially paid to the Belgian Masons by seventy-eight American officers and officials, members of the *American Masonic Club in Germany*, attached at Coblenz to the American Army of Occupation. They were under the guidance of their President, Bro. Colonel L. J. Van Schaick, who brought them on the 5th June, 1920, to congratulate both the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council for the happy recovery of Belgium. There is no doubt that the exchange of good feelings on this occasion will tend to strengthen fraternal relations between the Freemasonry of the two countries. The proceedings of this meeting have been printed, both in French and in English, by the Grand Orient, and were largely distributed amongst the Grand Lodges of the United States.

There is a last event of which I cannot speak at length, because it is too personal, even for this page of autobiography. It is the celebration by my Lodge of my fifty years of Masonic standing. I shared this rare jubilee with two other members of the Supreme Council who had been initiated in the same Lodge at least fifty years ago, Bro. Tempels, of whom I have nothing more to say, after what I have remarked above, and Bro. Engels, an architect of repute, late Inspector of the Palais de Justice at Brussels. I will only add that this ceremony, the crowning of my Masonic career, was marked with an extraordinary display of cordiality which was my best reward for half-a-century of love and labour. Amongst the gifts that were bestowed upon us on this occasion by both the Lodge and the Supreme Council, I must personally mention an unique copy of a book of 460 pages, containing, under a rich and artistical binding, the seven Rituals I have composed for the upper degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. No present could have made me happier and prouder, as, in these Rituals, which it took me twenty years to complete, I have inserted not only the principal conclusions of my historical studies, but perhaps the best part of my moral and philosophical aspirations, cemented by some touch of mysticism, which I have not to disclaim, as mysticism has always been the very salt of Freemasonry. I would feel fortunate, even if they were the only part of my writings that should survive me, although a work anonymous and impersonal, restricted comparatively to a few chosen ones. These Rituals have been also adopted by the Supreme Council of Holland, which we helped to found in 1913, and I have been told they are at least partially practised in Italy and Switzerland. The principle from which I started in this work is that, while the

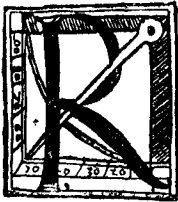
Blue Lodge is complete in itself, and while the possession of the three symbolic degrees is sufficient to make a good and true Mason, if some Brethren wish to push further the same method in adding more steps to their Masonic ladder, it is only fair that each additional degree should bring with it a new moral or intellectual lesson.

How I strived to introduce these lessons I can explain in a few words. I take for granted that the traditional Rituals have preserved denominations, passwords, signs and symbols which constitute their unity through the different jurisdictions, and, therefore, have to remain unchanged. But I add the idea that each degree ought to refer to one of the great Religions or Institutions which have helped spiritual or moral progress of human culture. I have therefore placed before each initiation a purely historical Instruction, referring to the history of this Religion or Institution, and then, applying its symbolism and even its legends to our Masonic forms, I show how its teachings might be interpreted according to the principle of our Order in such a way that a unity of purpose runs through the whole System.

I am sorry I was not able to begin this work earlier, as it ought to have been extended to the liturgy of the Chapters as well. It was outlined in my mind some time before I took the Chair in the Supreme Council of Belgium. But some have the ideas, others have the power. Both are rarely combined in the same individual and in the same time. My fellow workers of the first hour have most of them passed away, and I cannot claim a much longer space of life before the gates of a crematory close on my mortal remains. But may be that amongst the younger generations some will rise to take up the flaming torch. I ought myself to be thankful to the Unseen Powers for having allowed me to do my duties during half-a-century, *longum avi spatium*, in my small corner of the general Masonic workshop.



NOTES AND QUERIES.



RECORDS of Operative Masons in connection with Trinity College, Dublin, during the Seventeenth Century.— *The Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin*, is a manuscript collection of accounts, records of proceedings of the Board, punishments, graces, etc., dating from the foundation of the College in 1591. A *facsimile* of the original was published by Fisher Unwin in 1904 with the late Dr. J. P. Mahaffy as editor. In this book the following entries have a Masonic

interest:—

1609 To 2 Heliers for repaying the defects of slates and tiles after 16d. a peece the day 6s. 8d.

1610 To Steeven Curreyn Apr. 20 for his quarter wages for keeping the slates and tiles in reparacōn 25s.

Michaelmas 1611 To ye Mason for setting of bricke in ye Chapell 1s. 6d.

September 19. 1612 To Steeven the Helier for his quartridg ending at Mich 1612 25s.

From the numerous entries referring to quarterly payments made him this Steeven Curreyn seems either to have been employed by the college as a constant workman, or to have taken a contract to keep the slates in repair for a yearly sum.

In the record of college proceedings kept by Provost Bedell in his own hand under date 18th April, 1629, there is a brief and somewhat tantalising entry:—

The petition of the free Masons & Bricklayers of Dublin answered.

There is nothing in this book to show the points of the petition, the nature of the reply, or why the workmen were addressing the Provost and Fellows.

It seems to me a noteworthy point in connection with the history of Trinity College, that it can be demonstrated that operative masons were busy about the place just prior to the composition of the famous Tripos Speech with its Masonic allusions. In *The History of the University of Dublin*, by J. W. Stubbs (Dublin, 1889), at page 117 an entry is quoted from the Register of the Diocese of Dublin showing that the new chapel of T.C.D. was consecrated by the Archbishop on the 5th October, 1684. At page 125 (*op. cit.*) an extract is given from the College Register under date 17th January, 1687, N.S., stating that the Provost and Senior Fellows considering that building materials were cheap and workmen to be hired at easy rates determined to finish buildings, for which foundations had already been laid, at the south side of the Great Court: they therefore resolved to ask leave of the Visitors to sell plate for this purpose. This leave was ultimately granted. It appears from a map at page 119 that the buildings in question consisted of the old Front Square, which was pulled down about 1751. It is shown still in existence on Rocque's map of Dublin, 1750. The date of the building of the chapel is given in Stubbs as 1683, so we may fairly assume that from this date till 1688 operative workmen must have been coming and going about the college, mixing with the students, possibly fraternising, but certainly attracting the notice of the curious to their peculiar customs. The presence of such workmen in the college coinciding with the Tripos Speech seems to me not insignificant.

J. HERON LEPPER.

Freemasons at Canterbury in 1732.—When I quoted, in vol. xxx., 226, this excerpt from the *Bodleian Rawlinson MSS.*, I had no hesitation in following that most careful writer, the late Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley, who had included the item in his *Calendar*, vol. xi., 16-36, and who, on page 33, gave the title thus: “The Universal Spectator . . . [containing a Letter and verses in ridicule of the *action of the* Mayor of Canterbury on the occasion of a Meeting of Free-Masons at the Red Lion in that city.]” It will be seen that the three words italicised are missing from the title as given at page 186 *ante*; and as they distinctly add to the personal sarcasm directed against His Worship, and the references given may not be unwelcome to readers, I venture upon this Note.

W. B. HEXTALL.



OBITUARY.

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

Col. **Alexander S. Bacon**, of Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A. Bro. Bacon was a member of Lodge No. 656, and joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1897.

William Henry Bass, of West Bridgford, Nottingham. Our Brother had held the offices of Pr.G.W. in Craft and that of Pr.G.Sc.N. in Royal Arch for Derbyshire. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1906.

Frederick H. Buckmaster, of Wandsworth, London, on the 2nd November, 1920. Bro. Buckmaster was a member of the Royal Athelstan Lodge No. 19. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917.

J. Dixon Butler, of East Molesey, Surrey, on the 27th October, 1920. Bro. Butler held the offices of Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works in Grand Lodge and that of Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1904.

Alfred Davis, of S. Croydon, Surrey, on the 26th September, 1920. P.M. Kingsland Lodge No. 1693 and P.Z. in Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1903.

Sholto Henry Hare, F.R.C.I., F.R.G.S., etc., of Weston-super-Mare, on the 3rd September, 1920. Bro. Hare had held the offices of Pr.G.D. in the Craft and Pr.G.S.B. in Royal Arch for Cornwall. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1892.

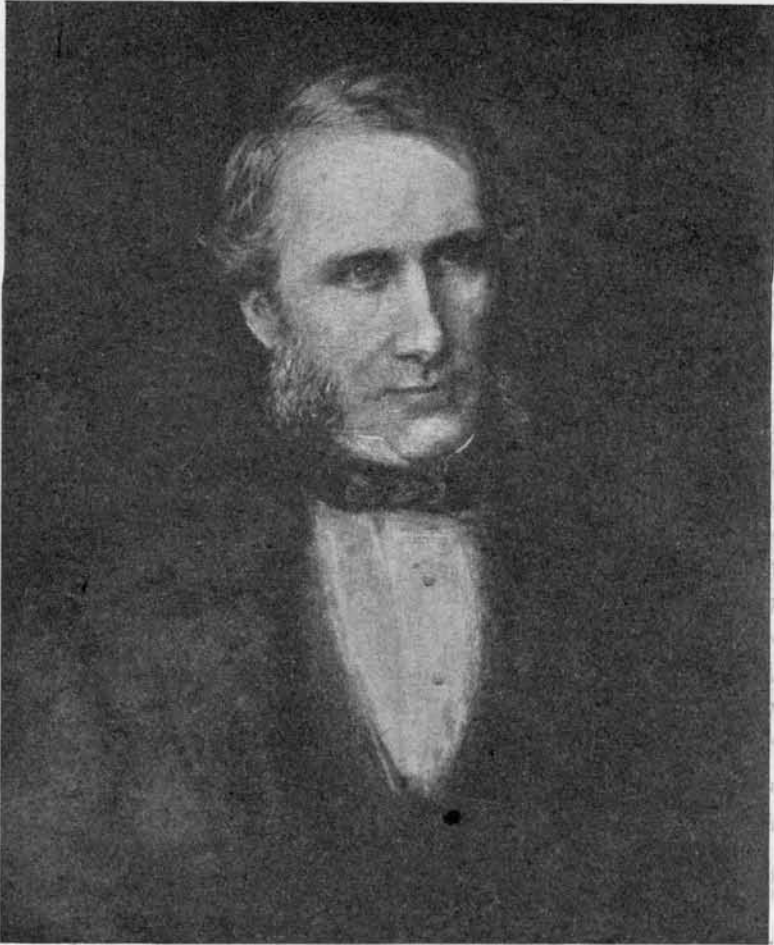
Herbert Manning Knight, of Melbourne, Victoria, on the 1st October, 1920. Bro. Knight had held the offices of Deputy Grand Master and Grand H. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1892, and had acted as our Local Secretary in the State of Victoria for the past twelve years.

William Edward Soltau, of Whitehall Court, London, on the 25th October, 1920. Bro. Soltau was a P.M. and P.Z. of Lodge and Chapter No. 257. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1903.

Lt.-Col. **Francis Joseph Stowe**, of West Hampstead, London, on the 18th November, 1920. Bro. Stowe had held the office of Deputy Grand Sword Bearer in Grand Lodge. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1903.







JOHN, 13TH BARON ELPHINSTONE.
District Grand Master of Madras, 1840.

ST. JOHN'S CARD

OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076,
London.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS. 16,857
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

27th December, 1920.

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.
1920.

HEARTY GOOD WISHES
TO THE
MEMBERS OF BOTH CIRCLES
FROM THE
MASTER AND OFFICERS
OF THE
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076,
ST. JOHN'S DAY IN WINTER,
A.D. 1920.

NOTE.

In view of the present high cost of printing, and the consequent need for strict economy, it has been decided, as a temporary measure, to omit the long list of Correspondence Circle members, and to print only the names of those who have been elected during the year, and of those who have been removed by death. Subject, therefore, to these alterations, and to resignations, etc., the full list published under date of 27th December, 1918, remains in force.

4

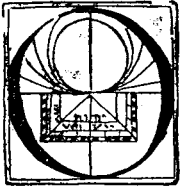
KOYAMA,

WEST CLIFF ROAD,

BOURNEMOUTH.

27th December, 1920.

BRETHREN,



IN this St. John's Day in Winter 1920 it is my privilege as Worshipful Master of Lodge Quatuor Coronati, on behalf of the Officers and myself, to send the most hearty greetings to the Members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, and I ask you all to reciprocate my good wishes. For without your assistance and kindly feelings my efforts for the Lodge will be of little avail, and with them I am certain to be able to look back hereafter upon a happy and fruitful year of office.

The kindness which I received from a number of the Brethren at the time of my installation, the circumstances of which were somewhat unusual, gives me every confidence.

The Lodge continues to prosper in every way except in the pecuniary sense, and its progress seems likely to go on unchecked.

I look to you, Brethren, to use your best endeavours to increase the numbers of our Correspondence Circle, on the members of which we depend for recruits for the Lodge, and without which the Lodge itself could not exist. The members of the Correspondence Circle are sure of a fraternal reception at our meetings, and we are always ready to welcome new students in the field of Masonic research.

We are living in strange times, and such an institution as ours, which does so much to reconcile the differences which separate men from one another, must be doubly valuable in these days. It is, therefore, specially incumbent upon us to endeavour to increase in strength and numbers the ties which link us to our Brethren throughout the world. Of these our Lodge is not the least important, and if every member of the Lodge and the Correspondence Circle were to set himself to obtain recruits we should soon be without exception the most influential body of Freemasons under the English Constitution.

The outstanding feature of our last year's working has been the revival of our Summer Outing, a gathering which no wise member should miss if his private affairs enable him to attend it.

With every good wish for your continued well being,

I greet you well.

Yours faithfully and fraternally,

HERBERT BRADLEY,

W.M., No. 2076.

LORD ELPHINSTONE.

John, 13th Baron Elphinstone, was born on 23rd June, 1807. He was Governor of Madras from 1837 to 1842, and held the same important position in Bombay during the Mutiny. During this period of unrest he succeeded in maintaining comparative peace in his Presidency, and was able practically to denude it of European troops, who were sent to the more disturbed areas. He died, unmarried, on 19th July, 1860, when the peerage became extinct.

Very little information can be obtained about his Masonic career. The records of Grand Lodge state that in 1837 he was a member of the Lodge of Friendship No. 6, London, and there is some evidence shewing that he was admitted to the Royal Arch. In the Archives of Grand Lodge a scrap of paper has been preserved with what is apparently his original petition for membership of a Rose Croix Chapter in Madras. It is entirely in his handwriting, and reads as follows:—

Madras 27th December 1839

Your name	John Elphinstone
Profession	Military
Profession of faith ... , ...	Christianity
Degree of Masonry received	Royal Arch
What is the wish of your heart	to be made a Rose Croix Knight

ELPHINSTONE.

He was appointed District Grand Master of Madras in 1840.

His portrait here given, by permission, is from a painting in the possession of the family, reproduced in *Bombay and Western India* by James Douglas.

MEMBERS OF THE LODGE.

IN THE ORDER OF THEIR SENIORITY.

- 1a **Warren**, Lieut.-General Sir Charles, *G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., The Oaks, Westbere, Canterbury.* 278, 1417, 1832, P.M. **Past Grand Deacon, Past District Grand Master, Eastern Archipelago; Past Grand Sojourner.** Founder. First Master.
- 1b **Rylands**, William Harry, *F.S.A. 27 Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2. 2, P.M.; 2, P.Z.* **Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Past Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.).** Founder. First Senior Warden. Past Master. Treasurer.
- 1c **Rylands**, John Paul, Barrister-at-Law, *F.S.A. 96 Bidston Road, Birkenhead.* 148, 1354. Founder.
- 4 **Westcott**, William Wynn, *M.B., (Lond.), J.P. 39 Rapson Road, Durban, Natal.* 814, P.M., P.Pr.G.D.C., Somerset. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.)** Past Master. Joined 2nd December, 1886.
- 5 **Goldney**, Frederick Hastings, *J.P. Beechfield, Corsham, Wilts.* 259, 335, 626, P.M., Pr.G.Treas., P.Pr.G.W., Wilts. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.** Past Master. Director of Ceremonies. Joined 4th May 1888.
- 6 **Klein**, Sydney Turner, *F.L.S., F.R.A.S. Lancaster Lodge, Kew Gardens, Kew, Surrey.* 404, L.R.; 21. Past Master. Joined 8th November 1889.
- 7 **Ninnis**, Belgrave, *M.D., Inspector General, R.N., C.V.O., F.R.G.S., F.S.A. The Ems, Leigham Avenue, Streatham, London, S.W.16.* 259, 1174, 1691, P.M., P.Dis.G.D., Malta. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.** (Joined C.C. March 1890.) Joined 9th November 1891.
- 8 **Malczovich**, Ladislav Aurèle de. *Belügyministerium, Budapest, Hungary.* Lodge Szent Istvan. Formerly Member of Council of the Order, Hungary. **Representative of Grand Lodge, Ireland.** (Joined C.C. January 1890.) Joined 5th January 1894.
- 9 **Conder**, Edward, *J.P., F.S.A. The Conigree, Newent, Gloucestershire.* 1036, 1074, L.R.; 280. Past Master. Local Secretary for Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. (Joined C.C. May 1893.) Joined 5th January 1894.
- 10 **Greiner**, Gotthelf. *33 Warrior Square, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.* 92, P.M., 1842. **Past Assistant Grand Secretary for German Correspondence, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (Craft & R.A.).** Past Master. (Joined C.C. January 1888.) Joined 24th June 1896.
- 11 **Horsley**, Rev. Canon John William, *M.A., Oxon, Clerk in Holy Orders. Kingsdown, by Walmer, Kent.* 1973. **Past Grand Chaplain.** Past Master. Chaplain. (Joined C.C. June 1891.) Joined 24th June 1896.
- 12 **Shackles**, George Lawrence. *Elim Lodge, Hornsea, E. Yorks.* 57, 1511, 2494, P.M.; 1511, P.Z., P.Pr.G.W.; P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.), N. & E. Yorks. Past Master. Local Secretary for the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. (Joined C.C. May 1887.) Joined 7th May 1897.
- 13 **Armitage**, Edward, *M.A. The Green Hills, Tilford, Farnham, Surrey.* 16, 859, 1074, 1492, 2851, P.M.; 859, 1074, 1 (S.C.), P.Z. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Grand Sojourner.** Past Master. (Joined C.C. October 1888.) Joined 7th October 1898.
- 14 **Crowe**, Frederick Joseph William, *F.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S. St. Peter's House, Chichester.* 328, P.M., 1726, P.M.; 110, P.Z., P.Pr.G.R.; P.Pr.G.Sc.N., Devon. Rep.G.I. Hungary. **Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.).** Past Master. (Joined C.C. November 1888.) Joined 8th November 1898.
- 15 **Thorp**, John Thomas, *F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., F.R.S.A.I. 54 Princess Road, Leicester.* 523, 2429, P.M.; 279, P.Z., P.Pr.G.W.; P.Pr.G.J., Leicester & Rutland. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. Past Grand Warden, Iowa.** Past Master. (Joined C.C. January 1895.) Joined 8th November 1900.

- 16 **Watson**, William. 24 *Winston Gardens, Headingley, Leeds.* 61, P.M., P.Pr.G.W.; P.Pr.G.So., W. Yorks. **Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Past Grand Standard Bearer.** Inner Guard. (Joined C.C. February 1887.) Joined 3rd March 1905.
- 17 **Songhurst**, William John, *F.C.I.S.* 27 *Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.* 227, P.M., Treas., 3040, D.C., 3743, D.C.; 7, P.Z., 23, P.Z. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.** Secretary. (Joined C.C. January 1894.) Joined 2nd March 1906.
- 18 **Simpson**, John Percy, *B.A.* 16 *Houghton Street, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.* 176, P.M.; 176, P.Z. **Past Assistant Grand Registrar; Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.).** Past Master. (Joined C.C. January 1905.) Joined 25th June 1906.
- 19 **Dring**, Edmund Hunt. *Wentworth, The Ridgeway, Sutton, Surrey.* 1297, P.M., 3444; 1297, P.Z. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.** Past Master. (Joined C.C. January 1899.) Joined 25th June 1906.
- 20 **Hextall**, William Brown. 27 *Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.* 1085, 2128, P.M., P.Pr.G.W., Derbyshire. **Past Grand Deacon.** Past Master. (Joined C.C. January 1904.) Joined 5th March 1909.
- 21 **Goblet d'Alviella**, le Comte Eugène Félicien Albert, Membre de l'Academie Royale. *Château de Court St. Etienne, Brabant, Belgium.* **Past Grand Master, Belgium.** (Joined C.C. February 1890.) Joined 5th March 1909.
- 22 **Wonnacott**, Ernest William Malpas, *A.R.I.B.A., F.S.I.* *Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2.* 2416, 2956, Sec., 3171, P.M., 3324, P.Pr.G.D., Herts; 23, P.Z., 2416, P.Z., 2923, P.Z., 2956. **Past Assistant Grand Supt. of Works; Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.).** Past Master. (Joined C.C. March 1904.) Joined 3rd March 1911.
- 23 **Westropp**, Thomas Johnson, *M.A., M.R.I.A., Pres.R.S.A.I.* 115 *Strand Road, Sandymount, Dublin.* 143 (I.C.), P.M. **Past Grand High Priest, Ireland.** Senior Deacon. (Joined C.C. November 1897.) Joined 24th June 1912.
- 24 **Powell**, Arthur Cecil. *The Hermitage, Weston-super-Mare.* 187; P.M., P.Pr.G.W., Bristol; 187, P.Z., P.Pr.G.J., Bristol. **Past Grand Deacon; Past Assistant Grand Sojourner.** Past Master. (Joined C.C. November 1902.) Joined 24th June 1912.
- 25 **Hills**, Gordon Pettigrew Graham, *A.R.I.B.A.* *Firecroft, Cookham Dean, Berkshire.* 2416, P.M., L.R., 2228, P.M., 3684; 2416, P.Z., P.Pr.G.W., Berks. Past Master. (Joined C.C. May 1897.) Joined 2nd October 1914.
- 26 **Tuckett**, Major James Edward Shum, *M.A. (Cantab.), F.C.S., T.D.* 12 *Belvedere Road, Redland, Bristol.* 1533, P.M., P.Pr.G.R.; 1533, P.Z., P.Pr.G.So. Past Master. (Joined C.C. November 1910.) Joined 2nd October 1914.
- 27 **Bradley**, Herbert, *C.S.I. c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, London, S.W.1.* **Past District Grand Master; Past Grand Superintendent, Madras.** Worshipful Master. (Joined C.C. October 1893.) Joined 5th January 1917.
- 28 **Vibert**, Arthur Lionel, *I.C.S. Marline, Lansdown, Bath.* P.Dis.G.W.; P.Dis.G.J., Madras. Local Secretary for Somerset. Senior Warden. (Joined C.C. January 1895.) Joined 5th January 1917.
- 29 **Baxter**, Roderick Hildegard. 97 *Milnrow Road, Rochdale, Lancashire.* P.Pr.G.W.; P.Pr.A.G.So., E. Lancs. Local Secretary for East Lancashire. Junior Warden. (Joined C.C. October 1907.) Joined 5th January 1917.
- 30 **Robbins**, Sir Alfred. 32 *FitzGeorge Avenue, Barons Court, London, W.14.* 1928, P.M., 2742, P.M.; 1928, P.Z. **President, Board of General Purposes; Past Grand Scribe N.** Junior Deacon. (Joined C.C. January 1899.) Joined 24th June 1919.

HONORARY MEMBER.

- 31 **H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., &c.** **Grand Master; Grand Z.** Honorary Member. Joined 9th November 1908.

MEMBERS OF THE CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE

ELECTED IN 1920.

* The Asterisk before the name indicates Life-Membership. The Roman numbers refer to Lodges, and those in Italics to R.A. Chapters.

GOVERNING BODIES.

1	Grand Lodge of Texas	Waco, Texas	JOINED. March 1920
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LODGES UNDER THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

2	No. 257 Phoenix Lodge	Southsea, Hants.	November 1920.
3	„ 814 Parrett & Axe Lodge	Crewkerne, Somerset	October 1920.
4	„ 1235 Phoenix Lodge of St. Ann	Buxton, Derbyshire	June 1920.
5	„ 3882 Niger Lodge	Warri, Southern Nigeria	October 1920.
6	„ 3991 Lodge Gratitude	Manchester	May, 1920.

LODGES UNDER OTHER CONSTITUTIONS.

7	Lodge Frederic Royal	Rotterdam, Holland	June 1920.
8	Lodge St. Swithun	Stavanger, Norway	May 1920.
9	Garfield Lodge No. 569	Hammond, Indiana	May 1920.
10	Island Lodge No. 54 (S.A.C.)	Kangaroo Island, S. Australia	March 1920.

OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

11	Adams Lodge of Instruction No. 158	Sheerness	May 1920.
12	St. Hubert Lodge of Instruction No. 1373	Andover, Hants.	January 1920.
13	The London Association of Masonic Research	London	January 1920.
14	Spokane Masonic Library	Spokane, Washington	June 1920.
15	Masters & Past Masters' Association	Eastern Col'dfields, Kalgoorlie	October 1920.
16	Mount Arayat Lodge of Perfection, No. 1	Manila, P.I.	May 1920.

BROTHERS.

17	*à-Ababrelton, Robert Relton de Relton. 161 Sixth Avenue, Manor Park, London, E.12. 453, 2318, 3394. January 1920.
18	Abrahams, Gabriel. 5 Moundfield Road, Clapton, London, N.16. 2765. October 1920.
19	Adams, E. F. 291 King's Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.3. 3221. November 1920.
20	Aldwell, Edward Cymri. 250 Elm Street, San Mateo, California. 226, P.M.; 106, P.H.P. May 1920.
21	Allen, Edwin. Randwick, Uphill Road, Weston-super-Marc. P.Pr.G.St.B. June 1920.
22	*Allison, William. A.R.I.B.A., P.A.S.I. 9 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. 1389. November 1920.
23	Allison, W. P. Lansdown Villa, Castleford. 1542. June 1920.
24	Ames, Joan. 82 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. 1766; 1766. June 1920.
25	Anderson, Edwin Martyn. 5 Sussex Gardens, Eastbourne. 2676. May 1920.
26	Archbald, Ralph Harrison. Grey House, Burgh Heath, Tadworth, Surrey. 2840. March 1920.
27	Ashman, Gerald Collins. Cathcart, Cape, South Africa. 2092; 386. January 1920.
28	Atkinson, John Rowland. Greenside, Kendal. P.Pr.G.D. May 1920.
29	Atkinson, Tom. 31 Clarendon Villas, Hove. 1597, P.M. May 1920.
30	Baker, Howard Newell, M.D. Pierson, Iowa, U.S.A. 607. June 1920.
31	Balkin, Clifford M. P.O. Box 228, Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S.A. 104. March 1920.
32	Ball, Arthur Franklin. 50 Westover Road, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18. 2398, J.W. November 1920.

- 33 **Barber**, William Thomas. *Egremont, Fairlight Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.* October 1920.
- 34 **Barentzen**, William Joseph. *Stationsvej 14, Cjentoftle, Denmark.* Nordstjernen. March 1920.
- 35 **Barnes**, Herbert William. *156 Chamberlayne Road, N.W.10.* 3420, 1637, P.M.; 2698. March 1920.
- 36 **Barnes**, Samuel Burcham. *66 Malesworth Street, Rochdale, Lancs.* 298. June 1920.
- 37 **Bashford**, Charles Headley. *82 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.* 27; 1. January 1920.
- 38 **Beachcroft**, Maurice, *Major R.A.F., O.B.E.* 48 *The Ridgeway, Golder's Green, London, N.W.4.* **Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.).** January 1920.
- 39 **Berrum**, *Lieut. Einar Lars le Maire.* *Postboks 42, Fredriksstad, Norway.* St. Magnus, J.W. November 1920.
- 40 **Berry**, Walter. *66 Uxbridge Road, West Ealing, London, W.13.* 1278. May 1920.
- 41 **Bevan**, Arthur John. *24 Holland Road, Willesden, London, N.W.10.* 1637; 2698. May 1920.
- 42 **Binns**, Arthur. *Constitutional Club, 7 Priory Row, Coventry.* 1570. May 1920.
- 43 **Blackburn**, Charles James. *Neville House, Hampden Park, Eastbourne.* 2676. May 1920.
- 44 **Blatchly**, C. H. A. *75 Blythswood Road, Seven Kings, Essex.* 715, W.M. Nov. 1920.
- 45 **Bridge**, Jonathan. *2 Vicarage Road, Castletons, Lancs.* 2320, P.M.; 298. Jan. 1920.
- 46 **Bristow**, Edward Alexander. *Avondale, 86 Coombe Road, New Malden, Surrey.* 2875, P.M.; 1851, P.Z. May 1920.
- 47 **Brown**, Albert. *Fabrica de Rio Blanco, Rio Blanco, Vera Cruz, Mexico.* 35. Nov. 1920.
- 48 **Brown**, Edward Lumsden. *6 & 8 South Clerk Street, Edinburgh.* 1074, P.M.; 148, P.Z. June 1920.
- 49 **Browne**, Kenelm. *Serembau, Negri Sembilan, F.M.S.* 3369. October 1920.
- 50 **Bullamore**, George William. *Montpelier, Grantchester Meadows, Cambridge.* 441; 441. October 1920.
- 51 **Burns**, Alfred Ernest. *12 Exeter Street, Saltburn-by-Sea, Yorks.* 3474; 1244. November 1920.
- 52 **Burton**, William Samuel. *20 Edgbaston Road, Moseley, Birmingham.* 3643; 3643. June 1920.
- 53 **Bush**, R. J. *Roseland, Gaunt Street, Newmarket, Brisbane, Queensland.* 2902. March 1920.
- 54 **Bush-King**, Rev. Charles J. *St. Matthews Buildings, Hope Place, Dunedin, New Zealand.* January 1920.
- 55 **Butcher**, William. *23 Hurstwood Road, Golder's Green, London, N.W.4.* 1891, J.W. November 1920.
- 56 **Calvert**, James Rose. *P.O. Box 200, Bloemfontein, South Africa.* 1022, P.M. Nov. 1921.
- 57 **Calvert**, Joseph Fletcher. *2 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.* 618; 263. March 1920.
- 58 **Carreno**, Dr. F. *Cia. Mexicana de Petroleo 'El Aguila,' Minalitlan, Vera Cruz, Mexico.* 19. May 1920.
- 59 **Carter**, *Lieut.-Col. Thomas Moravian, M.D., O.B.E.* *Fairmount, Olton, Birmingham.* P.Pr.G.St.B. (Bristol). May 1920.
- 60 **Chadwick**, A. *8 St. John's Street, Bloemfontein, South Africa.* 942 (S.C.), J.W. October 1920.
- 61 **Chamberlain**, John Alfred. *44 Barrington Road, London, S.W.9.* 1036; 1036. November 1920.
- 62 **Chandler**, R. L. *Southern Pines, North Carolina, U.S.A.* 484; 61. January 1920.
- 63 **Chippingdale**, Gordon. *44 Ross Road, Wallington, Surrey.* 1962. October 1920.
- 64 **Christison**, Henry David Alexander. *Cliff Cottage, Watson's Bay, Sydney, N.S.W.* **Grand Director of Ceremonies.** October 1920.
- 65 **Clarke**, A. A. M. *Cleavedon T.E., Kalawra P.O., South Sylhet, India.* 2726. March 1920.
- 66 **Cleland**, *Capt. John Robert.* *Drumclog, Crewkerne, Somerset.* 837; 837. March 1920.
- 67 **Cohen**, Clifford E. *370 Gillott Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.* 3850. June 1920.
- 68 **Coles**, James A. *Ardnaree, Abbotsford Road, Redland, Bristol.* 1388. May 1920.
- 69 **Collier**, Alfred J. *24 Stanhope Gardens, Ilford, Essex.* 174. January 1920.

- 70 **Councill**, Dr. Richard Watson. 304 *Walworth Road, London, S.E.17.* 3771; 1381. October 1920.
- 71 **Cowie**, Dr. C. G. *Bonaccord, Branksome Park, Bournemouth.* 2559, P.M. Jan. 1920.
- 72 **Cox**, Thomas. *The Gables, Coombe Dingle, near Bristol.* P.Pr.G.D.C. (Somerset), P.Pr.G.Reg. (R.A.) May 1920.
- 73 **Crick**, Walter. 218 *Abington Avenue, Northampton.* 2431. January 1920.
- 74 **Crowther**, Robert H. *Mabeldene, Welfh Lane, Leeds.* 306, P.M. June 1920.
- 75 **Crump**, Rev. W. W. Covey. *The Vicarage, Friday Bridge, Wisbech, Cambs.* Nov. 1920.
- 76 **Cutlack**, Frank William. *Renmark, South Australia.* Past Grand Deacon; 3. October 1910.
- 77 **Dart**, Rev. J. L. C. *St. Thomas' Cathedral, Bombay, India.* 549. March 1920.
- 78 **Davidson**, George. 25 *Rubislaw Den North, Aberdeen.* 1st, P.M. January 1920.
- 79 **Davies**, John. 17 *Victoria Park, Shipley.* 302, J.W. May 1920.
- 80 ***Davys**, Lieut.-Col. Gerard Irvine. *Ellsville, Kasauli, Punjab, India.* Dis.G.D.C.; Dis.G.S.B. (R.A.) June 1920.
- 81 **de Lange**, E. viño. *Director of the Museum, Stavanger, Norway.* 5, Dep.M. May 1920.
- 82 **de Saram**, Stanley Frederick. *c/o Messrs. F. J. & G. de Saram, P.O. Box 212, Colombo, Ceylon.* 611 (S.C.), J.W. June 1920.
- 83 **Deighton**, Harold, *Major R.A.O.C. c/o Alliance Bank of Simla, Meerut, U.P., India.* October 1920.
- 84 **Dent**, Harold Martin. *Apartado 16, La Refineria, Minatitlan, Vera Cruz, Mexico.* 19. October 1920.
- 85 ***Dewey**, Joseph Owen. *Pasteur Institute of India, Kusauli, Punjab, India.* 2832, W.M.; 2832, J. November 1920.
- 86 **Dewhurst**, Capt. Charles Reeve. 105B *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.* 1597. May 1920.
- 87 **Donohue**, Col. W. E., *C.B.E. Union Club, Alexandria, Egypt.* P.Dis.G.W. (Gib.). June 1920.
- 88 ***Dunn**, Charles Henry. 375 *Smith Street, Durban, Natal, S. Africa.* 3596; 1937. March 1920.
- 89 **Dunn**, Warren K. 14526 *Orinoco Avenue, East Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.* 636; 203. October 1920.
- 90 **Dyke**, Rolfe Henry. *Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.* 1740; 1553. January 1920.
- 91 **Earley**, William John. 1 *Rosmead Road, London, W.11.* 2696; 948. January 1920.
- 92 ***Eaton**, Freeman John. 30 *Castlereagh Street, Sydney, N.S.W.* 85, P.M.; 9, P.Z. May 1920.
- 93 **Edwards**, Capt. Alexander Lindsay, *M.C. Officiating Wood Technologist, 10 Civil Lines, Bareilly, U.P., India.* 1870; 1870. October 1920.
- 94 **Edwards**, Walter. *Cringford Hall, Norwich.* 93. October 1920.
- 95 **Elliston-Erwood**, Frank Charles. *Jesmond Dene, Fox-roft Road, Shooters Hill, London, S.E.18.* 2147. June 1920.
- 96 **Errington**, John. 25 *Tavistock Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* 1676, P.M.; 406, J. October 1920.
- 97 **Eustace**, Admiral John Bridges. *Denton, Wokingham, Berks.* 2612, P.M.; 1629. May 1920.
- 98 **Evans**, Alfred Dudley. *Fair Lea, Castle Bromwich, Birmingham.* 587; 887. Nov. 1920.
- 99 **Evans**, David Robert Powell, *M.R.C.S. 75 Lambton Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.20.* 2853, P.M.; 2682. March 1920.
- 100 **Fenwick**, A. F. 16 *Ivy Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.* 739. June 1920.
- 101 **Fisher**, Rev. J. L. *Netteswell Rectory, Harlow, Essex.* 409. May 1920.
- 102 **Flymen**, Henry Van. 528 & 530 *Kingsland Road, London, E.8.* 2846; 1201. May 1920.
- 103 ***Ford**, Frank Godfrey Garland. 465 *Cangallo, Buenos Aires, Argentina.* 3926; 1025. June 1920.
- 104 **Forster**, Edwin T. 14 *Roker Terrace, Stockton-on-Tees.* P.Pr.A.G.D.C. June 1920.
- 105 ***Found**, Thomas Lidstone. *Shields House, West Barnes Lane, New Malden, Surrey.* 2697, P.M.; 889. March 1920.
- 106 **Frederick**, Walter Leonard. 415 *Kent Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.* 436 (Pa.). Oct. 1920.

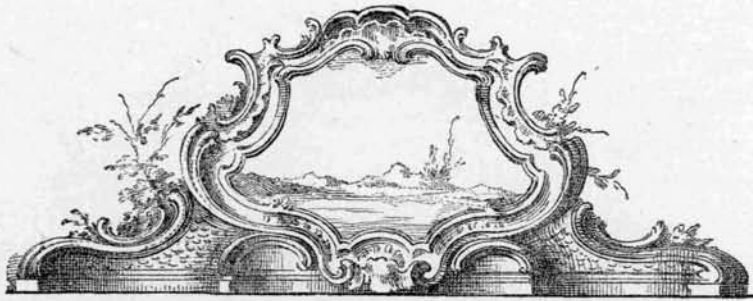
- 107 **Gales**, William Swinburne. 128 *York Road, West Hartlepool*. 1557; 509. June 1920.
- 108 **Gamblin**, Sidney Herbert. 126 *Stockwell Park Road, Stockwell, London, S.W.9*. 3050. October 1920.
- 109 ***Gibbs**, Arthur Samuel, LL.B. c/o *Club de Residentes Extranjeros, Bme. Mitre 476, Buenos Aires*. 3579, I.G.; 3579. June 1920.
- 110 **Gifford**, Claude Frederica. 8 *Saint George's Road, London, S.W.1*. 2 (I.C.), P.M. October 1920.
- 111 **Glenister**, Ernest Vincent. 78 *Compton Road, Preston Park, Brighton*. 1734, P.M. March 1920.
- 112 **Godfray**, Horace Salmon. 14 *Hill Street, St. Heliers, Jersey, C.I.* Pr.A.G.D.C.; Pr.G.S.B. (R.A.). November 1920.
- 113 **Goodacre**, William Geoffrey. 47 *Market Street, Manchester*. P.Pr.G.D., West Lancs. 1730, P.Z. October 1920.
- 114 **Gorringe**, Harry. 331 *King Street, Hammersmith, London, W.6*. 1375. May 1920.
- 115 **Grant**, Ian Patrick. *Khoreel T.E., Dalu P.O., Cachar, India*. 2726, S.W. May 1920.
- 116 **Gray**, George Munn. P.O. Box 444, *Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa*. 1166 (S.C.), P.M.; 3065, P.Z. October 1920.
- 117 **Green**, Charles Pratt. *Beresford House, Malvern*. P.Pr.G.S.B. May 1920.
- 118 **Hadow**, Hubert. c/o *Messrs. Parry & Co., P.O. Box 12, Madras, India*. 2188, P.M. Local Secretary for Bombay, Madras, U.P., and Oudh. October 1920.
- 119 **Hagley**, George. *Burley, 25 Clive Place, Penarth, Glam.* 36; 36. March 1920.
- 120 **Hallett**, Henry Hiram. *Bridge House, Taunton, Somerset*. 261; 261. November 1920.
- 121 **Halliday**, Leonard Henry Edmund. 62 *London Wall, London, E.C.2*. 3398; 3175. October 1920.
- 122 **Hammond**, W. B. 72 *Moor Street, Birmingham*. P.Pr.G.W., Worcester. October 1920.
- 123 **Harding**, Harry Hawkins. *Llanrwst, Balliol Road, Hitchin, Herts*. 2086, P.M.; 443, P.Z. November 1920.
- 124 **Harrop**, Wilfred. *St. Catharine's, Ontario, Canada*. 296. P.M.; 19. May 1920.
- 125 **Hawkins**, George Albert Victor. 244 *Manchester Road, Cubitt Town, London, E.14*. 1623, P.M.; 1623. March 1920.
- 126 **Hawley**, J. H. *The Durdans, Scarle Road, Wembley, Middlesex*. 3098, I.G.; 2005. June 1920.
- 127 **Haybittel**, S. Randall, J.P. *Dudley Villa, Grotto Road, Rondebosch, S. Africa*. 334. March 1920.
- 128 **Haydon**, Nathaniel William John. 564 *Pape Avenue, Toronto, Canada*. 494. Local Secretary for Ontario. May 1920.
- 129 **Hayward**, Edward John. *Froyle, Ty Gwyn Road, Cardiff*. 36. March 1920.
- 130 **Heasley**, Major Hugh James, D.S.O. 101 *Classe Street, Montreal, P.Q., Canada*. 76 (G.R.Q.), W.M.; 5, 2nd Pr. June 1920.
- 131 **Henesy**, Frank Charles. 64 *Chestnut Road, West Norwood, London, S.E.27*. 1672. June 1920.
- 132 **Henwood**, Frank Stanley. 76 *Lavington Road, West Ealing, London, W.13*. 227; 3268. January 1920.
- 133 **Hewson**, George William. *Grasmere, Field Terrace, Jarrow-on-Tyne*. 3242, Sec.; 1119. October 1920.
- 134 **Hiehle**, William O. 153 *Wakehurst Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.11*. 2469; 2246. January 1920.
- 135 **Hinton**, Charles Stanley. 4 *Russia Court, Milk Street, London, E.C.2*. 2823, W.M. May 1920.
- 136 **Holden**, John Ernest. 7 *Stratford Avenue, Rochdale, Lancs*. 298, P.M.; 298, H. March 1920.
- 137 **Hole**, T. McGowan. *Barry, Glamorgan*. 36; 36. March 1920.
- 138 ***Homer**, Charles Christopher, jun. c/o *Second National Bank, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.* **Grand Master; Grand High Priest**. January 1920.
- 139 **Horlock**, Robert Hambidge. 189 *Camberwell Grove, London, S.E.5*. 1672, P.M.; 1706. June 1920.
- 140 **Hubbard**, William Austin. 146 *Claremont Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7*. 40. May 1920.
- 141 **Humphris**, F. H., M.D. 8 *West Chapel Street, Mayfair, London, W.1*. 48 (S.C.). March 1920.

- 142 ***Jackson**, Ernest Wilfrid, *F.I.C., F.G.S. Godrezy, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks.* 3474; 602. November 1920.
- 143 **Jackson**, George. 12 *Kensington Avenue, Victoria Park, Manchester.* P.Pr.A.G.Sup.W.; 935, P.Z. May 1920.
- 144 **Jackson**, Jabez. *Atlas House, St. Michael's Road, Coventry.* P.Pr.G.D.; 3659. November 1920.
- 145 **Jackson**, *Lieut.-Col.* Robert Edward. 39 *York Mansions, Prince of Wales' Road, London, S.W.11.* 39 (W.A.C.). June 1920.
- 146 **Jacobs**, Andrew Alexander. 44 *Portland Road, Edgbaston.* P.Pr.G.W. March 1920.
- 147 **Jones**, John Thomas. 30 *Spital Square, Bishopsgate, London, E.1.* October 1920.
- 148 **Jones**, William Thomas. *Sandown, Station Road, Stechford, Birmingham.* 1551, W.M.; 739, Sc.N. January 1920.
- 149 **Kahn**, Isaac Jechiel. P.O. Box 120, *Oudtshoorn, C.P., South Africa.* 2088, J.D.; 334. May 1920.
- 150 **Kensett**, Percy Frank. *Cotswold, Cottenham Park Road, West Wimbledon, London, S.W.20.* 1962, P.M.; 1962, Sc.N. May 1920.
- 151 **Kerrick**, *Rev.* Edmond Fitz Gerald. *Littleham Rectory, Bideford.* 489; 489. March 1920.
- 152 **Kishere**, Harry. *Laurel Bank, St. John's Street, Bedford.* 169, J.W.; 2738, A.So. June 1920.
- 153 **Kittow**, William, *L.D.S., Eng.* 8 *Newport Road, Cardiff.* 36, P.M.; 36, H. May 1920.
- 154 **Langford**, William Francis. 34 *Bedford Road, Hitchin, Herts.* 1579; 449. Nov. 1920.
- 155 **Laverick**, Martin. 35 *Azalea Terrace South, Sunderland.* Pr.G.Treas. October 1920.
- 156 **Lawford**, C. E. 9 *Mapesbury Road, London, N.W.2.* 3097. May 1920.
- 157 **Lawrance**, John. 33 *Pattison Road, London, N.W.2.* 2696. P.M.; 733. January 1920.
- 158 **Lea**, Ernest. 20 *Moorside Road, Heaton Moor, Stockport.* 2905, P.M.; 3853, A.So. October 1920.
- 159 **Maccoy**, John Oversby. 27 *St. Aidan's Street, Bensham, Gateshead-on-Tyne.* 3428, S.D. November 1920.
- 160 **Macdonald**, Theophilus Alexander Pond. *Calle Maipu 187, Buenos Aires.* 617, P.M.; 617. January 1920.
- 161 **Maclachlan**, Lewis, *M.B., C.M.* 2 *West Garden Street, Glasgow.* 360, P.M.; 79, P.Z. May 1920.
- 162 **Maclumpha**, Norman Stuart. No. 2 *The Chalets, Upper St. Michael's Road, Aldershot.* 1276. March 1920.
- 163 **Macpherson**, Archibald, *F.C.S.* 79 *Cartside Street, Glasgow.* 0; 2, D.C. May 1920.
- 164 **Maddigan**, Sidney. 148 *Westborough Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.* 2808. May 1920.
- 165 **Martensz**, James Aubrey. *c/o Messrs. F. J. & G. de Saram, P.O. Box 212, Colombo, Ceylon.* 611 (S.C.), I.G. October 1920.
- 166 **Martin**, Archdall Cherry. *Purvatipur, Vizagapatam District, Madras Pres., India.* 2356. November 1920.
- 167 **Mason**, John William Victor. 29 *Golder's Green Crescent, Golder's Green, London, N.W.4.* 1891. November 1920.
- 168 **Matheson**, Henry A., *L.D.S.* 150 *Brompton Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.3.* 2978, P.M. November 1920.
- 169 **Mayer**, Harry. *Dover, Delaware, U.S.A. Grand Master.* January 1920.
- 170 **Meadowcroft**, Harry Harold. *Rock Bank, Milnrow, Lancs.* 1129; 277. March 1920.
- 171 ***Merriman**, *Capt.* Edward Claude Baverstock. 23 *Porchester Square, London, W.2.* 2773, W.M.; 159. May 1920.
- 172 **Millar**, Ernest Bruce. 28A *Basinghall Street, London, E.C.2.* 2108, P.M. May 1920.
- 173 **Mills**, Fred Sargeant. *Ashlawn, Gloucester Road, Kingston Hill, Surrey.* 3680; 889. January 1920.
- 174 **Mills**, John Ashworth. *Ashfield Cottage, Dceplish Road, Rochdale.* 298, P.M.; 298, P.Z. March 1920.
- 175 **Moilliet**, Alexander Keir. *La Refineria, Minatitlan, Vera Cruz, Mexico.* 19. March 1920.
- 176 **Molony**, Alfred. *The Edgar Hotel, Bath.* 1900, P.M.; 2346, P.Z. January 1920.
- 177 **Moore**, Arthur Robert. 13 *Humbledon View, Sunderland.* P.Pr.G.St.B. October 1920.
- 178 **Moore**, James Temple. 11 *Hutton Garden, London, E.C.1.* 1541, P.M. May 1920

- 179 **Morrish**, Frank. *Boscastle, Lancaster Avenue, Hitchin, Herts.* 449, P.M.; 449. November 1920.
- 180 **Morton**, Godfrey Meggitt. *Northwold, Western Road, Cheltenham, Glos.* 338, S.W. January 1920.
- 181 **Motta**, Stephen. *Cia Mex. de Pet. El Aguila, S.A., Apartado 113 bis, Mexico, D.F.* 3, P.G.M. October 1920.
- 182 **Myatt**, William Joseph. *Glen Olden, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.* 298; 234. June 1920.
- 183 **Myers**, Ronald Maurice. *47 Wheeley's Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.* 43. Oct. 1920.
- 184 **Myers**, George. *39 Gilesgate, Durham.* 1932, P.M.; 124. May 1920.
- 185 **Newby**, Lewis Bertram. *6 Innes Street, Hospital Hill, King William's Town, Cape Province.* P.Dis.G.W.; P.Dis.G.Treas. June 1920.
- 186 **Nice**, Albert Edward Collins. *26 Cheriton Square, Balham, London, S.W.17.* 3375; 1501. November 1920.
- 187 **Nicol**, Robert Alexander. *L.D.S., R.F.P.S. Avimore, 1 Argyle Place, Rothesay, Scotland.* 292; 163. October 1920.
- 188 **Oldfield**, Claud Courtenay. *F.S.I. 51 Park Lane, Norwich.* 943, W.M.; 52. Oct. 1920.
- 189 **Oliver**, William Davison. *13 Harrison Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.* Pr.G.R.; P.Pr.G.J. November 1920.
- 190 **Orr**, Dr. James. *31 Croslands Park, Barrow-in-Furness.* 1021, W.M.; 1021, J. June 1920.
- 191 **Page**, Richard Edward. *70 Upton Lane, Forest Gate, London, E.7.* 554, P.M. March 1920.
- 192 **Pailthorpe**, W. A. B. P.O. Box 82, *Nairobi, British East Africa.* 3084, P.M. January 1920.
- 193 **Pakeman**, George Stevenson. *45 Freemantle Road, Cotham, Bristol.* 3663, P.M.; 187. November 1920.
- 194 **Parr**, Capt. William, *R.A.F. 21 Park View, New Malden, Surrey.* 2203, S.D. March 1920.
- 195 **Pidgcon**, John Casburn. *36 Clairview Road, Streatham, London, S.W.16.* 2108. May 1920.
- 196 **Porter**, Gerald Lachlan. *28 Ashburn Place, London, S.W.7.* 10. May 1920.
- 197 **Powell**, Robert Markham. *4 Nicholl Road, Epping, Essex.* 3549; 406. October 1920.
- 198 **Powney**, Col. Cecil Du Pre Penton. *24 Egerton Terrace, London, S.W.3.* **Past Grand Deacon; Past Grand Sojourner.** May 1920.
- 199 **Pratt**, Henry. *The Dingle, Goldieslie Road, Wylde Green, Birmingham.* 1782, P.M.; 482, J. May 1920.
- 200 **Presland**, Albert Samuel. *76 Saltram Crescent, Paddington, London, W.9.* 1637. January 1920.
- 201 ***Prince**, Arthur Dow. *1 Simpson Street, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.* **Grand Master.** January 1920.
- 202 **Read**, Archer George. *Downham Hall, Brandon, Suffolk.* 3334. March 1920.
- 203 **Reid**, Walter S. *420 West End Avenue, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.* 233, P.M. January 1920.
- 204 **Rind**, Walter Lockhart. *23 Buxton Gardens, Acton, London, W.3.* 3864; 507. May 1920.
- 205 **Robb**, George. *1 Golden Square, Aberdeen, Scotland.* 54, P.M.; 37, P.Z. Jan. 1920.
- 206 **Robinson**, George E. *Ingfield, Baildon, Yorks.* January 1920.
- 207 **Rogers**, Arthur Percy, *A.C.I.S. 146 Redlam, Blackburn, Lancs.* 128. October 1920.
- 208 **Rowlands**, William Henry. *62 Sutton Court Road, Chiswick, London, W.4.* 3396. November 1920.
- 209 **Royle**, John Walter. *Cartref, Algiers Road, Loughton, Essex.* 2722, J.D.; 820. November 1920.
- 210 **Rugg-Gunn**, Andrew. *9 Wimpole Street, London, W.* 563; 563. January 1920.
- 211 **Sawyerr**, Samuel Johannes. P.O. Box 60, *16 Broad Street, Lagos, West Africa.* 1171, S.W.; 1171. October 1920.
- 212 **Schofield**, Tom. *59 Springfield, Ramsbottom, Lancashire.* 1634, P.M. October 1920.
- 213 **Scholefield**, Harry Houchen. *11 Loughboro' Road, Leicester.* 1391, W.M. Nov. 1920.
- 214 ***Sharp**, Fred Bernard. *1 Middle Pavement, Nottingham.* 3498, P.M.; 411. Jan. 1920.

- 215 **Shaw, E. B.**, *I.C.S. Haclakandi, P.O. Cachar, India.* June 1920.
- 216 **Shaw-Fletcher**, Ernest William. *Llanbadarn, Enfield, London, N.* 1791, W.M. October 1920.
- 217 **Shields**, John William. *570 Moscley Road, Birmingham.* 3643, W.M.; 3643, Se.E. June 1920.
- 218 ***Showalter**, Harry Gregg. *Queens, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.* 63; 302. October 1920.
- 219 **Simpson**, Herbert Louis. *7 Umfreville Road, Haringay, London, N.4.* 3500. May 1920.
- 220 **Sinclair**, John. *Malacca General Stores, Malacca, Straits Settlements.* 3557, W.M. November 1920.
- 221 **Small**, Arthur Pole. *Ross, Herefordshire.* 338, P.M.; 120, P.Z. March 1920.
- 222 **Smalley-Baker**, Charles Ernest. *9 King's Bench Walk, The Temple, London, E.C.4.* 357. June 1920.
- 223 **Smart**, John Lamont. *32 Walbrook, London, E.C.4.* May 1920.
- 224 **Smith**, Arthur James. *58 Rutland Park Mansions, Willesden Green, London, N.W.2.* 1962. October 1920.
- 225 **Smith**, Basil Arthur. *30 Penrith Road, New Malden, Surrey.* 1962; 1962, A.So. June 1920.
- 226 **Smith**, Cornwallis Fountayne Henry. *42 Blythwood Road, Crouch Hill, London, N.4.* 1928, P.M.; 1928, P.Z. October 1920.
- 227 **Smith**, Lionel Hewgill. *58 High Street, Bridlington.* 734; 734. June 1920.
- 228 **Smith**, Ralph Jeanrenaud. *c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., P.O. Box 48, Bombay, India.* 2436. March 1920.
- 229 **Stables**, Alfred Matthew. *25 Cotswold Gardens, East Ham, London, E.6.* 141. May 1920.
- 230 **Stennett**, George. *1 Saron Street, Dover.* 3151. November 1920.
- 231 **Stocker**, John N. Gordon. *Budderpore Tea Co., Ltd., Badarpur Ghat P.O., Sylhet, India.* 2,26, W.M. January 1920.
- 232 **Stoddard**, Walter Henry. *50 Cherry Street, Birmingham.* 1782, P.M. October 1920
- 233 **Stone**, Lewis. *41 Royal York Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.* 325. June 1920.
- 234 **Stretton**, Joseph Hope. *11 Serjeants Inn, London, E.C.4.* 708. January 1920.
- 235 **Summerfield**, William. *31 Radnor Street, London, S.E.15.* 2680. June 1920.
- 236 **Suter**, Jean Etienne. *30 Gleneldon Road, Streatham, London, S.W.16.* 715; 1305. November 1920.
- 237 **Swale**, Jno. *Grinton, Fairfield Road, Widnes, Lancs.* 3896; 2819. November 1920.
- 238 **Symes**, Col. Gustavus Phelps, *M.V.O. Monksdene, Weymouth, Dorset.* 170, P.M.; P.Pr.G.R.; Pr.G.Sec. October 1920.
- 239 **Tanner**, George William Henry. *194 Lawrence Hill, Bristol.* 326; 68. May 1920.
- 240 **Tate**, Alexander James. *The King's School, Grantham.* 362; 362. May 1920.
- 241 **Taylor**, James. *Grasmere, 641 Oldham Road, Rochdale.* 54, W.M.; 54. March 1920.
- 242 **Thomas**, Arthur William. *Cartref, 22 Upper Grove, S. Norwood, London, S.E.25.* 1139. March 1920.
- 243 **Thorpe**, Montague James. *c/o Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, George Town, Penang, Straits Settlements.* 3015. October 1920.
- 244 **Tietjen**, Arthur Ernest. *11 Dalrymple Road, Crofton Park, London, S.E.4.* 3155, P.M.; 3155, Z. May 1920.
- 245 **Tilley**, Edgar Ernest. *Minnedosa, Manitoba, Canada.* 15. March 1920.
- 246 **Tindale**, Charles. *29 Hallgarth Street, Durham.* 1334, P.M.; 124. May 1920.
- 247 **Tweedale**, Sutcliffe. *38 Hare Street, Rochdale, Lancs.* 1129, J.W.; 298. October 1920.
- 248 **Tyler**, George W. *Belton, Texas. Past Grand Master.* March 1920.
- 249 **Vogel**, Louis. *Apartado 16, La Refineria, Minatitlan, Vera Cruz, Mexico.* 19. October 1920.
- 250 **Wakefield**, James Alfred. *Pittsburgh Athletic Club, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. Past Grand Sword Bearer.* October 1920.
- 251 **Wallace**, William. *Victoria Road, West Hartlepool.* P.Pr.G.D.; 764. June 1920.
- 252 **Waller**, Arthur James. *Scotch College, Glenferrie Road, Hawthorn, Victoria.* 250, J.W.; 8. May 1920.
- 253 **Walmsley**, Thomas, *J.P. 8 Pullman Street, Rochdale.* 1129, S.W. March 1920.
- 254 **Ward**, Harry Martin. *Seacroft, West Cross, R.S.O., Glam.* 1573; 1323. March 1920.
- 255 **Watson**, Samuel Ernest. *Konapara, Kalain P.O. Cachar, India.* 2726, P.M. January 1920.

- 256 **Webb**, David Daniel. 40 *Sutton Court Road, Plaistow, E.13.* 3050. May 1920.
- 257 **Weeks**, Herbert Arthur. *Haysmere, Longcroft Avenue, Harpenden, Herts.* 142. October 1920.
- 258 **Wells**, Arthur E. 38 *Henleaze Gardens, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.* P.Pr.G.Sw.B. May 1920.
- 259 ***Whishaw**, Lieut.-Col. Edward Richard. 7 *Rue Butros Pasha Ghali, Heliopolis, Cairo.* 2877, P.M.; 2954, Z. June 1920.
- 260 **White**, Robert Fortescue Moresby. *Grantham.* Past Grand Standard Bearer; Past Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). January 1920.
- 261 **Whitefield**, William Gordon. 32 *Stanwell Road, Penarth.* 36. March 1920.
- 262 **Whiteley**, Roberts Ogden. 17 *Athol Road, Manningham, Bradford.* 1074, P.M.; P.Pr.G.So. (Cumb. & West). May 1920.
- 263 **Williams**, Freke Dalgliesh. 18-19 *Pall Mall, London, S.W.* 3533, P.M.; 46, P.Z. May 1920.
- 264 **Wilshaw**, Edward. *Electra House, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2.* October 1920.
- 265 **Winder**, William Ambrose. *Windermere Lodge, St. John's Grove, Morecombe.* 4108, P.M.; 1051. November 1920.
- 266 **Wintgens**, Frederick William. *Summerfield, Cedar Road, Sutton, Surrey.* 3617; 1929. June 1920.
- 267 **Wood**, John Williams. *Sherwood, Elgin Avenue, Alexandra Park, London, N.* P.Pr.G.D., Norfolk. October 1921.
- 268 **Wright**, S. J. M. 5 *Devonshire Colonnade, Buxton, Derbyshire.* 1235. May 1920.
- 269 **Yates**, William *Queen's Road, Evesham.* 3308. March 1920.



DECEASED.

<u>Austen, Arthur Elvey</u>	<i>Late of Johannesburg</i>	<u>March, 1920.</u>
<u>Bacon, Col. Alexander S.</u>	„ <i>Brooklyn, U.S.A.</i>	<u>1920.</u>
<u>Bass, William Henry</u>	„ <i>Nottingham</i>	<u>1920.</u>
<u>Beaman, Harris Samuel</u>	„ <i>London, S.E.</i>	<u>31st, March, 1920.</u>
<u>Bodenham, John</u>	„ <i>Newport, Salop</i>	<u>15th February, 1920.</u>
<u>Buckmaster, Frederick H.</u>	„ <i>London</i>	<u>2nd November, 1920.</u>
<u>Buglass, Thomas Dixon</u>	„ <i>Lowestoft</i>	<u>27th June, 1920.</u>
<u>Butler, J. Dixon</u>	„ <i>East Molesey</i>	<u>27th October, 1920.</u>
<u>Coombe, William John Brooks</u>	„ <i>Bristol</i>	<u>5th April, 1920.</u>
<u>Davey, Arnold E.</u>	„ <i>Adelaide, S. Australia</i>	<u>13th March, 1920.</u>
<u>Davis, Alfred</u>	„ <i>Croydon, Surrey</i>	<u>26th September, 1920.</u>
<u>Gove, Dr. Royal Amenzo</u>	„ <i>Tacoma, Wash.</i>	<u>21st January, 1920.</u>
<u>Hankin, Herbert Ingle</u>	„ <i>St. Ives, Hunts.</i>	<u>19th March, 1920.</u>
<u>Hare, Sholto Henry</u>	„ <i>Weston-super-Mare</i>	<u>3rd September, 1920.</u>
<u>Iles, Lt.-Col. Henry Wilson</u>	„ <i>Sidmouth</i>	<u>28th April, 1920.</u>
<u>Jardine, Capt. William</u>	„ <i>Liverpool</i>	<u>20th June, 1920.</u>
<u>Kemp, William David</u>	„ <i>Inverness</i>	<u>14th April, 1920.</u>
<u>Keys, John Patterson</u>	„ <i>Rochester, U.S.A.</i>	<u>5th January, 1920.</u>
<u>Knight, Herbert Manning</u>	„ <i>Melbourne</i>	<u>1st October, 1920.</u>
<u>Macwatt, Judge Daniel F.</u>	„ <i>Ontario</i>	<u>12th February, 1920.</u>
<u>Marty, Francis Charles</u>	„ <i>Buenos Aires</i>	<u>1919.</u>
<u>Millar, James</u>	„ <i>Alaska</i>	<u>1919.</u>
<u>Peek, Rev. Richard</u>	„ <i>London, S.E.</i>	<u>18th July, 1920.</u>
<u>Price, Arthur</u>	„ <i>Chepstow, Mon.</i>	<u>10th January, 1920.</u>
<u>Soltau, William Edward</u>	„ <i>London</i>	<u>25th October, 1920.</u>
<u>Starkey, John W.</u>	„ <i>Valetta</i>	<u>May, 1920.</u>
<u>Stowe, Lt.-Col. Francis Joseph</u>	„ <i>London</i>	<u>18th November 1920.</u>
<u>Sutton, Charles William</u>	„ <i>Manchester</i>	<u>24th April, 1920.</u>
<u>Tate, John</u>	„ <i>Belfast</i>	<u>March, 1920.</u>
<u>Turner, George Edward</u>	„ <i>Blandford</i>	<u>9th April, 1920.</u>
<u>Venables, Rowland George</u>	„ <i>Oswestry</i>	<u>9th March, 1920.</u>
<u>Wright, Rev. Charles Edward</u>	„ <i>Folkestone</i>	<u>6th July, 1920.</u>
<u>Leigh</u>		



LOCAL SECRETARIES.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Derbyshire	T. H. Thorpe	23, St. James's Street, Derby.
Inverness	A. F. Mackenzie	15, Union Street.
Lancashire, East	R. H. Baxter	97, Milnrow Road, Rochdale.
„ North	J. R. Nuttall	13, Thornfield, Lancaster.
„ West	William Platt	132, Lord Street, Southport.
Northamptonshire & Huntingdonshire	S. B. Wilkinson	69, Billing Road, Northampton.
Northumberland	Cornwell Smith	57, Manor House Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Oxfordshire & Gloucestershire	E. Conder	The Conigree, Newent, Gloucestershire.
Somerset	Lionel Vibert	Marline, Lansdown, Bath.
Staffordshire	Frank Hughes	Handsworth.
Warwickshire	F. G. Swinden	36, Westfield Road, Edgbaston.
Westmorland & Cumberland	Rev. Herbert Poole	Sedbergh School, Sedbergh, Yorkshire.
Worcestershire	W. S. Devey	43, George Road, Erdington, Birmingham.
Yorkshire, North & East Ridings	Geo. L. Shackles	Elim Lodge, Hornsea, near Hull.
„ Bradford	John Robinson	5, Rushcroft Terrace, Baildon.
„ Leeds	J. Elston Cawthorn	Elmete, Esplanade Avenue, Scarborough, Yorks.
„ Sheffield	David Flather	Whiston Grange, Rotherham.

EUROPE.

Denmark	William Malling	Højbroplads 5, Copenhagen, K.
Holland	J. C. G. Grisé	Naarden.

ASIA.

India, Bengal	C. F. Hooper	c/o Thacker, Spink & Co., 5 Government Place, Calcutta.
„ Bombay, Madras, United Provinces & Oudh	H. Hadow	c/o Parry & Co., P.O. Box 12, Madras.
Japan	A. R. Catto	Box 296, Yokohama.
Siam	John R. C. Lyons	Ministry of Justice, Bangkok.
Singapore	Frederick Apps	26, Raffles Place.

AFRICA.

Bloemfontein	W. S. Mannion	Box 261.
Egypt	H. K. Baynes	Box 1400, Cairo.
Jagersfontein, O.F.S.	R. G. C. White	Box 6, Jagersfontein.
Kimberley	F. G. Richards	Sydney on Vaal.
Natal	C. W. P. Douglas de Fenzi	P.O. Box 230, Pietermaritzburg.
Rhodesia, Mashonaland	S. R. Garrard	Brundish House, Sinoia.
„ Matabeleland	E. A. Uttley	Box 48, Bulawayo.
South Africa, E. Division	H. Squire Smith	Box 9, King William's Town.
„ „ W. Division	W. H. Tiffany	Box 387, Cape Town.
Transvaal, Johannesburg	T. L. Pryce	Box 247, Johannesburg.
„ Pretoria	G. P. Mathews	Box 434, Pretoria.

CANADA.

Alberta	G. Macdonald, M.D.	Calgary.
British Columbia	Dr. W. A. De Wolf Smith	Pafraets Dael, New Westminster.
Manitoba	R. S. Thornton, M.B.	Deloraine.
Newfoundland	W. J. Edgar	Box 1201, St. John's.
Saskatchewan	F. S. Proctor	Cupar.
Ontario	N. W. J. Haydon	564, Pape Avenue, Toronto.

U.S.A.

Arkansas	Troy W. Lewis	311-314, A.O.U.W. Building, Little Rock.
Florida	E. P. Hubbell	Bradentown.
Georgia	W. F. Bowe	541, Broad Street, Augusta.
Indiana	C. Mayer	29, W. Washington Street, Indianapolis.
New Jersey	H. E. Deats	Flemington.
New York	J. C. Klinck	85, Argyle Road, Brooklyn.
Rhode Island	William H. Scott	61, Laura Street, Providence.
South Dakota	G. A. Pettigrew	Sioux Falls.
Washington	J. H. Tatsch	Union Bank & Trust Co., Los Angeles, Cal.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

Argentina	William Cowlshaw	78, Reconquista, Buenos Aires.
Costa Rica	A. G. M. Gillott	Box 385, San José.

AUSTRALASIA.

New South Wales	T. L. Rowbotham	Masonic Club, 218, Pitt Street, Sydney.
New Zealand, Auckland	C. H. Jenkins	107, Albert Street.
„ „ Christchurch	S. C. Bingham	7, Cashel Street, W.
„ „ Otago	D. C. Cameron	5, Heriot Street, Dunedin.
„ „ Wanganui	Peter Lewis	81, Keith Street.
„ „ Wellington	G. Robertson	Wellington.
South Australia	Fred. Johns	Houghton Lodge, Rose Park, Adelaide.
Victoria	Arthur Thewlis	401, Dandenong Road, Armadale.

STATED MEETINGS OF THE LODGE IN 1921.

Friday, 7th January.

Friday, 24th June.

Friday, 4th March.

Friday, 7th October.

Friday, 6th May.

Tuesday, 8th November.

ABBREVIATIONS.

MASONIC.

A.	Arch, Assistant.	L.	Lodge.
A.G.	Assistant Grand.	L.R.	London Rank.
B.	Bearer.	M.	Master, Most.
B.G.P.	Board of General Purposes.	Mem.	Member.
C.	Central, Ceremonies, Constitution.	M.E.	Most Excellent.
Ch.	Chaplain.	M.W.	Most Worshipful.
Chap.	Chapter.	N.	Nehemiah
Ccm.	Committee.	(N.S.)	Nova Scotia.
D.	Deacon, Director, Dutch.	O.	Organist.
D.C.	Director of Ceremonies.	Or.	Orator.
(D.C.).	Dutch Constitution.	P.	Past, Principal, Priest <i>(American & Irish R.A.).</i>
D.M.	Director of Music.	P. Dep.	Past Deputy.
Dep.	Deputy, Depute (<i>Scottish</i>).	P. Dep. Dis.	Past Deputy District.
Dep. Dis.	Deputy District.	P. Dep. Pr.	Past Deputy Provincial.
Dep. Pr.	Deputy Provincial.	P. Dis.	Past District.
Dis.	District.	P.Dis.G.	Past District Grand.
Dis.A.G.	District Assistant Grand.	P.G.	Past Grand.
Dis.G.	District Grand.	P.H.	Past Haggai.
Div.	Division.	P.H.P.	Past High Priest <i>(American & Irish R.A.).</i>
E.	English, Excellent, Ezra.	P.J.	Past Joshua.
(E.C.).	English Constitution.	P.K.	Past King (<i>American & Irish R.A.).</i>
G.	Grand, Guard.	P.M.	Past Master.
G.Ch.	Grand Chaplain.	P.Pr.	Past Provincial.
G. Chap.	Grand Chapter.	P.Pr.G.	Past Provincial Grand.
G.D.	Grand Deacon.	Pr.	Provincial.
G.D.C.	Grand Director of Ceremonies.	Pres.	President.
G.H.	Grand Haggai.	Pr.G.	Provincial Grand.
G.H.P.	Grand High Priest. <i>(American & Irish R.A.).</i>	Pt.	Pursuivant.
G.J.	Grand Joshua.	P.Z.	Past Zerubbabel.
G.L.	Grand Lodge.	R.	Registrar, Right, Roll, Roster.
G.M.	Grand Master.	R.A.	Royal Arch.
G.O.	Grand Organist.	Rep.	Representative.
G.P.	Grand Principal (R.A.).	R.W.	Right Worshipful.
G.Pt.	Grand Pursuivant.	S.	Scottish, Senior, Sword.
G.R.	Grand Registrar.	S.B.	Sword Bearer.
G.S.B.	Grand Sword Bearer.	(S.C.).	Scottish Constitution.
G. Sc.E.	Grand Scribe Ezra.	Sc.	Scribe.
G.Sec.	Grand Secretary.	Sc.E.	Scribe Ezra.
G.St.B.	Grand Standard Bearer.	Sc.N.	Scribe Nehemiah.
G.Stew.	Grand Steward.	S.D.	Senior Deacon.
G. So.	Grand Sojourner.	Sec.	Secretary.
G. Sup.	Grand Superintendent (R.A.).	So.	Sojourner.
G Sup. W	Grand Superintendent of Works.	Stew.	Steward.
G. Treas.	Grand Treasurer.	St.	Standard.
G.W.	Grand Warden.	Sub.	Substitute (<i>Scottish</i>).
G.Z.	Grand Zerubbabel.	Sup.	Superintendent.
H.	Haggai.	Sup.W.	Superintendent of Works.
H.P.	High Priest (<i>American & Irish R.A.).</i>	S.W.	Senior Warden.
I.	Inner, Irish.	Treas.	Treasurer.
(I.C.).	Irish Constitution.	V.	Very.
I.G.	Inner Guard.	V.W.	Very Worshipful.
Ins.W.	Inspector of Works.	W.	Warden, Works, Worshipful.
J.	Joshua, Junior.	W.M.	Worshipful Master.
J.D.	Junior Deacon.	Z.	Zerubbabel
J.W.	Junior Warden.		
K.	King (<i>American & Irish R.A.).</i>		

SOCIAL, NAVAL, AND MILITARY.

A.D.C.	Aide-de-Camp.	J.P.	Justice of the Peace
A.S.C.	Army Service Corps.	Kt.	Knight.
Bart.	Baronet.	M.H.A.	Member of the House of Assembly (<i>Newfoundland</i>).
B.C.S.	Bombay or Bengal Civil Service.	M.L.C.	Member of Legislative Council.
C.B.	Companion of Order of the Bath.	M.P.	Member of Parliament.
C.I.E.	Companion of Order of the Indian Empire.	O.B.E.	Order of the British Empire.
C.M.G.	Companion of Order of SS. Michael and George.	P.C.	Privy Councillor.
C.S.I.	Companion of Order of the Star of India. (N.B.—K. or G. prefixed to the above signifies Knight Com- mander or Knight Grand Cross, or Knight Grand Commander of the Order concerned.)	R.A.M.C.	Royal Army Medical Corps.
D.L.	Deputy Lieutenant.	R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute.
D.S.O.	Distinguished Service Order.	R.D.	Reserve Distinction.
Hon.	Honorary, Honourable.	R.E.	Royal Engineers.
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service.	R.F.A.	Royal Field Artillery.
I.M.	Indian Marine.	R.G.A.	Royal Garrison Artillery.
I.M.S.	Indian Medical Service.	R.H.A.	Royal Horse Artillery.
I.S.C.	Indian Staff Corps.	R.M.	Royal Marines.
I.S.O.	Imperial Service Order.	R.M.A.	Royal Marine Artillery.
		R.N.	Royal Navy.
		R.N.R.	Royal Naval Reserve.
		R.N.V.R.	Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.
		T.	Territorial Force.
		T.D.	Territorial Distinction.
		V.D.	Volunteer Distinction.
		V.O.	Victorian Order.

PROFESSIONAL.

A.G.O.	American Guild of Organists.	L.D.S.	Licentiate in Dental Surgery.
A.I.	Auctioneers' Institute.	LL.B.	Bachelor of Laws.
A.S.M.E.	American Society of Mechanical Engineers.	LL.D.	Doctor of " "
A.K.C.	Associate of King's College.	LL.M.	Master of " "
A.M.	Master of Arts.	Lic.Mus.	Licentiate of Music.
Am.Soc.C.E.	American Society of Civil Engineers.	L.S.	Linnæan Society.
Amer.I.E.E.	American Institute of Electrical Engineers.	M.A.	Master of Arts.
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts.	M.B.	Bachelor of Medicine.
B.C.L.	" of Civil Law.	M.D.	Doctor of Medicine.
B.Ch.	" of Surgery.	Mus.Doc.	" of Music.
B.D.	" of Divinity.	Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy.
B.P.	" of Philosophy (<i>U.S.A.</i>).	Pres.	President.
B.Sc.	" of Science.	Prof.	Professor.
C.A.	Chartered Accountant.	P.W.D.	Public Works Department.
C.E.	Civil Engineer.	R.A.	Royal Academy.
C.I.S.	Chartered Institute of Secretaries.	R.A.S.	" Asiatic Society (<i>Members</i>).
C.P.A.	Certified Public Accountant (<i>Rhode Island</i>).	R.A.S.	" Astronomical Society (<i>Fellows</i>).
C.S.	Chemical Society.	R.C.I.	" Colonial Institute.
C.M.	Master in Surgery.	R.C.P.	" College of Physicians.
Dr.	Doctor.	R.C.S.	" of Surgeons.
D.C.L.	" of Civil Law.	R.C.V.S.	" of Veterinary Surgeons.
D.D.	" of Divinity.	R.G.S.	" Geographical Society.
D.Lit.	" of Literature.	R.Hist.S.	" Historical Society (<i>Fellows</i>).
D.Sc.	" of Science.	R.H.S.	" Horticultural Society (<i>Fellows</i>).
E.S.	Entomological Society.	R.I.	" Institute of Painters in Water Colours.
F.I.	Faculty of Insurance.	R.I.A.	" Irish Academy.
G.S.	Geological Society.	R.I.B.A.	" Institute of British Architects.
I.A.	Institute of Actuaries.	R.M.S.	" Microscopical Society.
I.C.	" of Chemists.	R.S.	" Society.
Inst.C.E.	" of Civil Engineers.	R.S.A.	" Society of Arts (<i>Fellows</i>).
I.E.E.	" of Electrical Engineers.	R.S.A.	" Scottish Academy.
I.M.E.	" of Mining Engineers.	R.S.E.	" Society, Edinburgh.
I.Mech.E.	" of Mechanical Engineers.	R.S.L.	" Society of Literature.
I.N.A.	" of Naval Architects.	S.A.	Society of Antiquaries (<i>Fellows</i>).
I.S.E.	" of Sanitary Engineers.	S.A.A.	" of Accountants and Auditors (<i>Incorporated</i>).
I.I.	Imperial Institute.	S.C.L.	Student of Civil Law.
J.I.	Institute of Journalists.	S.I.	Institute of Surveyors.
K.C.	King's Counsel.	S.S.	Statistical Society.
		V.P.	Vice-President.
		Z.S.	Zoological Society.

NOTE.—A., M., or F., prefixed to letters indicating an Institute or Society stands for Associate, Member, or Fellow of the Society in question.

