

# » Ars «

## Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

### VOLUME LXVII

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1955

## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated.

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers over 3,500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and over 500 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves; but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and so far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Room.

A Candidate for Membership of the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge meeting following the receipt of his application.

The joining fee is £1 1s.; and the annual subscription is £1 1s., renewable each November for the following year.

Brethren joining late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting on Lodge matters and holding office.

**Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed.** Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing and a subscribing member of a regular Lodge throughout the Universe and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

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1955

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# Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

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

No. 2076

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VOLUME LXVII

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## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs

MONDAY, 9th NOVEMBER, 1953



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, *J.P.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *W.M.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, *I.P.M.*; S. Pope, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Kent), *S.W.*; N. Rogers, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *S.W.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Dep.G.Sw.B.*, *P.M.*, Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood *P.G.D.*, Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; W. Waples, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Durham), *S.D.*; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, *as J.D.*; B. W. Oliver, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *I.G.*; Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; and N. B. Spencer, *P.G.D.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. Norman Knight, C. W. Parris, T. W. Marsh, P. P. Williams, J. D. Daymond, A. F. Hatten, R. E. Burne, R. E. S. Kitwood, L. Lucker, H. W. Piper, A. E. Smith, R. C. W. Hunter, B. Foskett, A. I. Sharp, A. Parker Smith, C. J. Billings, E. E. Worthington, Bernard E. Jones, R. H. Rogers, H. Carr, G. D. Elvidge, F. L. Bradshaw, F. Bernhart, R. Gold, O. Jacob, A. E. Butler, G. P. Daynes, M. Goldberg, S. H. Muffett, A. H. Berman, P. J. Dawson, A. H. Antrum and A. Lever.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. J. Hadler, Lodge 4291; C. H. Baker, Lodge 3931; A. Hill, Lodge 972; F. Holt, Lodge 6505; D. G. Bartlett, Lodge 2048; E. J. Davidson, Lodge 2942; A. R. Chapman, Lodge 829; E. S. Holbrook, Lodge 5047; J. E. Billings, Lodge 4489; L. D. Froude, Lodge 235; J. J. Fleming, Lodge 4701; J. Ackworth, Lodge 2207; W. C. Cocking, Lodge 5866; A. G. Tatham, Lodge 3601; C. Whitley, Lodge 5840; N. H. Grant, Lodge 1854; H. C. Taylor, Lodge 141; M. Hartog, Lodge 2682; and C. H. Slaner, Lodge 5038.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, *Pr.G.Sec.* (Co. Down); J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.* (Derby); F. R. Radice, *L.G.R.*, *P.M.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; A. J. B. Milborne, *P.Dist.Dep.G.M.* (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, *P.G.D.* (Quebec); and G. Brett.

Upon Ballot taken—

Bro. HARRY CARR, L.G.R., Manufacturer, residing at 14, Inver Court, London, W.2., of Barnato Lodge No. 2265, and

Bro. BERNARD EDWARD JONES, P.A.G.D.C., Author, residing at Little Orchard, Bolney, Sussex, of Pen and Brush Lodge No. 2909,

were elected joining members of the Lodge.

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One Chapter, eight Lodges and thirty-seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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Bro. Sydney Pope, Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and was regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

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

Bro. Norman Rogers	S.W.
„ C. C. Adams	J.W.
„ Ivor Grantham	Treasurer
„ J. R. Dashwood	Secretary
„ Lewis Edwards	D.C.
„ B. W. Oliver	S.D.
„ G. S. Draffen	J.D.
„ H. Carr	I.G.
„ N. B. Spencer	Steward
„ H. Glasby	Tyler

---

The W.M. proposed and Bro. G. Y. Johnson seconded, and it was unanimously carried:—“That Bro. John Richard Rylands, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, having completed his year of Office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be, and are hereby, tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

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The Worshipful Master delivered his Inaugural Address as follows:—

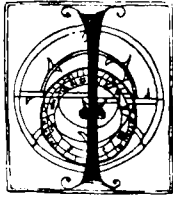


## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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BY BRO. S. POPE, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent)

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MUST first express the pleasure and pride I feel at being chosen to fill the position of Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. The extent of the honour that has been conferred upon me is obvious when one scans the list of my predecessors, including as it does the names of many of the most eminent students of Masonic Research of their day ; many of these in their Inaugural Addresses have gone so thoroughly into the aims, objects, and every conceivable point having any bearing upon the work of our Lodge, that it is indeed difficult to avoid repetition.

In 1944, Bro. *Colonel* Rickard chose "The Correspondence Circle" as the subject of his address when, among the many points he made, one which struck me was that referring to the annual wastage which, some 35 years after the formation of our Circle, amounted to 200 members. In Installed Masters' Lodges the loss due to resignation and death is higher than in Private Lodges, due largely to the increased age of its members. This would also apply to our own Lodge. But a considerable reduction in this loss could be brought about by including a larger proportion of corporate bodies among our new members.

For many years there has been in this country a large increase in the number of Lodges formed, and one method of bringing our *Transactions* to the notice of the members of these Lodges would be to induce the Lodges themselves to join our Correspondence Circle, and to circulate our *Transactions* amongst their members.

A list of the number of the members of our Circle in each county, together with the number of Lodges therein, shows a greater percentage of members to Lodges in those counties which are adjacent to London where members can attend our meetings. It must not be overlooked, however, that it is possible for only a very small proportion of the members of our Correspondence Circle to attend these meetings, and among the remainder it is surprising to find that many do not realise that their own Lodge can become a member of our Circle. In some counties the proportion of Lodges to individual members is growing and needless to say, those districts which have local secretaries stand out, thus showing the value of personal contact. This has always been recognised, for as long ago as 1890, Bro. Bywater, in his Inaugural Address said:—

"The extension, however, of our outer circle and the full realisation of the various objects for which it was established must largely depend upon the zeal and assiduity with which those Brethren who have so kindly undertaken to act as Local Secretaries display in the performance of their trust."

The methods they adopt will be those they have found to be the most suitable for their district. One which over a period of years has been found successful is to give a short lecture or paper at a Lodge meeting at which there is no candidate available ; the fact that Masters of Lodges can call upon a lecturer in their own county or district is greatly appreciated, and in due course leads to an increased membership of our Circle.

While reading over the history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, during which much of our present ritual was compiled, the thought has often occurred to me that we are on safer ground when we are considering what our Brethren of those days did, what they said and what they wrote, than in trying to imagine what they thought. Those Brethren who are situated in parts of the country where there are or have been old Lodges, will find an added interest in the study of their local history by noting the manner in which local and Masonic history are interwoven. An instance which has always interested me is that of the attack upon Freemasonry in Canterbury in 1732.

I have often pondered over the letter to the *Universal Spectator* of 20th May, 1732, concerning this attack upon Freemasonry at Canterbury, and have wondered who can have been the writer. He was obviously well acquainted with Freemasonry as well as with what was going on in the city in 1732. When reading Charles Mitchell's recent edition of

*Hogarth's Peregrinations*, which took place within a few days of the appearance of the letter, it struck me that here was a possible connection between Joseph Highmore—a possible correspondent to the *Universal Spectator*—and Canterbury—a connection that had previously been lacking.

Defoe, in his *Tour Through England and Wales, 1719-1724*, tells us that "the beauty of Greenwich is owing to the lustre of its inhabitants, where there is a kind of collection of gentlemen rather than citizens, and persons of quality and fashion, differing from most, if not all, the villages in this part of England".

The engraved list of 1725 gives us the names of the members of the Lodge which met at the "Swan in East Street, Greenwich", who, many of them being connected with the sciences as well as the arts, and although not all natives of the "village", would nevertheless answer to the description given by Defoe. That some of the members of the Lodge were sojourners is suggested by their names being found among the members of our Lodges in the MS. lists of 1725 and 1730. Sir James Thornhill, Master of the Lodge, the decorator of St. Paul's Cathedral and Greenwich College, was Senior Grand Warden in 1728. Among the other members were "Alexander Choke, Esq.", who was Deputy Grand Master in 1727, and Joseph Highmore, the eminent painter, whose name being the last but one in the list, and not occurring in the lists of any other Lodge, rather suggests that this was his Mother Lodge, and that he was initiated by Sir James Thornhill, with whom he was intimately connected. Joseph Highmore was Junior Grand Warden in 1727 and his name is to be found among the twenty-eight "Founders of Modern Masonry" in *Two Centuries of Freemasonry*, published by the International Bureau for Masonic Affairs, of Neuchatel, Switzerland. This book was dedicated out of gratitude to English Masonry and the "Founders of Modern Masonry, 1717-1719", and published in 1917. John James, the Clerk of the Works at Greenwich Hospital, 1706-1746, was doubtless a resident. At this time important buildings were in progress and "Edward Strong", another member, was probably related to the Strongs who worked at St. Paul's Cathedral.

A recent discovery recorded in the *Daily Telegraph* of 6th August, 1952, gives details of one of these "important buildings" in progress at the date under consideration.

"Restoration work at Greenwich Parish Church has revealed an original painting by Thornhill, the decorator of St. Paul's. Flyn Jones, who is working on the re-decorating, discovered it under some Victorian paintwork around the Eastern Arch. Professor A. E. Richardson, who is responsible for the restoration, tells me the painting is made up of festooned oak leaves and acorns. It was doubtless meant to symbolise the Navy. The church was designed by Nicholas Hawkesmore, a pupil of Wren, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The interior was destroyed during the war. It will be ready for re-consecration next summer."

Sir James Thornhill was working on the decoration of Greenwich College from 1708-1727, and Nicholas Hawkesmore was a member of a London Lodge meeting at the "Oxford Arms in Ludgate Street".

The Lodge upon which the attack was made at Canterbury was that held at the Red Lyon, Canterbury, and was constituted in 1730. At that date the Red Lyon was adjacent to the Guildhall and had at one time been actually connected with it, for a minute of the Court of Burghmote for 1707 informs us that "The Door going out of the gallery of the Guildhall into the fore chamber of the Red Lyon is to be stopped up". It is therefore surprising to find that the suspicions of the civic authorities became aroused over the activities of the new Lodge. This we learn from a letter which was printed in the *Universal Spectator* of Saturday, 20th May, 1732; it reads as follows:—

"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 full cry of ~~the~~ Invectives against what they are strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from London in which the *Royal Craft* has suffer'd by Slander, and been misrepresented."

He then describes how the Mayor of Canterbury had caused the Town Cryer to read the following Proclamation on "Several Market Days":—

"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  
(\* Red Lyon) prove of sad Effect. Therefore the mare of this Cyte desires any  
(Canterbury) Parson that can, to inform him aright, because the whole Truth ought to be known, that such Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light."

The writer of this letter says that this "answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Redicule, & was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' Rustic Manner":—

Oh! 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 be all undone.

They say they're 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 darkened, darker than any Cavern.

Now I, Having at Heart a super Veneration,  
 For this our rich and ancient Corporation,  
 Resolved, like Old Foresight, our Ruin to prevent,  
 And thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.

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.

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 these Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

Municipalities, including Canterbury, were at this time very much under the influence of the placemen of the King's chief minister, a master of corruption who used the great City Companies to extend that influence far beyond the confines of the City of London.

The fall of the City Companies in Canterbury was hastened by the agitation of one Thomas Roch, who first appears in the records of the Court of Burghmote in 1744, when it was ordered "that Thomas Roch of this City, Cabinet Maker, be sued for using his trade unless he purchase his freedom of this City". In 1760, Roch published his book, *Proceedings of the Corporation of C—y: Showing the abuse of Corporation Government*. In 1753, about a year before the erasure of the Red Lyon Lodge, the prosecution of Roch commenced before the Mayor's Court. By 1760 the prosecution of Roch by the Carpenters' Company ended, and in that year a second Freemasons' Lodge was formed in the City.

To digress for a moment: it is of interest to note that "A great Mediæval Guild was discovered recently still functioning in a modest and obscure way in the City of Canterbury" in the year of our Lord 1953.

Thomas Bullock, Carpenter, was Mayor of the City in 1731-32. This was his second period, as he had served the same office in 1724-25, having been made an Alderman on 20th August, 1723. He was admitted a member of the Carpenters' Company in 1687, served as a Warden in 1706, and his name occurs among those who signed the accounts for several years; it will be noted that at that date he was not an Alderman and that he did not become Master of the Company.

Who were those "Certain Mighty Dons" who "were sent down here in Coach and Six from London". From the *Leeds Mercury*, 7th-14th April, 1730, we learn:—

"We hear that on Friday last Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq., Deputy Grand Master, assisted by Dr. Desaguliers, formerly Grand Master, and other Grand Officers, constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at the Red Lyon at Canterbury, at which time several Gentlemen of that City and Neighbourhood were admitted Members of that most Ancient and Honourable Society."

In 1727, Nathaniel Blackerby was appointed Senior Grand Warden; the Junior Grand Warden then appointed was Joseph Highmore. It is to be noted that Joseph Highmore was present at Grand Lodge on the two occasions that the Lodge at the Red Lyon, Canterbury,

was mentioned. The names of the members of this Lodge are not known, but from the attitude adopted by the Mayor, and from the letter which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury*, one would gather—to use the words of Defoe—that “they were a kind of Collection of Gentlemen, rather than Citizens”.

The well-known portrait of “Anthony Sayer, Gent<sup>n</sup>., Grand Master of the Masons”, was painted by Joseph Highmore, who was also a prolific author who wrote numerous essays on literary questions which were published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

We have noted that Sir James Thornhill was Master of the Lodge at the “Swan in East Street, Greenwich”, of which Joseph Highmore was a member. Sir James Thornhill, when a boy, was placed as a pupil with Thomas Highmore, the King's Serjeant Painter, who was the uncle of Joseph Highmore. In 1711, when an Academy of Painting was opened in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Sir Godfrey Kneller as Governor, Thornhill was one of the original directors elected by ballot. It was at this Academy that Joseph Highmore “entered himself”, when he was particularly noticed by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Joseph Highmore painted a portrait of Sir James Thornhill in 1732. Hogarth married Sir James Thornhill's only daughter in 1729, and in 1732, when Hogarth's Peregrination took place, the Hogarths were safely lodged with the Thornhills in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden. Hogarth's Peregrinations started from the Bedford Arms, Covent Garden, on the 26th May, 1732, *i.e.*, six days after the appearance in the *Universal Spectator* of the letter concerning the attack upon Freemasonry in Canterbury. Those taking part included some of Hogarth's closest friends—his brother-in-law, John Thornhill; Samuel Scott, the prospect painter; William Tothall, a cloth merchant; and Ebenezer Forrest, an attorney. Of the five, the names of Hogarth and Forrest appear in the 1731 MSS. list among the members of the Lodge at the “Bear and Harrow” in Butchers' Row. Thackeray describes those taking part in the Peregrination as “a jolly party of tradesmen engaged on high jinks”, and Charles Mitchell says:—

“The Journal of the Five days' Peregrination, which Hogarth and a party of his friends composed on their return from trip to the coast of Kent in 1732, was a rollicking impromptu, never meant for publication . . . All of them had a hand in the journal. They deputed Forrest their historian, Scott and Hogarth their draughtsmen, Tothall their treasurer and caterer, and Thornhill their cartographer. On their return they had their MS. finished, bound up, ready to be read out in the Bedford Arms; it is now in the British Museum.

It was to Ebenezer Forrest, a lawyer by profession but a man of letters by inclination, that the original idea of the burlesqued journal of the tour was probably due. For nearly fifty years Forrest kept the MS. by him. Among the few favoured with a sight of it was the Canterbury Antiquary, William Gostling (who died in 1777), who was given a transcription and turned the story into Hudibrastic verse. Gostling was familiar with the Kentish territory and knew some of the travellers well—Hogarth, for example, who stayed the night at his house in the Mint Yard at Canterbury on his way back from the trip to France that inspired Calais Gate.”

It does not appear likely that William Gostling became acquainted with Hogarth until 1745, but that Gostling turned the story into Hudibrastic verse suggests that he might have had a hand in compiling the letter that was published in the *Universal Spectator* of May 20th, 1732. From 1722-1733 he was the Rector of Brook, near Wye, so that, although the names of the members of the Lodge at the Red Lion, Canterbury, are unknown, it is possible that he may have been one of the “Several Gentlemen of the City and neighbourhood who were admitted members of that most Ancient and Honourable Society”.

By 1732 Forrest was married, and later on, when a widower, he moved to York Buildings, next door to John Thornhill, and lived there for over forty years with his son. It was a rendezvous for artists and actors and friends with a taste like theirs for British antiquities. Gostling was one; the antiquarian author, Captain Francis Grose, was another. In his account of the five days' peregrination, Ebenezer Forrest took pleasure in poking fun at the dry historical writings of antiquaries of the time of his youth.

In 1761, Joseph Highmore, on the marriage of his daughter Susanne to the Rev. John Dunscombe, of Canterbury, retired from his profession, sold his collection of pictures, and in 1762 removed to their home at Canterbury, where he spent the rest of his life. He died in March, 1780, and was buried in the Cathedral.

No evidence regarding a connection between Joseph and Canterbury in or prior to 1732 has come to light, but it does seem possible that there may have been one via Wm. Hogarth, Ebenezer Forrest and Wm. Gostling.

The Piazza in Covent Garden at the period we are considering is historically interesting, for in the *London Post* of January 19th, 1741-42, we read:—

“A few days since died aged 70 years Anthony Sayer, Esq., who was Grand Master of the most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in 1717. His corpse was followed by a great number of Gentlemen of that Honourable Society of the best quality from the Shakespeare's Head Tavern in the Piazza in Covent Garden and decently interred in Covent Garden Church.”

**QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE, 1953**

Province or County	Individual Members	Corporate Bodies	Total	Lodges in District
London	392	57	449	1543
Bedford	6	--	6	23
Berkshire	13	3	16	50
Bristol	31	1	32	30
Buckinghamshire	11	—	11	59
Cambridgeshire	11	1	12	15
Cheshire	14	2	16	266
Cornwall	12	1	13	46
Cumberland and Westmoreland	14	2	16	53
Derbyshire	6	1	7	52
Devonshire	55	12	67	112
Dorsetshire	7	2	9	25
Durham -- North	30	47	77	90 157
Durham -- South	11	2	13	
Essex	44	4	48	203
Gloucestershire	16	2	18	36
Hampshire and Isle of Wight	42	16	58	129
Hereford and Monmouth	9	—	9	30
Hertfordshire	22	2	24	103
Kent -- East and South	76	59	135	178 216
Kent -- North-West	33	10	43	
Lancashire -- East	43	3	46	88 739
Lancashire -- West	40	2	42	
Leicestershire and Rutland	15	3	18	39
Lincolnshire	13	7	20	44
Middlesex	69	5	74	146
Norfolk	3	3	6	41
Northants. and Huntingdonshire	16	4	20	39
Nottinghamshire	14	2	16	63
Northumberland	35	5	40	169
Oxfordshire	11	—	11	25
Shropshire	5	7	12	26
Somersetshire	48	3	51	52
Staffordshire	32	15	47	73
Suffolk	14	2	16	39
Surrey -- East	53	2	55	122 226
Surrey -- North	41	6	47	
Surrey -- South-West	18	2	20	65 107
Sussex -- Brighton	17	1	18	
Sussex -- East	24	3	27	
Sussex -- West	19	1	20	
Wales -- North	6	--	6	68
Wales -- South	27	3	30	120
Warwickshire	69	5	74	151
Wiltshire	8	2	10	24
Worcestershire	42	2	44	87
Yorkshire -- North Riding	20	3	23	177 259
Yorkshire -- East Riding	26	7	33	
Yorkshire -- West Riding	42	14	56	
Yorkshire -- Bradford	15	—	15	
Yorkshire -- Leeds	16	3	19	
Yorkshire -- Sheffield	30	1	31	

At the subsequent dinner, "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" was proposed by the I.P.M., Bro. J. R. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., in the following terms:—

BRETHREN,

It is of interest to note that your new Master, like his predecessor, is an electrical engineer, and as such may be expected to display that precise habit of mind which marks the technologist. We shall not be disappointed.

The ritual of the Installation ceremony contains what an engineer might call a detailed specification of a good Master. I affirm that our Master complies fully with that specification in every material particular. He is of good report; he is held in high esteem by us all. He is exemplary in character, courteous in manner, easy of address and has all the special qualities which fit him for the task he now undertakes. We who have come to know him as a colleague in office do not doubt that to-day a worthy and distinguished Brother has achieved the hall-mark of Masonic scholarship.

Bro. Pope was born in Canterbury in 1885, his father being a prominent citizen, who became Mayor of Canterbury after the first world war. Bro. Pope was educated at the Simon Langton School, and was subsequently articled to the City Electrical Engineer of his home town. During the war he spent five years in the Royal Navy, having been a member of the London Division of the Royal Naval Volunteers.

After demobilisation, he devoted himself to electrical work, and in 1931 accepted an appointment with the Central Electricity Board, from which he retired a few years ago.

His father initiated him into Freemasonry in 1918 in the Royal Military Lodge No. 1449, Canterbury. He reached the Chair twenty years later and became a Provincial Grand Steward in 1945, joining the Kent Provincial Grand Stewards' Lodge No. 5866. In 1946 he was founder of the Binnewith Lodge No. 6338. His lifelong interest in Masonic study began with his initiation, and received recognition with his appointment as Assistant Librarian of the Library and Museum of the Province of Kent in 1931, and his promotion to the position of Librarian in 1945. He is now Past Provincial Grand Registrar.

In the Royal Arch he was exalted in 1931 in the Bertha Chapter No. 31, becoming First Principal in 1944. He holds the rank of Past Provincial Grand Sojourner in the Province of Kent. In the Mark Degree he is a P.M. of St. Martin's Lodge No. 262, a member of the Kent Installed Masters' Lodge and a Past Provincial Grand Warden. He has also passed the Chair in the Royal Ark Mariners.

Our own Correspondence Circle welcomed him as a member in 1937, and in the work which he commenced three years later as our Local Secretary for Kent, he has been remarkably successful. His election to full membership of the Lodge took place in 1940.

His services as a lecturer on Masonic subjects have been in great demand all over the country for many years. He has also written some excellent papers for our *Transactions*, notably:—

*Freemasonry in Canterbury, 1795 to 1809*

*The Province of Kent, 1769 to 1785*

*The Carpenters' Company of the City of Canterbury*

*Military Lodges in East Kent*

*Freemasonry in Iceland* (written in conjunction with Bro. Einal Loftsson)

Brethren, this is a worthy and distinguished record. We wish our new Master health and strength to continue in his exemplary work, and in particular in the arduous task with which we have now entrusted him.



## FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1954

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), W.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; N. Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., D.C.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; H. Carr, L.G.R., I.G.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. D. Elvidge, A. I. Sharp, G. Holloway, H. N. Davies, S. Naphthine, L. Lucker, R. A. Pratley, B. Jacobs, F. M. Shaw, F. Holt, E. J. Griffin, W. Patrick, W. H. Stanyon, R. N. Birley, R. Gold, P. P. Williams, H. S. Buffery, H. Chilton, F. L. Bradshaw, L. J. Verney, M. R. Wagner, J. D. Daymond, A. F. Cross, C. Madison Roberts, E. R. Edwards, S. E. Odamtten, R. W. Reynolds-Davies, T. W. Marsh, A. G. Dennis, A. R. Gutteridge, E. E. Worthington, S. W. Mills, W. L. Harnett, B. Foskett, W. J. Henson, R. E. Lavers, A. F. Ford and J. R. Acworth.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. D. Colaro Osorio, Lodge 185; L. S. Young, Lodge 7044; J. Foster Petree, Lodge 1584; A. Taylor, Lodge 3181; and W. R. Osborne, Lodge 5576.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, Pr.G.Sec. (Co. Down); J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Waples, P.Pr.G.R. (Durham); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D.; G. Brett, *M.A.*; and G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland.

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One Library, one Masonic Association, one Study Group, nine Lodges and fifty-eight Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

### PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 1st January, 1954.

*Present*:—Bro. S. Pope, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. Ivor Grantham, C. C. Adams, Lewis Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, B. W. Oliver, H. Carr, J. R. Dashwood, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1953

BRETHREN,

We have to record with great regret the death of no fewer than five members of the Lodge: our Senior Past Master, Bro. J. Heron Lepper, died on 26th December, 1952; Bros. J. Johnstone and E. H. Cartwright in February, 1953; Bro. H. Hiram Hallett, P.M., in March; and Bro. A. E. Evans, J.D., in June.

We also regret to have to record the resignation of Bro. Col. F. M. Rickard, Secretary of the Lodge from 1938 to 1948, during all the difficult years of the War, who again came to the assistance of the Lodge after the death of Bro. Poole in February, 1951.

No new Members were elected during the year, and the total membership at the end of October stood at 25.

The Lodge has been favoured by the acceptance of Honorary Membership by the Grand Master, M.W. Bro. the Earl of Scarbrough, K.G.

Two volumes of the *Transactions* have been issued—Vol. LXIV, to end October, 1951, and Vol. LXV, to end October, 1952—and it is hoped that Vol. LXVI, to end October, 1953, can be published before June, bringing our *Transactions* almost as closely up-to-date as is feasible.

Five hundred and fifty-six new Members have been admitted to our Correspondence Circle; against these figures, we have lost 180, as compared with 229 last year; 87 by resignation, 60 by death, and 33 lapsed. This leaves a net membership of 3,348 at the close of the year.

We record with gratitude the gift by the R.W.M., Wardens and Brethren of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1 of a microfilm of their first two minute-books, which are of incalculable interest to students. We have also to thank Bro. H. Carr for the Edinburgh Rolls of Apprentices and Burgesses, published by the Scottish Record Society.

After fifteen years' service, Bro. G. H. Ruddle, our Tyler, expressed his wish to retire on account of increasing age and ill-health. He was voted a retiring honorarium.

We are glad to report that owing to the satisfactory influx of new members to the Correspondence Circle, the accounts show a profit of £1,400 on the year's working, and it is hoped that next year will see the disappearance of the large deficit with which we have been burdened for so long. The only item in the accounts that we have to regret is the amount of subscriptions outstanding at the end of the year, £404, as compared with £354 last year; but even this is a material reduction on previous years, and for this we have to thank our Local Secretaries, as well as for all they have done in obtaining new members. Bro. A. Horne, of California, heads the list with 39 new members; our own Bro. Pope comes next with 37, and Bro. M. J. B. Montargis with a further 21 from Hongkong. Among other Brethren who have introduced a large number of new members is Bro. G. C. Kingscott, who, acting in concert with our Local Secretary, Bro. J. G. Naismith, has brought in a further 28. We greatly regret to record the death in his 71st year of Bro. W. J. Westwood, P.A.G.D.C., who had done excellent work as our Local Secretary for Natal.

For the Committee,

S. POPE,

In the Chair.

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## BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st OCTOBER, 1953

LIABILITIES				ASSETS					
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>Life Members Fund—</i>									
As per last Balance Sheet ... ..	1202	15	6						
Less transferred to Profit and Loss Account as resolved by the Committee	1202	15	6						
<i>Subscriptions in Advance (Net)—</i>									
1954 ... ..	585	0	8						
1955 ... ..	81	3	9						
1956 ... ..	22	12	9						
1957 ... ..	3	3	0						
				692	0	2			
<i>Sundry Creditors, being payments in advance ... ..</i>				234	15	0			
<i>Reserve for Publications—</i>									
1952 ... ..	40	0	0						
1953 ... ..	1100	0	0						
				1140	0	0			
Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions, as per contra, subject to realisation				404	16	5			
<i>S.C.S. Fund Reserve—</i>									
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	1297	16	9						
Add Interest on P.O. Savings Bank ...	34	16	3						
Interest on Defence Bonds ... ..	16	0	3						
	1348	13	3						
Less Withdrawals from P.O.S.B. for Pension ...	208	0	0						
Ditto for Income Tax to 5th April, 1953 ... ..	61	2	3						
	269	2	3						
				1079	11	0			
<i>Furniture Reserve Account—</i>									
Proceeds of sale of Museum, etc. ...	210	0	0						
Less Expenditure on Book Cases, etc. .	63	14	10						
				146	5	2			
<i>Repairs Reserve Account—</i>									
Balance as per last Balance Sheet (Sundry Creditors) ...	210	16	1						
Add Rent received .	40	0	0						
	250	16	1						
Less Expended on repairs ... ..	35	6	0						
				215	10	1			
<i>Lodge Account—</i>									
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	92	6	7						
Add Subscriptions ...	58	16	0						
	151	2	7						
Less Expenses ...	101	10	3						
				49	12	4			
				£3,962	10	2			
							£3,962	10	2

*Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.*

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1953

DR.			CR.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	1503	15	0	By Profit, C.C.—		
.. Lighting and Heating	83	6	3	1953 (est.)	1848	19 8
.. Stationery	253	16	8	1952	733	4 7
.. Postages	287	15	6	1951	52	17 10
.. Office Cleaning	27	4	11	1950	17	12 3
.. Insurance (Fire and Burglary)	17	18	8	1949	2	2 0
.. Ditto—National	68	8	6			
.. Telephone	17	13	4		2654	16 4
.. Carriage and Sundries	75	9	5	.. Back Transactions	296	14 6
.. Local Expenses	16	15	3	.. Lodge Publications	62	7 3
.. Library	43	11	4	.. Various Publications	102	9 9
.. Propaganda	7	6	6	.. Joining Fees	568	1 0
				.. Interest and Discounts	76	17 7
				.. Publication Fund	80	8 2
Total	2403	1	4			
.. Profit for year	1438	13	3			
	£3,841	14	7			
					£3,841	14 7
To Balance on Nov. 1st, 1952	3311	8	11	By Profit for year b/d.	1438	13 3
				.. Life Membership written off	1202	15 6
				.. Balance to Balance Sheet	670	0 2
	£3,311	8	11			
					£3,311	8 11

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture or the Stock of Publications, and is subject to the realisation of the 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. I have ascertained that the amounts of £79 11s. 0d., Savings Bank, and £1,000, 3½% Defence Bonds, are held in the Post Office in the name of the Trustees, and have verified the balance at the Westminster Bank, New Oxford Street.

ROBERT H. McLEOD,  
35, Great James Street,  
Bedford Row, W.C.1.

30th November, 1953

On the motion of the Treasurer, seconded by Bro. C. C. Adams, a sum of Ten Guineas was voted from Lodge Funds to the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls, to be placed on the Master's list for the 1954 Festival.

Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

## EXHIBITS:—

From the Library of Grand Lodge—

The Engraved List for 1738.

Photograph of a mid-fifteenth century Tapestry (Tournai) portraying "Geometria".

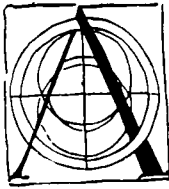
Lent by Bro. B. W. Oliver—

Several Drawings and Memoranda copied by Bro. Crewys, P.Dep.Pr.G.M. (Devon).

An interesting paper, entitled *Masters' Lodges and their Place in Pre-Union History*, was read by Bro. BERNARD E. JONES, P.A.G.D.C., as follows:—

## MASTERS' LODGES AND THEIR PLACE IN PRE-UNION HISTORY

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



MASTERS' LODGE within the meaning of this paper was a Lodge complementary or supplementary to a constituted Lodge. Bro. Hughan called it "a lodge within a lodge". Its work in the first half of the eighteenth century was to raise Fellow Crafts to the Third Degree and its right and authority to do that work was derived from the Lodge to which it was complementary. (In this paper, for the sake of brevity, the constituted Lodge to which the Masters' Lodge was attached will often be called the "parent lodge"). It is not known that any Masters' Lodge was especially, that is individually, constituted by Grand Lodge, although, *in general*, the Masters' Lodge is believed to have had its own separate membership and minutes.

It will be seen that Masters' Lodges within the purview of this paper are distinguished from ordinary Lodges meeting in the Third Degree (in this paper, called "Third Degree Lodges"), but it is difficult at times to draw a hard line between the two. The ordinary Lodge opened in the Third Degree is a true Masters' Lodge, but the Lodges with which this paper is properly concerned must be regarded as simply Masters' Lodges and nothing more, even though on occasions they may have Initiated and Passed a Candidate (and generally had to apologise to the parent Lodge for their lapse). In a period in which Lodges assumed much independence and practised countless variations in their methods and workings, it is to be expected that the rules under which the Masters' Lodges did their work must have been very diverse.

### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In the literature of our subject, Bro. W. J. Hughan's *The Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry* affords a useful introduction, but the most valuable contribution is John Lane's paper, *Masters' Lodges*, in Vol. i of *A.Q.C.*; he had brought to light many new facts, and although his paper was read so far back as 1888, nothing better or as good has since been produced, or is likely to be, pending the emergence of fresh information. Bro. W. J. Hughan's paper, May, 1894, entitled, *The Masters' Lodge at Exeter (A.Q.C., Vol. vii)*, reproduced actual minutes of the Masters' Lodge held at the Half Moon, Exeter, late in the eighteenth century and these throw welcome light on the relationship between the parent and the Masters' Lodge. Bro. Arthur Heiron's paper, *Masters' Lodges (A.Q.C., Vol. xxxix)*, included an abbreviated list of Masters' Lodges (based on John Lane's). This list is marred by errors and omissions, but his paper is of value for its reproduction of minutes of old Lodges with which Masters' Lodges were associated, these including Old Kings' Arms Lodge No. 28 and Dundee Lodge No. 9, at Wapping. Notes scattered through *A.Q.C.* volumes and a number of references in Lodge histories add somewhat to our information, but we have progressed but little towards any real understanding of a somewhat tantalising subject since John Lane read his admirable paper to an early meeting of this Lodge. The present paper adds nothing to the known facts, unfortunately, and can be regarded as merely surveying the existing meagre evidence and attempting to draw some inferences, all of them open to argument.

The official intimation that a Masters' Lodge existed, is seldom more than a note in the Engraved Lists and later in other Lists of Lodges—just the words, "A Master's Lodge", and the day of meeting added to the announcement of the Craft Lodge. The Constitutions of 1738 give bare mention to eleven Masters' Lodges, all of which, however, are included in the Engraved Lists.

The list of Masters' Lodges given in an appendix to this paper provides a brief resumé of John Lane's information on the Masters' Lodges up to 1813 known to him, to which have been added a few that have since come to light. Lack of space forbids any attempt to treat these Masters' Lodges individually, even were material available, and their minutes, available in only very few instances, although helping towards an understanding of the relationship

between the Masters' Lodges and their Craft Lodges, reveal nothing of the ceremonies worked in them.

John Lane admits that the thirty-six Lodges in his list could not have comprised any considerable proportion of the Lodges that worked the Third Degree separate from the general Lodge. Hughan, in his *Origin of the English Rite*, is of much the same opinion and says, "of forty-seven lodges chartered (in 1733) in the provinces, those at Norwich, Lincoln, Bath, Bury and other places worked the Third Degree, yet the *Book of Constitutions* (1738) does not credit one of them with a Masters' Lodge". He is strongly of the opinion that all English Lodges at that time believed they had the power to work the Third Degree, but Lane makes the obvious point that every Lodge working that degree was not as a matter of course entitled to the special designation "Masters' Lodge".

The theory that only the Lodges that are mentioned in the Engraved Lists as Masters' Lodges were allowed to work the Third Degree is untenable. Unfortunately, the earliest existing Lodge warrants are not earlier than 1732. I feel that all constituted Lodges had the power to work the degree, no special documents authorising Masters' Lodges to do so having been discovered. "Evidently none was needed", says Bro. Hughan. Although the complementary Masters' Lodges had no separate warrants, paid no separate fees to Grand Lodge and sent no representatives there, there is nothing to show that they had not all the power or authority they needed, and it is not known that a warrant for working the Third Degree exclusively was ever issued. Bro. Hughan thought it remarkable that the Masters' Lodge is not met with in any List of Lodges until 1733 and then in Dr. Rawlinson's manuscript list; probably he was arguing from the known references to the Third Degree in the 1720's and assuming that some general awareness of the existence of the degree would have made itself felt before 1733. He gave, perhaps, too much importance to the early references and not enough to the publication of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, which, in 1730, focussed interest on the new degree, and in the light of which the dates of the earliest recorded Masters' Lodges seem to be more or less what one might expect. (By the way, it is difficult, I feel, to entertain any suggestion — *A.Q.C.*, Vol. ix., p. 189 — that the origin of the Masters' Lodge is to be found in early fifteenth century operative practice).

#### THE NEED MET BY THE EARLY MASTERS' LODGES

While, obviously, the coming of the Masters' Lodge was incidental to the development and growing popularity of the Third Degree, it is outside the present intention to trace that development, for to do so would be to enter into an old but never ending controversy, which would consume all the available space and probably get us nowhere. But it is hoped that we can agree that most Lodges in the 1720's and 1730's discovered in the Hiram Degree something new and that but few of them would be able to work the ceremony. Not only did it come to them as something new, but as something vastly more mysterious, more dramatic, and also, quite certainly more difficult to comprehend and assimilate. Very little indeed in the earlier degrees had prepared the mind of the Freemason for what he was to find in the Third Degree and the new ritual must have presented peculiar difficulties even to Brethren really anxious to become familiar with it.

Apart from any slight help possibly given by irregular prints, Brethren could only hope to learn the new ritual from oral instruction, a condition that must have severely limited for a decade or so the number of Brethren competent to work the degree. The absence of printed rituals or *aides memoire* was an important factor. Before Brethren could practise the new degree they had need to see it worked many, many times and possibly to obtain individual instruction, and accordingly there must have been, for many years, a tendency to leave its working in the hands of specially skilled Brethren.

It is accepted that the publication in 1730 of some details of the degree by Prichard in his *Masonry Dissected*, a book that was eagerly bought by the public and undoubtedly, too, by Masons all over the country, was instrumental in spreading a knowledge of the "Master's Part", and we may agree, I hope, that in the course of a few years, there would be a great many Fellow Crafts extremely anxious to be given the new degree and it would follow that, in many localities, a few Brethren who had been privileged to receive it and had found time to devote to its study, would set themselves up as preceptors and prevail upon their Lodge to add a Masters' Lodge working in close association with it. Details of the arrangements made would vary considerably, but the few minutes that have come down to us contain, in my opinion, little of an unexpected nature.

Whether the complementary Masters' Lodge generally found the whole of its Candidates in its parent Lodge is open to much doubt; for instance, Lodge No. 68 met in 1736-39 at the "Vine", Long Acre, on the second and fourth Wednesdays, while its Masters' Lodge met on the first and third Sundays; Lodge No. 151 met in those same years at the "Black Dog", Seven Dials, on the second and fourth Mondays, but its Masters' Lodge met every Sunday. Put in the simplest terms, four meetings per month, at which both First and Second ceremonies were worked, could hardly have sent forward enough candidates to provide work for six,

sometimes seven, meetings of a Masters' Lodge. Only if it received candidates from quite a few ordinary Lodges could a Masters' Lodge (especially in a day when not all Fellowcrafts wished to proceed further) meet from twice to five times each month and find enough work.

The fact that not all Fellow Crafts in the early 1730's felt it necessary to take the Third Degree must have meant that few Lodges, if any, would require to open in the Third Degree as often as in the lower ones. We are all familiar with the statement that "there is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the expense to pass the Master's part". Lodge No. 71 meeting at The Rose, Cheapside, London, in one of its bye-laws dated 1732, used the phrase, "The Superior Degree of Masonry", to imply the Second, not the Third Degree. There was a long period in the eighteenth century during which, as is well known, a mere Fellow Craft could fill the highest offices in his Lodge or even in Grand Lodge.

The early Fellow Craft must have tended to look upon the Hiramite Degree as a sublime experience to which he might aspire, but which he had yet to be convinced was essential to his completion as a symbolic Mason, and this, again, would be reflected in the sense of separateness with which Lodges viewed the third ceremony and which led a number of them to leave its presentation to complementary Masters' Lodges.

#### PLACE AND DAY OF MEETING

In general, the complementary Masters' Lodge met in the same place as its Craft Lodge. Any superficial impression that Masters' Lodges commonly met in private rooms is not supported by the records. Kings Arms Lodge met in 1736 at the house of Martin Clare and apparently the Masters' Lodge at Dundee Arms, Wapping New Stairs, met for some years as from 1764 in a private room in Red Lion Street, Wapping. It is known, too, that the Masters' Lodge at Exeter met in a private room in Theatre Lane from 1781-83. There are probably other instances, but there is no evidence of any general practice of the kind, although old minutes occasionally speak of a Masters' Lodge, meaning, however, the constituted Lodge opened in the Third Degree, being held in a private house.

A Masters' Lodge did not usually meet on the same evening as its parent Lodge; in the 1730's, for example, all but five of those known to exist met on Sundays, but in no instance is the constituted Lodge—the First and Second Degree Lodge—known to have done so as a regular course. It is sometimes taken for granted that Masters' Lodges generally met on Sundays; that is true of the Lodges of the 1730's, but only one later Lodge, Old Dundee, is recorded as meeting on Sundays and that was in the 1750's and 1760's, after which date until the Union, when Masters' Lodges finally disappeared, there is not one recorded Sunday meeting. Constituted Lodges are not unknown, of course, to have held their Third Degree Lodges on Sundays.

#### CERTAIN MASTERS' LODGES NOT WHOLLY DETACHED

A great many ordinary Lodges as they became skilled enough themselves to work the Third Degree naturally, of course, did so, but the old terms tended to remain in use and so during much of the eighteenth century Lodge minutes often refer to a Third Degree Lodge as a Masters' Lodge or Lodge of Masters, or Masters' Night, and there long remained a custom of setting apart a special evening for it. Thus, only one year before the Union, we find the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge deciding to abolish "Master's Nights and to continue the crafts lodge throughout the year".

Often it is extremely difficult to determine whether a particular Masters' Lodge was merely a Third Degree Lodge or a true complementary Lodge, and where John Lane was compelled to express his doubts, lesser students may be forgiven if they are equally uncertain. The existence of separate minutes would be almost, but not quite a touchstone, but in only a few cases are such minutes available. Originally I had intended to discuss a number of these border-line cases, but space not permitting of that course, I am simply naming them in the Appendix to this paper. Many of them are dealt with at length in John Lane's paper.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF MASTERS' LODGES TO THEIR CONSTITUTED LODGES

Whilst some Masters' Lodges, the four earliest known and identified in Rawlinson's List of Lodges for 1733 as Nos. 115, 116, 117 and 120, may possibly have established themselves as quite separate entities (Lane thought that they had done so, but the evidence leaves room for doubt), it is known that they were not constituted by, or paid fees to, Grand Lodge and did not attend Quarterly Communication. John Lane believed them to be unique. However, on his own showing, the associations and probable parentage of Nos. 115, 116 and 117 are fairly well agreed (they are given in the Appendix), but No. 120, meeting at Oatés Coffee House, Great Wild Street, is not known to have had a parent Lodge nor, on the other hand, not to have had one. Most Masters' Lodges—perhaps all but one of those known to us—had parent Lodges and worked in some sort of relationship with them. The early Masters'

Lodges could not have been irregular, but Grand Lodge awareness of their existence did not extend so far as to give them a separate constitution and registration.

It is to be expected that the degree and nature of the relationship would vary considerably, each Lodge being more or less a law unto itself. It may well be assumed that when the minutes of both the parent and the Masters' Lodge were kept in the same book, as in the case of the Maid's Head Lodge, Norwich, the relationship was of a very close order, but this is a Masters' Lodge whose detached existence is not proved. The Masters' Lodge at Exeter kept its own minutes, but its relationship with the constituted Lodge was extremely close, for it resolved on 9th January, 1781, that "no member should be a subscriber to this Lodge who is not a subscriber to the Crafts Lodge", that is, the Masters' Lodge drew its members from the parent Lodge only.

In the Old King's Arms Lodge, quoting from Bro. John Lane's review of Calvert's *History of that Lodge (A.Q.C., xii, p. 179)*, "the Minutes show that in October, 1733, three brethren 'made it their joynt Request to the Lodge that they would be pleased, in regard the Master Lodge was just opening, that they might have the favour of being admitted to that dignity', afterwards referred to as 'this High Order of Masonry', and in November, 1734, 'An invitation from the Masters Lodge to the Masters of the Constituted Lodge to become members, or at least Visitors thereof, was proposed and affectionately recommended from the Chair, to which the members seemed very attentive', all obviously having reference", believed John Lane "to a new Ceremonial, and one that could not have existed for very many years . . . The host of the King's Arms, Bro. Bentley, in 1773 presented the Lodge with a copper-plate 'the print whereof purports [to be] a Summons of Members to attend the duties of their Lodge', and obtained permission from the Lodge to send these Summonses himself 'to the abodes of each of the members *both of the Fellow Craft and Masters Lodge* the day before the assembling of the same'. Here, again", says John Lane, "the reference is to the King's Arms Lodge as the *Fellow Crafts* and to the Masters' Lodge as that Special Organisation which met in the same building for the working of the Third Degree".

On this question of separate membership, much would depend on whether the Masters' Lodge served one particular constituted Lodge or whether it took its candidates from a number of Lodges. We are left to conjecture whether Candidates coming in from other Lodges generally entered into membership of the Masters' Lodge, or whether they just came and paid their fee, received the degree and, in many cases, were not seen again.

Undoubtedly many Masters' Lodges were managed by their parent Lodges, which in some cases nominated their officers.

The extent to which the Masters' Lodge occasionally infringed the rights and rules of the parent Lodge would naturally depend on human factors, the relative strengths of the two bodies, etc. Instances are known of the Masters' Lodge being called to account for having made and passed Masons, when its particular function, of course, was to raise them. Dundee Lodge No. 9, at Wapping, in the year 1767, forbade its Masters' Lodge to be used "on account of makings". In the Old King's Arms Lodge, No. 28, in March, 1744-45, Bro. Bennet had been "Made a Mason in a Lodge of Masters only, & therefore contrary to our present Constitution", and it was, therefore, agreed that he "be regularly Initiated in this Lodge". Nineteen days later "Bro. Bennet, a Candidate for Membership, was Ballotted for which was carried and he put on his cloathing accordingly". It does not appear that he was re-initiated, but that the new ballot gave regularity to the earlier proceedings.

#### THE "SCOTCH MASONS' LODGE" OF 1733

It has been mentioned that the first four Masters' Lodges known (those of 1733-36; see Appendix) bore their own numbers, although they had not paid fees to, or had been constituted by, Grand Lodge. The first of the four, No. 115, was that at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, and is described in the Engraved List as "A Scotch Masons' Lodge", a description that led Bros. John Lane and W. J. Hughan to question whether the Lodge might have been composed of Masons from Scotland or might have been working in some peculiarly Scottish way. Bro. R. F. Gould (*History*, Vol. iii, p. 92) said that the Scottish Degree seemed to have sprung up about 1740 in all parts of France. However, the minutes of some English Lodges in the years immediately before 1740, mention the degree of Scots Master, thought to have had its origin in France and associated by some students with the Jacobite movement. Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity, 17th June, 1740, state, "the following [nine] Members of this Lodge . . . were this Evening made Scotch Master Masons . . ." and as several, if not all, of those entered were Master Masons, the degree of Scottish Master must have been something different from the degree they had already received. A very early reference is in the minutes of the Bear Lodge, Bath, October, 1735: "The Lodge of Masters met Extraordinary & our following worthy Broth<sup>rs</sup> were made & admitted *Scots Mas<sup>r</sup> Masons*". Scattered through the minutes of various Lodges during the eighteenth century

are references to the Scots Masters' Degree, but without any indication of its nature. There has been much discussion and all of it in vain. We appear to know nothing more, so far as England is concerned, than that a Scots Masters' Degree or degrees were worked in some Craft Lodges in the eighteenth century and that one (very early) Masters' Lodge was described as a "Scotch Mason's Lodge"; we may well conjecture, therefore, that there were Masters' Lodges working a so-called Scots Master Degree—and that is all.

#### THE FADING OUT OF THE EARLY GROUP OF MASTERS' LODGES

As from 1739, the Engraved Lists ceased, for some unknown reason, to carry any intimation of Masters' Lodges. All mention of them disappeared, but it is idle to suppose that the dozen or so that had been meeting on Sunday evenings—for the most part on *every* Sunday evening—for some years would suddenly cease to exist. It is more likely that many or all of them carried on for a time, but that by the 1750 period—that is, ten or eleven years later—most of them had gone, Lodges now finding themselves able to work the Third Degree, as instanced by the minutes of a weak Lodge that met at the Queen's Head, Cavendish Square; it was constituted on 5th November, 1753, and opened its first Masters' Lodge, that is, the ordinary Third Degree Lodge, "in due form" on 30th December of that same year, three Brethren being Raised Masters, each paying a fee of 6/-. So weak was this Lodge that its first regular meeting following the Consecration was attended by only five members, with two visitors, but it was able to raise its own Initiates—reasonably good evidence of the condition reached by the middle of the century, the Hiramic Degree being by that time no longer regarded as something beyond the ability of any ordinary Lodge to comprehend and work. That degree had now been more or less generally practised for up to twenty years or more; a working knowledge of it was continually extending, and it follows that, at some time about the middle of the century, the majority of ordinary Lodges would be raising their own Brethren. The purpose of the Masters' Lodge had thus disappeared or was rapidly doing so, and obviously the Masters' Lodge of the day had itself to go. What must have been a general trend is well shown by the decision of the Old King's Arms Lodge, late in 1745, to cease holding their Masters' Lodge and for the future to perform the ceremony of "Raising a Master" in their Craft Lodge. Other minutes in support could be quoted. Obviously the Hiramic Degree had earned general recognition as an integral part of the Masonic order.

#### THE SECOND GROUP OF MASTERS' LODGES: THEIR POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP TO THE HOLY ROYAL ARCH, ETC.

So far as the records go, there were but two Masters' Lodges working in the 1750's (both in London), and these heralded in a new group. In the 1760's six new English Masters' Lodges are recorded—only one of them in London; one in each of the following towns: Chippenham, Fakenham, Leeds and Plymouth; and one—Dunkerley's Lodge—on board His Majesty's Ship the "Guadaloupe", Plymouth. In the 1770's one each at Plymouth, Devonport and Exeter. In the 1780's there were two newcomers, one in London and one in Sunderland. In the 1790's, five, all in London, and in the very early 1800's, three, all in London. How many unrecorded Masters' Lodges were working during this period can only be guessed at. At no time in the 1750-1813 period were more than twelve Masters' Lodges recorded at work, and for much of the time only seven.

The fact that the Masters' Lodges of the second half of the century were founded when the Hiramic Degree had undoubtedly become part of the customary Lodge ceremonial obliges us to ask what was the particular need that called them into being and what degrees or ceremonies did they work? There are no sure answers. It is hardly credible that the second group supplied anything lacking in the normal working of ordinary three-degree Lodges. As late as 1804 (after which year their numbers speedily declined) up to eleven or twelve Masters' Lodges were recorded as working, about half of them meeting monthly and the other half quarterly, so that the total number of meetings per annum did not exceed about one hundred. What could one hundred meetings do to satisfy any possible Craft requirements of 350 to 400 Lodges of the "Moderns", each of these Lodges meeting many, many times each year? We are well-nigh driven to assume that all or most of these Masters' Lodges were concerned with the working of additional degrees of some kind or other, or that their purpose or part of it may have been to enable some (far from all, I feel) of the candidates for exaltation in the Royal Arch to "Pass the Chair". The inference is well-nigh inescapable that in general the two groups—that of the 1730's and that of the second half of the century—answered distinctly different needs. Masters' Lodges of the early group met mostly every Sunday, some of them once a fortnight, only three of them as seldom as once a month. We feel we do know their function—it was to raise Fellow Crafts to the Third Degree. Later than the 1730's there is not on record one instance of a Masters' Lodge meeting every week or even once a fortnight.

In the 1760's, six met once a month and one every two months. In the 1770's, all seven known to be working met once a month. In the 1780's, five of the six met once a month and one quarterly. In the 1790's, nine Lodges were at work, three of them meeting every month and six of them meeting every quarter; and at different times in, not all through by any means, the period 1800-1813, eleven Lodges were at work, five of them meeting monthly and six of them meeting quarterly.

The great disparity in the frequency of meeting between the early group and the later one is a factor supporting the assumption that the two groups had different purposes, and that the function of the later one was to instruct Master Masons in matters not within the scope of the three Craft Degrees.

But we have no excuse for rushing to one particular conclusion: it is far too easily taken for granted that the Royal Arch Degree was taught and practised in the Masters' Lodges, but Bro. Heron Lepper's warning must not go unheeded. In the discussion following Bro. Heiron's paper (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxix), he said: "I think we have been given no evidence whatsoever that the Holy Royal Arch had anything to do with Masters' Lodges. I do not deny the possibility, but we have been given no evidence." That still sums up the position: The argument may or may not point to certain conclusions, "but we have been given no evidence", no positive, definite evidence.

The Grand Lodge of the "Antients" permitted its ordinary Lodges to work the Royal Arch Degree under their Craft warrants, and many students have come to the conclusion, right or wrong, that the Masters' Lodge was a ruse by Brethren of the "Moderns" for acquiring knowledge of a degree that was officially frowned upon by their own Grand Lodge; although the "Moderns" had, perhaps as an astute gesture, brought into being the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter in July, 1766, they are generally supposed long to have continued to regard the Royal Arch with hostility, and it is reasonable to assume that had their attitude not considerably softened during the late decades of the century there would have been bleak prospects of any union of the two opposed bodies.

Before anyone can simply take for granted that the Masters' Lodges chiefly practised the Royal Arch, he must face up to the question: Why did not the Brethren in the "Moderns" Lodges go for exaltation to their own *Chapters*? There were a great many of those Chapters, so many more than has generally been supposed. In 1769, about three years after the "Moderns" Grand Chapter had been formed, nine Chapters had been authorised. In the next four years came thirteen more; by the year 1800 the number had grown to approximately 126; and in the final thirteen years preceding the Union, sixty-nine Chapters were added, making the total of pre-Union Chapters founded or authorised approximately 195—truly a considerable number, of which, however, only about sixty-seven survived the Union. We may reasonably suppose that at the turn of the century the "Moderns" had at least from forty to sixty Chapters at work in London and throughout the country. Many of the Chapters had only a short life, and apparently only thirty-two or so of the sixty-nine or so founded in the 1801-1813 period were working after the Union.

But this fact remains: while in the 1800-1813 period the "Moderns" founded, say, sixty-nine Chapters, it was in that same period that their recorded Masters' Lodges finally disappeared! We may feel that coming events were casting their shadows before (not only in the ranks of the "Moderns", as we shall see later). We are entitled, I think, to draw the inference that the "Moderns'" official dislike of the Royal Arch had finally dissembled itself or had even changed to regard and esteem, and that the Brethren in the "Moderns" Lodges had for many years prior to the Union been quite free to join the Chapters in which, maybe—and only maybe—the ceremonies some of them may have learnt in the Masters' Lodges would be more adequately presented.

With the coming of the Union, the United Grand Lodge made, in December, 1813, its oft-quoted pronouncement that pure Ancient Masonry consisted of the three Craft degrees and included the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch. The last of the Masters' Lodges disappeared, and the Royal Arch Chapters, after marking time for three years, grew rapidly in numbers and popularity; even of the Chapters still in existence to-day, there were apparently about 100 on the register by the year 1824, of which fifty-one had been founded by the "Moderns", twenty-three by the "Antients" and twenty-six by the new United Grand Lodge.

Certain serious difficulties present themselves in reviewing the decline of the Masters' Lodges. If, during the twenty years or so before the turn of the century, the "Moderns" had, say, at least two score of Chapters at work, as they fairly certainly had, what serious part, if any, could have been played in the dissemination of the Royal Arch by their Masters' Lodges, which at no time in that period are known to have exceeded from seven to nine in number all working at the same time? But if, as we may be tempted to suppose, their Masters' Lodges worked non-Craft ceremonies *other* than the Royal Arch, why should they have disappeared immediately *before* the Union instead of immediately *after*, always assuming that in a United Grand Lodge era their continued existence would become difficult or even



impossible? But was that disappearance nothing more than an alteration of a name? Many such questions arise from the consideration of what John Lane called this "confessedly difficult and complex subject", and although, frankly, I cannot answer them, I would offer one comment: It does appear that difficulties are fewer if it be assumed that one purpose of the Masters' Lodge was to confer the Constructive Degree of Past Master. Not a vestige of evidence that such was its purpose has come my way, and against the suggestion might be urged that neither the Bylaws of the Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter (1766) nor the terms of the Charter of Compact erecting the first Grand Chapter in the same year (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. lxii) specify that a candidate for exaltation should be a Past Master; on the contrary, the Charter empowers the Grantees "to admit, pass and exalt . . . all such experienced and discreet Master Masons as they shall find worthy". Further against the suggestion is the fact that it was the "Antients" who more especially insisted on the P.M. qualification in their R.A. candidates. But some ideas and practices die hard, and it is well known that the custom of requiring the exalte to be a "Past Master" survived to a comparatively late date, and, therefore, the possibility that the Masters' Lodges were largely concerned with the conferment of the "Past Master" degree cannot be lightly dismissed.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE "ANTIENTS"?

Much is made of the fact that the "Antients", whose Grand Lodge came into official existence in 1751, did not have complementary Masters' Lodges, but it is generally overlooked that neither did the "Moderns" at that period, with only two known exceptions (the only Masters' Lodges actually known during the 1750's being those at the Dundee Arms, Wapping, and the Red Cross, Barbicon). The "Moderns" now had almost outgrown the need for them, whilst the "Antients"—regarded for the moment technically and officially as newcomers—would be unaware of the need, or even perhaps that a need ever existed.

If, as seems likely, the "Antients" were soon working the Royal Arch as a fourth degree in their Lodges, they had at first no call for any separate organisation, either Chapter or any other body, but as the century progressed they did, in fact, constitute many Chapters, far more than is commonly supposed—four in the 1760's, seven in the 1770's, twenty-three in the 1780's, and forty-nine in the 1790's. Although not one "Antients" Masters' Lodge is known, it is at least arguable that the "Antients" did, in fact, assert a considerable influence which reflected itself in the "Moderns" Lodges and Masters' Lodges, for naturally, sooner or later, Brethren of the "Moderns" would feel an urge to come together to work any attractive ceremonies, not necessarily Royal Arch, they had learned from the "Antients", and as, in most cases, they could not do so in their ordinary Lodge, then we must admit the possibility of their creating a Masters' Lodge for the purpose. Bro. Heron Lepper's well-known paper, *The Traditioners* (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. lvi), leaves us in no doubt that the traffic between Lodges of the two persuasions came to be considerable, and led ultimately to the spirit of accommodation and emulation that brought about the Union.

The "Antients" founded a Grand Chapter in 1771, but the *existing* list of its constituted Chapters does not contain one earlier than 1783, although a great many had been founded before that year. What, in this paper, has been assumed to be a trend among the "Moderns" to transfer the working of non-Craft ceremonials from the Masters' Lodges to the Chapters, etc., exclusively devoted to such ceremonials, is closely paralleled among the "Antients" during the years immediately preceding the Union. With them, too, coming events were apparently casting their shadows before! In the thirty-eight years ending 1800 they had founded or authorised about eighty-three Chapters in all, but between that year and the Union they added no less than ninety-four, as compared with the "Moderns'" number for that late period of sixty-nine. I find these figures surprising! Of all the "Antients" Chapters, only fifty-three or so survived the Union; of all the "Moderns", about sixty-seven. (These figures, calculated from a most valuable index compiled by Bro. Ivor Grantham and available in Grand Lodge Library, are substantially, but owing to some queries cannot be absolutely, correct.) It might be conjectured whether there was a two-fold purpose in founding those later Chapters—the transfer to them of Royal Arch ceremonies and the eradication of the very idea of a Fourth Degree, to which idea both sides had been strongly attached.

Ninety-four "Antients" Chapters founded in the thirteen years leading up to the Union! The "Moderns", we know for certain, made real concessions to help create an atmosphere in which difficulties could be readily discussed. Were the "Antients", in their turn, making a notable contribution to the possibility of union? Judging from the course steered, both sides seem to have anticipated the intention of a united body looming in the years ahead to insist that Craft Lodges of whatever description should work none but Craft ceremonies. Such an inference, if warranted, would point to a background of activity and friendly interchange certainly not unsuspected to-day, but very far from manifest, and would afford a clue to the final disappearance of the Masters' Lodges, for disappear they certainly did, at any rate in name, not one of them, so far as is known, surviving the Union.

## LIST OF MASTERS' LODGES

Largely based on information given by Bro. John Lane in his paper (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. i)

Asterisk denotes Masters' Lodges not mentioned by him.

*Note*: First four Masters' Lodges bear their own numbers and, as explained at above reference, are in a class by themselves.

Masters' Lodge and Constituted Lodge meet at same place unless otherwise stated.

Date in italics, so, *1730*, indicates year of constitution.

*Con. Lodge* is the Constituted Lodge with which the Masters' Lodge was associated.

- 1733-36. No. 115. Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, London. "A Scotch Masons' Lodge". 2nd and 4th Monday. Removed to Daniel's Coffee House, Temple Bar, 1736; 1st Monday only. Probably associated with No. 8, *1772*, meeting 1st and 3rd Monday. Struck out from official list, 1736.
- 1733-36. No. 116. Bear and Harrow, Butcher Row, London. 2nd and 4th Friday. Probably associated with No. 63; 1st Thursday (now St. George's and Corner Stone No. 5), or/and with No. 74, struck out 1736, both of them founded in 1730 and meeting at Bear and Harrow.
- 1733-35. No. 117. Master Masons' Lodge, King's Arms, Strand, London. 1st and 3rd Monday in Winter, then 1st Monday, Summer. Probably associated with No. 43 (now, Old King's Arms No. 28).
- 1733-36. No. 120. Oate's Coffee House, Great Wild Street, London. 1st and 3rd Sunday. Struck out, 1736. Not known to be associated with a constituted Lodge.
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- 1736-39. Vine, Long Acre, London. 1st and 3rd Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 68, 2nd and 4th Wednesday, at Golden Spikes, Hampstead. *1730*. Erased, 1742.)
- 1736-39. Queen's Head, Old Bailey, London. 1st and 3rd Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 76; 1st and 3rd Thursday; from 1738, 2nd and 4th Monday, at White Bear, King Street, Golden Square. *1730*. After amalgamations, is now Royal Alpha No. 16.)
- 1736-39. Black Dog, Castle Street, Seven Dials, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 151; 2nd and 4th Monday; from 1738, 2nd and 4th Tuesday. *1736*. Now, Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 56.)
- 1737-39. Westminster Hall, Dunning's Alley, Bishopsgate Street, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 158; 1st and 3rd Wednesday. *1737*. Erased, 1748.)
1738. King's Arms, Wild Street, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 123. *1733*. Erased, 1745.)
- \*1738. White Bear, Strand, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 134; 2nd and 4th Tuesday. *1735*. Lapsed about 1743. Not in "Lane". See newspaper report in Lysons' *Collectanea*, *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxix, p. 79.)
1738. Yorkshire Grey, Beer Lane, Thames Street, London. 4th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 150; 2nd Wednesday. *1736*. Now, Constitutional No. 55.)
1738. Bacchus, Little-Bush Lane, Cannon Street, London. 1st Friday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 169; 3rd Wednesday in 1738. *1738*. Erased, 1745.)
- 1738-39. Bury's Coffee House, Bridges Street, London. 1st and 3rd Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 13; 2nd and 4th Tuesday. *1723*. Now, Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20.)
- 1738-39. Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane, and Swan and Rummer, Bartholomew Lane, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 39; 2nd and 4th Wednesday. *1725*. As No. 28, Philanthropy, erased in 1838.)
- 1738-39. Bell, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 130; 2nd and 4th Tuesday; in 1739, 2nd and 4th Saturday. *1735*. Now, Old Union No. 46.)
- 1738-39. Blossom's Inn, Lawrence Lane, Cheapside, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 152; 1st and 3rd Thursday. *1736*. Erased, 1769.)
- 1738-41, and probably later. Two Black Posts, Maiden Lane, London. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 163; 1st, 2nd and 3rd Thursday. *1737*. In 1854 at Dulverton. Warrant returned, 1862.)
1739. Dog, Richmond. Every Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 89; 2nd and 4th Tuesday or Thursday. *1732*. Erased, 1745.)
- \*1743-51. Maid's Head, Norwich. Quarterly or otherwise; Sunday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 30, of 1729. *1724*. Measure of independence is open to much question. See *A.Q.C.*, Vol. vii, p. 69.)
- 1754 or earlier, to probably 1769. Dundee Arms, Wapping New Stairs, London. Apparently every Sunday in winter in early years, and other days later. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 11, of 1740. *1723*, at Ship, Bartholomew Lane. Now, Old Dundee No. 18. See *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxix, pp. 128 and 129.)
- 1753-75. Red Cross, Barbican, London. 3rd Thursday until 1759, then 3rd Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 61, of 1740; 1st Thursday until 1759, then 1st Wednesday. *1730*. Erased, 1775.)
- 1760-69. Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. 4th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 1, West India and American; 2nd Wednesday. *Time Immemorial*. Now, Lodge of Antiquity No. 2.)
- 1762-85. Old King's Arms, Leeds. 4th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 258; 2nd Wednesday. *1761*. Erased, 1786.)

- 1764-66. On board His Majesty's Ship the "Guadaloupe", Plymouth. 4th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 279; 1762 on board H.M.S. "Prince", at Plymouth. Now, Royal Somerset House and Inverness No. 4.)
- 1764-72. White Hart, Chippenham. 3rd Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 296, Lodge of Perfect Union; 1st Monday. 1763. Erased, 1773. Included in Finch's List of Lodges that withdrew and became independent.)
1767. Red Lion. Fakenham, Norfolk. Last Monday, every 2nd month. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 358, Royal Edwin; 2nd Monday. 1765. Erased, 1829.)
- 1769-1805. Pope's Head, South Side Street, Plymouth. 1st Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 232; 2nd and 4th Monday. 1758. Was Lodge of Unity No. 189 in 1777. Moved in 1806 to Crediton. Erased, 1827.)
- 1771-1808. Bunch of Grapes, Plymouth Dock, Devonport. Last Friday. (*Con. Lodge*, Lodge of Friendship No. 416; 1st and 3rd Wednesday. 1771. Now, No. 202 of Devonport.)
- 1778-82. Dolphin Inn, Fore Street, Plymouth Dock, Devonport. Last Thursday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 159, of 1780, Lodge of Fortitude; 1st and 3rd Tuesday. 1759. Now, No. 105 of Plymouth.)
- 1777-85; from then apparently dormant until 1803. Half Moon Inn and elsewhere in Exeter. 2nd Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 48, of 1770, St. John's Lodge; 2nd and last Friday. 1732 at New Inn, Exeter. Now, St. John the Baptist No. 39, of Exeter. See *A.Q.C.*, Vol. i, p. 172.)
- 1781-1809. Cannon, Portland Road, Marylebone, London. 5th Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 217, of 1781; 1st Tuesday. 1765. In Engraved List is styled "Operative Masons". Royal Jubilee Lodge in 1810. Erased, 1830.)
- 1780-1813. Masons' Arms, Sunderland "near the Sea". 3rd Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 135, 1780, King George's Lodge; 1st and 3rd Wednesday. 1755. Many removals. Now, Phenix No. 94, of Sunderland.)
- 1792-1813. Red Lion, Horselydown Lane, London. 5th Thursday; in 1812 and 1813, met 5th Thursday at Anchor and Castle, Tooley Street, Southwark. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 67, of 1792; 2nd Thursday. In 1786 was Peace and Plenty. 1739. Many removals. Erased, 1830.)
- 1792-1800. Griffin, Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, London. 5th Tuesday; from 1797, 5th Thursday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 69, of 1792; 4th Tuesday; from 1797, 4th Thursday. 1740. United Lodge of Ionic and Prudence No. 8 in 1800. Now, Royal Alpha No. 16.)
- 1792-1813. Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell Green, London. 5th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, Jerusalem No. 263, of 1792. 1771, as No. 408. Now, Jerusalem No. 197.)
- 1792-95. Jamaica House, Bermondsey, London. 5th Monday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 231, of 1792. Lodge of Sincerity; 2nd Tuesday. 1768. Now, No. 174.)
- 1799-1813. Bermondsey Spa, London. 5th Wednesday; removed with its *Con. Lodge* and appears to have been at work until 1813; in 1801, last Wednesday; from 1807, 5th Wednesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 66, of 1792, Lodge of Sincerity; 4th Wednesday. 1739. In 1801, at Canterbury Arms, Dean Street, Southwark; in 1807, at Plymouth Arms, Mill Lane, Tooley Street; and in 1812, at Bull, Bull Court, Tooley Street. Erased, 1830.)
- 1801-05. The George, Grafton Street, Soho, London. "1st after 5th Monday." (*Con. Lodge*, No. 186, of 1792, Gothic Lodge; 4th Monday. 1765. Lapsed about 1805. Erased, 1828.)
- 1802-13. The Horns, Bermondsey Square, London. 5th Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 435, of 1792, Bank of England; 2nd Tuesday. 1788, at Guildhall Coffee House, Cheapside. Now Bank of England No. 263.)
- 1803-13. The Wrekin, Broad Court, Long Acre, London. 5th Wednesday. Moved with *Con. Lodge*. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 6, of 1792, Lodge of Fortitude; 1st Wednesday. *Time Immemorial*. In 1811, at Freemasons' Tavern. Now, Fortitude and Old Cumberland No. 12.)

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- \*1738-45, and probably later. Andrew Haliburton's Sun Tavern, Boston, Massachusetts. 1st Tuesday. (*Con. Lodge*, St. John's; "First Lodge in Boston"; 2nd and 4th Wednesday. 1733. Now heads List of Lodges under Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. "Previous to January 29th, 1794, the Master Mason degree was not conferred by the Lodge." See *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxix, p. 140.)
- \*1750-90? New Haven. (*Con. Lodge*, Hiram Lodge No. 1, New Haven. 1750. "Prior to 1790, the greater part of Hiram's members did not attain to the degree of Master Mason." See *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxix, p. 162.)
1760. Charles Town, South Carolina. 1st Monday. (*Con. Lodge*, No. 249. 1756. Retained on English roll until erased in 1813. See Lane's *Masonic Records*, p. 112.)

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At the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Bernard Jones on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. Ivor Grantham, J. R. Rylands, A. I. Sharp, H. Carr and E. Ward.

The W.M. said:—

As one would expect, Bro. Bernard Jones has—within the time and space at his disposal—given us a very interesting summary of available information concerning Masters' Lodges.

It is indeed a tribute to Bro. Lane that his paper on this subject, compiled so far back as 1888, should in 1954 still be considered the best, and one unlikely to be surpassed unless further information not at that time available can be brought forward.

It is conceivable that the Hiram Degree—so different from anything that had been taught before—was at that time found not adaptable to the oral method of teaching then in vogue, and that in some places special arrangements were made to disseminate it. Taking into consideration the large number of F.Cs. available for raising, this would have provided sufficient work for the Masters' Lodges in the first group.

As Bro. Jones says, there are no sure answers as to the work carried out by the second group of Masters' Lodges. By the middle of the century the ordinary Lodges were working the three degrees and some additional attraction must have been required.

There are many suggestions that this attraction was connected with the R.A. Bro. Heiron mentions the purple sash used and that

Private Chapters were authorised in 1769.

Old Dundee Masters' Lodges were abandoned in 1769.

He (rightly or wrongly, as he says) concluded that these Masters could only have been held for three reasons, *viz.*:—

Passing the Chair.

The Drama of the Third Degree or

To perform the Ceremony of the R.A.

But Bro. Heron Lepper said, "We have been given no evidence".

Bro. Jones raises the question, "Why did not the Brethren in the 'Moderns' Lodges go for exaltation to their own Chapters"?

Previous to 1783 there were no Chapters in Kent and the Brethren got the R.A. from travelling military Lodges. There is, however, an interesting case of a member of a "Moderns" Lodge Passing the Chair in an "Ancients" Lodge by Bro. Canon Horsley, in some notes from minute books of the Lodge of Love and Unity, Dover.

On March 21st, 1795, "the diffrant Arch Masons mett for the Quarterly Communication". On January 8th, 1797, at a Lodge of Emergency, "Bro. Emanuel Emanuel this evening having been proposed to pass the Chair, passed it accordingly, paying 12s. for the step".

The name of Bro. Emanuel Emanuel is among the subscribers of "Inwood's Sermons", described as of the Royal Navy Lodge, Deal. In 1797 he could have joined the Chapter of Concord No. 38, Cant., but he did not do so for his name does not appear on its list of members. Deal and Dover are both Cinque Ports and he must have had friends among the members of Love and Unity to have been able to arrange the Lodge of Emergency. This may have been his reason for "taking the Step".

There were many districts in which there is no evidence of Masters' Lodges being held. Bro. Jones points out that "while in the 1800-1813 period the 'Moderns' founded say 69 Chapters it was in that same period that their recorded Masters' Lodges finally disappeared".

Would it not be possible to divide these 69 Chapters into two groups, one in places where Masters' Lodges had been abandoned, and the other where there had been none. Had the Masters' Lodges been in any way connected with the R.A., surely one would expect to find greater R.A. activity in places where they had met, than in those where no Masters' Lodges had been held.

Bro. Bernard Jones has brought forward many interesting points and suggestions in his paper, and I have great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to be recorded in the minutes.

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Bro. ROGERS said:—

It is a real pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Bernard Jones for his scholarly paper, for it is always a delight to read the products of his facile pen.

He states in his paper that "often it is extremely difficult to determine whether a particular Masters' Lodge was merely a Third Degree Lodge, or a true complementary

Lodge", and he quotes Hughan as stating that "of forty-seven lodges chartered (in 1733) in the provinces, those at Norwich, Lincoln, Bath, Bury and other places, worked the Third Degree, yet the Book of Constitutions (1738) does not credit one of them with a Masters' Lodge".

In the case of the Bury Lodge, according to the first Bye-laws of 1734, the fees required were:—

Admittance	10/6
Raised Master	5/3

There are entries from 1738 onward of "Admittance to Master's Order", and there is no record of the Fellowcraft, as such, until 1771. Other instances show that this Raising was not the Installation; therefore, we are justified in assuming that the Master's Degree was given in the Lodge right from its inception.

I also agree with Bro. Jones when he says that "We can agree that most Lodges in the 1720's and 1730's discovered in the Hiram Degree something new", for does not Murray Lyon tell us that Dr. Desaguliers visited the Lodge of Edinburgh in August, 1721; the Scottish Lodges also discovering the Master's Degree a few years afterwards. Yet I doubt his conclusion on English Lodges that "but few of them would be able to work the ceremony". Here is an example of a Lancashire Lodge working such a ceremony from 1734 onward, and yet it was only constituted by "Deputation" in 1733, with six Founders, who were mainly cotton operatives. And, further, Hughan, in his *Origin of the English Rite*, gives examples from 1731.

I believe too much is being made of these Masters' Lodges; rather would I credit the operation of different practices in different parts of the country. Each type made a charge for the Master's part; but, whereas some conferred it at special meetings, others did so as part of the Lodge proceedings.

Nor can one accept the theory that these Masters' Lodges have had some connection with the R.A., for the Bury Lodge had Warrant No. 6 granted by "Grand and Royal Chapter" in 1769, to three Companions who had only been exalted the same year in the Bolton Lodge.

No, Bro. Jones! I do not see any reason to dispute Hughan's statement that "all the lodges had the right to confer the Third Degree, some of the number working the ceremony at stated times only, and others caring but to assemble as Master Masons, leaving to the ordinary lodges the duty of perfecting Apprentices and Fellow Crafts", and his conclusion that "the custom arose of looking to certain lodges for the working of the M.M. ritual, thus becoming known especially as 'Masters' Lodges', though every Lodge had just as much right to work the ceremony".

After all this, I must say that I have thoroughly enjoyed the paper, which has been delivered in that persuasive manner we have come to expect from Bro. Bernard Jones.

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Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

Bro. Bernard Jones has marked his recent election to full membership of this Lodge with a useful piece of work. It is certainly fit and proper that this intriguing subject of Masters' Lodges should be reviewed from time to time by competent students in the light of our increasing knowledge concerning Masonic activities of the eighteenth century; and it is with a certain feeling of disappointment that we have heard Bro. Bernard Jones admit to-day that his researches have added little to the results of previous research. But the circulation of this paper in its published form, complete with the appendix, which has been promised, should focus the attention of a wide circle of Brethren upon this topic and could lead to the discovery of early Lodge minutes which might provide a clue—if not the key—to the mystery with which for so long the activities of the old Masters' Lodges have been enshrouded.

In the absence of written records, I agree with the author of this paper that no conclusion as to the precise purpose of the Masters' Lodges can be drawn with any degree of certainty. In the absence of such records, it is therefore incumbent upon the student to search in other directions for signposts which may assist in the solution of this problem.

Personally, I incline to the view that a Royal Arch element existed within the Craft very much longer than is usually admitted by Masonic students; and in spite of this paper, I still entertain a shrewd suspicion that that Royal Arch element was fostered in the esoteric work of the Masters' Lodges during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. If asked what justification I have for such a belief, I would invite the inquirer to study surviving

impressions of the seal of the original Grand Lodge. Three impressions of this seal are known to me—namely, those affixed to the deputations to constitute St. John the Baptist Lodge No. 39 at Exeter, Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41 at Bath, and The Lodge of Relief No. 42 at Bury. The main features of this seal were the arms used by Grand Lodge at that time (1732-33); these arms were the same as those granted to the Masons' Company of London two hundred and fifty years earlier—a pair of compasses extended upon a chevron between three castles. But instead of adopting the motto of the Masons' Company, "In the Lord is all our trust", Grand Lodge in 1732 saw fit to assume as its motto the Greek words "ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΗΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ". Why did Grand Lodge reject the obvious motto expressed in English and assume a totally different motto expressed in Greek? Is it not possible that those responsible for this remarkable choice desired to perpetuate in the official seal of Grand Lodge veiled evidence of an essential feature of the Masonic system of that period? If this supposition is correct, where in the Masonic system of that period could the Royal Arch element have been practised if it was not within the close-tyled portals of the Masters' Lodge?

Allusion has been made in this paper to the tendency of the earliest Masters' Lodges to meet on Sundays and in private rooms. It was on a Sunday, 1st January, 1735 (1734 O.S.) that three guests of the Duke of Montagu were "made chapters" by Dr. Desaguliers at a Lodge meeting held in the Duke's private Library at Ditton on an occasion when Dr. Desaguliers and a fellow-guest named Hollis were subsequently stated to have been "super-excellent in their different ways". Is it too far fetched to suggest that this meeting in 1735 was a meeting of a Masters' Lodge possessed of Royal Arch elements?

With these two signposts in mind, but with the Lecturer's fascinating questions still unanswered, I conclude by expressing cordial appreciation of the paper to which we have listened to-day with such interest.

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Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

It is useful from time to time to re-examine old problems in the light of new knowledge, and even when nothing much in the way of new information has come along, it is often helpful to restate the old problems. Bro. Bernard Jones, whose name as a Masonic student is now so widely known, has worthily essayed a difficult task, and if his admirable paper does not claim to give new answers to the old questions, it does provide for the newer generation a clear picture of the nature of the problem of the old Masters' Lodges.

Whether the Third Degree was a fabrication, a development or a rearrangement of existing material, it was certainly a new feature in the Masonry of the early decades of the eighteenth century. The procedure for conferring it varied, and until all the Craft Lodges took over the Master's part, there would be scope for such bodies as Masters' Lodges to perform the ceremony when desired. One can almost imagine some of the older Lodges being rather dubious about the new degree, and perhaps refusing to confer it on the grounds that it was an innovation and not part of Antient Masonry. Others may have remembered the time when Grand Lodge retained to itself the privilege of conferring the Fellow's part and may have doubted their own competence in regard to the Master's. In such cases a more or less *ad hoc* Masters' Lodge would provide a solution for those who wished to receive or confer the degree.

The relation between the Masters' Lodges and the Craft Lodges to which they were attached, may at first sight be regarded as bearing some resemblance to the various modern Masonic bodies which are "attached" to others. The obvious example is the R.A. Chapter attached to its Craft Lodge. Others are the Malta Priory attached to a K.T. Preceptory, and the Ark Mariners' Lodge "moored" to a Mark Lodge. But these are permanent; the old Masters' Lodges were not, and in the nature of their development could not be more than temporary expedients.

Behind the disciplinary facade of unalterable landmarks there must be this incessant growth, change, development and evolution which shows that the institution is alive. In all probability the Masters' Lodges were a passing phase associated with the method of conferring the newly-invented or developed Third Degree. They were part of its evolution, but they were not in the main line of descent. Once the Third Degree was widely accepted as part of the new speculative masonry and was taken over by the Craft Lodges, the Masters' Lodges were bound to die out.

We are all most indebted to Bro. Bernard Jones for his interesting presentation of his subject.

Bro. A. I. SHARP writes:—

When I was in New York over 50 years ago, I was present at a P.M. Meeting, under the auspices of the Amity Chapter because I was informed after having been passed in the Mark Degree and Royal Arch Degree also, before I could visit the latter I would have to be a P.M. and Most Excellent Master. I therefore attended both these degrees on the same evening and received them both. I was elected to the Chair in the P.M. Lodge, duly installed and the Top Hat placed on my head, and I gavelled and ruled the Lodge for about a minute, when I vacated the chair in favour of the last candidate of the evening. The ceremony that he went through, being an American and not a "foreigner" like myself, could only be described in Open Lodge.

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Bro. H. CARR writes:—

In the early period covered by this paper, the English Lodges may be divided into four groups:—

1. Ordinary Lodges which worked only two degrees.
2. Lodges which worked three degrees.
3. Lodges which set aside a separate series of dates for "Masters' Nights" or "Masters' Lodges".
4. Lodges which had a separate "complementary" Lodge (more or less closely associated with them) where their own members and men from outside might be made "Masters".

The first question posed by Bro. Jones is whether these Lodges "had the power" to confer the third degree. Clearly the Lodges which existed by inherent right before 1717, and those Lodges which did not own allegiance to the Grand Lodge, must have had the right to work whatever ceremonies they pleased.

The earliest attempt by Grand Lodge to restrict the scope of the Masonic ceremonies (in the Lodges under its control) was the publication of Reg. XIII in the 1723 *Constitutions*. At that time the English Lodges were working no more than two degrees—Apprentice and Fellowcraft—and the new regulation sought to limit the private Lodges to the Apprentice ceremony only, while the senior grade of "masters and fellowcraft" was to be conferred only in Grand Lodge, "unless by a Dispensation". It was a wholly impracticable regulation; the newly-formed Grand Lodge was in any event not powerful enough to enforce it, and it was repealed in 1725.

By accident, or by design, the motion for repeal omitted all mention of Fellowcraft, and the new rule stated that "the Master of each Lodge, with the consent of his Wardens, and the majority of Brethren, being Masters, may make Masters at their discretion".

Virtually the Lodges under the Grand Lodge were back to the *status quo ante*, and, so far as I am aware, there was no official pronouncement on the nature or scope of the Masonic rite until Article II of the *Articles of Union* in 1813.

The earliest known form of a Lodge Warrant (St. John the Baptist Lodge No. 39, Exeter), dated July, 1732, granted to the newly-formed Lodge all those "Privileges as all other regular Lodges do enjoy", *without any stipulation as to degrees*, so long as they observed the *Constitutions*.

There can be little doubt that the Grand Lodge recognized the rights of the Lodges to practice as they pleased, because there is no official action taken against the three "complementary" Lodges Nos. 116, 117 and 120 (which achieved some sort of public notice by their appearance in Rawlinson's List), although they had never been separately registered or constituted, and had never paid any fees.

As to the "need met by the early Masters' Lodges", I rather doubt whether there was as great a demand for the Third Degree as Bro. Jones seems to believe. The absence of adequate records makes it impossible for us to judge how many of the early Lodges (groups 1 and 2 *ante*) were actually working a tri-gradal Rite but some of them were certainly ready to do so when the occasion arose. Hughan quotes several items of Bye-laws, etc., which indicate that there were a number of Lodges in existence in the third decade of the eighteenth century which were able to confer the Third Degree without recourse to a "Masters' Lodge", and without a fixed "Masters' Night" (*Origin of the English Rite*, 3rd Ed., pp. 47-50), and in this respect, the "Philo-Musicae" were in a class by themselves. Despite the fact that such Lodges were able to confer the degree, the Brethren seem to have been slow to take it, and the few Masters' Lodges that are traceable in those early years cannot have done very much to popularise the ceremony, despite their frequent meetings. Some of these meetings must have been purely social or convivial in character, and we find evidence

of this in the minutes of the Old Kings Arms Lodge (Firminger, *A.Q.C.*, xlv, pp. 254 *et seq.*). This Lodge was No. 117 in the 1733 enumeration, and was held on the "1st Munday . . . Do. 3d. Munday in y<sup>e</sup> Winter". Lane (*A.Q.C.*, i, p. 168) interprets this as 1st Monday in Summer and also 1st and 3rd Monday in Winter. The numerous extracts from the minutes, given by Firminger, show that the Lodge did in fact meet on the specified dates and, although it certainly made Masters, by far the greatest part of its meetings was devoted to lectures and conversation, most of it having nothing whatever to do with the Craft.

On 6th August, 1733, a certain Bro. Maccoloch, evidently a visitor, gave an entertaining talk on the Structure of Muscles; this was repeated by request on the first Monday in September, 1733, and again on the first Monday in October, *when Maccoloch, with two other men, were made Masters*. The minutes show that at almost every meeting the lecturers gave their discourses "according to his promise", which implies that the lectures were one of the principal items of business of this Lodge, and that they were arranged in advance, and the Minutes for Monday, October 6th, 1735, show that there was a penalty of "a Bottle of Wine . . . to be paid by any Bro. who should fail of his Lecture to the Society" (*Ibid.*, p. 257).

I have stressed this point, because it shows that we cannot attach too much importance to the high proportion of "Masters' Lodge" meetings in relation to the number of meetings of their complementary or "parent" Lodges. In 1730, the *Mystery of Freemasonry* contained a note pointing out that "There is not one Mason in an Hundred that will be at the expense to pass the Master's Part, except it be for Interest", and it may well be argued that the very existence of the Masters' Lodges indicates that the ordinary Lodges had not taken much trouble to acquire and spread the ceremony.

As late as 1771, the Antients Grand Lodge seem to have been aware of this reluctance of its adherents to take the Third Degree. In that year they issued a code of by-laws to the Lodges under their jurisdiction, in which Rule 24 ordered:—

"That in order to preserve good Harmony, and encourage (working) Master Masons it is hereby Ordered and Declared, that no Brother under the Degree of a Master Mason shall be admitted to visit this Lodge upon any Pretence whatsoever". (*The Percy Lodge*, by Bro. Geo. Cowell, p. 51.)

Bro. Jones has rightly drawn attention to the interesting question that arises as to the nature of the ceremony that was conferred in the Masters' Lodges. In the early period we may feel fairly safe in the assumption that they were practising a ceremony akin to our modern Third Degree, but a wide allowance must be made for local variations, and for improvisation. A more difficult problem arises in the case of No. 115, the Scotch Masons' Lodge, which met at the Devil's Tavern c. 1733-36. Lane (*A.Q.C.*, i, p. 173) examined the question very briefly, and after tracing the possible association of this Lodge with its supposed "parent", No. 8 (which met at the same Tavern, and changed its place of meeting at the same time as No. 115), came to the conclusion that it was *not* a Lodge of Scottish Masons. This naturally leads to the implication that No. 115 was simply working a ceremony which was either of Scottish origin, or had somehow acquired a Scottish title, and Lane clearly envisaged the possibility that the ceremony might be something different from the ordinary M.M. Degree. I shall touch upon the question of Scottish Lodges later in these notes, but it is, perhaps, worth noticing at this point that there is nothing in the comparatively rich supply of early Scottish minutes to justify any assumption that their third degree was in any way different from that which was current in England. Of course, they may have had such a ceremony, but we simply have no evidence on the subject.

Inevitably we have to consider whether the "Scotch Masons' Lodge" of 1733 was practising the "Eccossais" ceremony, which is mentioned in several early French Exposures c. 1744, and which gave rise to a flood of "Eccossais" variants and expansions that practically overran all Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The earliest reference I have found to the "Eccossais" is in *Le Parfait Maçon*, published in 1744, and re-issued in 1747. It is a puerile and nonsensical publication, especially in regard to the secrets which it claims to expose. Its most interesting feature, perhaps, is that it speaks of *four* grades, *i.e.*, Apprentices, Compagnons, ordinary Masters and "Eccossais" (masters), and its few words regarding the latter ceremony state that it deals with the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel, when the builders "worked with sword and buckler at their side". Here is a fairly clear association with the R.A. An earlier exposure of this year 1744, *La Franc-Maçonne*, published at Brussels, had mentioned not four but seven grades, but it did not give any detailed information.

Another reference to the "Eccossais" appeared in the compiler's introduction to *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi*, which was published in 1745, although there may have been an earlier undated edition. In this work we have a most interesting and valuable description of the contemporary ceremonies, and the compiler honestly pleads ignorance of the "Eccossais",



but his footnote is interesting because it indicates that the ceremony was *something beyond the commonly-known third degree*. I give the note in my own translation:—

“ I do not overlook the vague rumour which is abroad amongst the Freemasons concerning a certain Order which they call ‘ les Eccossois ’, superior, so they claim, to the ordinary Freemasons, and having their own Ceremonies and Secrets quite apart. I shall say nothing about this Order, for I prefer to own myself ignorant of their mysteries, rather than discuss them inopportunistly. But this I can boldly assert, that if they have a particular secret at all, they are extremely jealous of it, since they hide it even from the Masters of Masonry.”

Now, all this was written in 1744-5, at a time when the R.A. was already known in England. But if the “ Scotch Masons’ Lodge ” of 1733 was indeed practising an “ Eccossais ” ceremony such as is indicated in the *Parfait Maçon*, we would need to revise our earliest date for the R.A. quite considerably, and this would have a real bearing on what Bro. Jones calls the “ Second Group of Masters’ Lodges ”.

I would like to end these lengthy comments with a brief note on the third degree in Scotland, where we have actual Lodge records relating to the third degree as early as 1726. In the earliest years there is no evidence as to Masters’ Lodges, and we simply do not know where and how the members of Dumbarton Kilwinning (1726) and Greenock Kilwinning (1728) acquired their knowledge of the ceremony.

In 1735 the members of Canongate-Kilwinning certainly had the ceremony, and habitually set aside regular dates for conferring it, *i.e.*, Masters’ Nights, not Masters’ Lodges. In the case of Scoon and Perth, however, the position is different, because a careful examination of their records shows that they must have had a Masters’ Lodge for about two or more years, and that the ceremony was afterwards adopted as part of their normal Lodge curriculum. Up to the end of 1744 their minutes show that the Lodge was only practising a system of *two degrees*.

In 1742 a roll of members shows that the Lodge numbered 16 *Raised Masters on its Roll* (in addition to E.A.’s and F.C.’s), and in 1744 it numbered 21 Raised Masters. In December, 1744, the Lodge minutes recorded its first Raising ceremony, and on that night the Lodge, for the first time, fixed a fee for the ceremony, thus emphasising its official adoption of the “ new ” degree. I think we may take this as clear proof that during the period 1742-4, at least, Scoon and Perth had had its own “ Masters’ Lodge ”. There may have been other Masters’ Lodges in Scotland at this time, but I have found none in which the evidence is so clearly defined.

Finally, I must add my thanks to Bro. Jones for his most interesting paper. It is unfortunately true that during the last 60 years or so, since the subject was first discussed by our Lodge, hardly any new material has come to light that might enable us to solve the problems which were posed then, and which are still with us now. Let us hope that this new presentation may result in the discovery and publication of early minutes and other data which will give us a clearer picture of this interesting phase in Craft history.

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Bro. BERNARD JONES writes in reply:—

The reception of my little paper has given me great pleasure, and I am grateful to all the Brethren who have taken the trouble to offer comments and criticisms. Our Worshipful Master brings to light a helpful instance of a Brother receiving the Past Master “ step ”, and makes the excellent point that were the “ Moderns ” Chapters founded in the 1800-1813 period to be divided into two groups, one in places where Masters’ Lodges had been abandoned and the other where there had been none, some further light on the subject might be vouchsafed. In preparing my paper I did attempt to do something of the sort, but found that the task called for far more time than I could give it, but I hope that this research will one day be made.

Bro. J. R. Rylands “ can almost imagine some of the older lodges being rather dubious about the new (Masters) degree and perhaps refusing to confer it on the grounds that it was an innovation and not part of Antient Masonry ”. That might well be so and we do know that it was definitely so in Scotland, where the Third Degree was looked at askance for a long time in many parts of the country. But in England all the evidence points to the degree having been accepted as a true part of masonry, but not everywhere as a degree to which the Fellowcraft must necessarily proceed. Personally, I feel there was indeed a keen desire widely felt to experience this degree and that this desire lay behind the formation of the Masters’ Lodges in the 1730’s.

Bro. Rogers doubts my conclusion that few English Lodges in the 1720’s and 1730’s would be able to work the Hiram Degree and quotes an example of a Lancashire Lodge working this degree from 1734 onward. Of course, I feel sure that here and there a Lodge

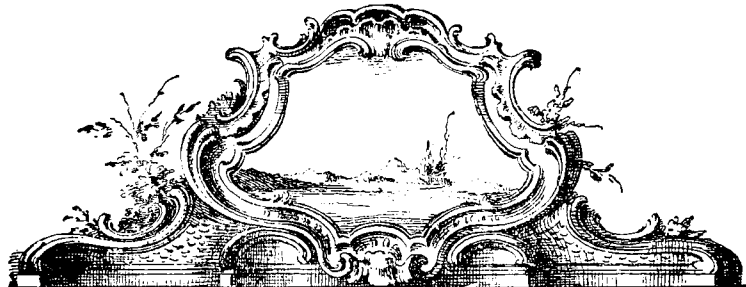
was well able to work the degree and where that was so it had no use for the separate Masters' Lodge, but the existence of a few Lodges that could work the degree hardly invalidates my statement. Surely the Lodges that could confer the Hiramite Degree as early as 1734 must have been relatively few, and I feel that Bro. Roger's quotation from Hughan serves to support this.

I fail to see eye to eye with Bro. Ivor Grantham when he puts forward the motto embodied in the arms of Grand Lodge in 1732-1733 as, possibly, "veiled evidence of an essential feature of the masonic system of that period"—in other words, evidence of the Royal Arch. I feel it would amount to this or something like it, that Grand Lodge, whose true feeling for upwards of half-a-century was one of hostility to the Royal Arch, had deliberately introduced into its arms a veiled reference to something it strongly disliked. There will always be a doubt, I feel, as to the meaning of the phrase "made Chapter", occurring in Mick Broughton's letter to the Duke of Montague, and I have always thought that the reference would be so much the more valuable if the tone of the letter had been more serious. Nevertheless, I am very appreciative of Bro. Grantham's comments.

Bro. Carr, in commenting at length, has taken much trouble, for which I warmly thank him. As to whether there was "as great a demand for the Third Degree" as I seem to believe, must always be a matter of opinion, but we are faced with the fact that the demand, whatever it was starting in the 1720's, had by 1750 become so general that English Lodges everywhere were conferring that degree, and in my paper I quoted a very weak Lodge coming into existence in 1753 and regularly conferring the Third Degree on its Initiates. I must deny myself the temptation to take up space in attempting to reply fully to Bro. Carr's remarks. He opens up a wide variety of subjects, but I must thank him especially for one particular reference, that in *Le Parfait Maçon*, published in 1744, from which it is reasonable to assume that the "Eccossaise Esotery" had a marked Royal Arch flavour. It must be borne in mind that there was always the possibility that the Scots Mason Lodge would indeed practise an "eccossaise" ceremony, from which might be drawn the inference that a few Lodges were including elements of a Royal Arch esotery some years before the facts as we have previously known them would seem to suggest. That same weak Lodge to which I have already referred (it was the St. Mary-le-bone Lodge, from whose *membership* has grown the present Tuscan Lodge No. 14), has a mention of the "Scotch" (Scots) Lodge in the minutes of August, 1756, when the members agreed that on Sunday, the 22nd of the month, they would hold a Scots Lodge "to make a brother belonging to this lodge", but the candidate did not come forward.

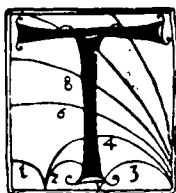
Bro. Alfred Sharp has sent me a copy of the certificate issued by the Amity Chapter No. 160, Royal Arch Masons, New York, under date August 23rd, 1952, to the effect that he, Bro. Sharp, then a member of Saint John's Chapter No. 80, Sunderland, England, "was duly 'healed' in the Degrees of Past Master and Most Excellent Master . . . and was thereupon admitted and welcomed by the High Priest and Companions of Amity Chapter", the quotation being from the November 5th, 1903, minutes. This is evidence, were any needed, of a well-known practice of eighteenth-century English Masonry having been preserved and made a permanent part of the American system.

I am delighted that my short paper, so regretfully on my part containing so little that is new, should have been the occasion for such useful and interesting comments.



FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1954

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; and H. Carr, L.G.R., I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. Ivanovsky, L. T. C. Peckover, C. Madison Roberts, P. P. Williams, R. W. Rudling, G. Dodd, R. A. Pratley, P. J. Watts, R. C. W. Hunter, G. Norman Knight, P. J. Dawson, L. A. Pearson, C. H. Berman, A. E. Bartlett, S. A. Muffett, H. Chilton, S. F. Watson, H. L. Harnett, S. E. Ward, T. W. Marsh, C. T. Beynon, A. F. Hatten, A. E. Harding, F. L. Bradshaw, E. A. Powell, F. Holt, A. Beecher Stowe, W. J. Laws, A. F. Cross, A. P. Cawadiaz, J. H. R. Freeborn, A. Taylor, W. Patrick, A. F. Ford, H. M. Yeatman, C. Lawson-Reece, E. J. FitzGerald, E. R. Edwards, and H. G. Radlett.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. Benjamin, Lodge 4837; M. I. Mail, Lodge 1118; H. de Bruin, Lodge 2265; H. Fox, Lodge 6226; A. G. Fathers, Lodge 3601; H. Meek, Lodge 4152; A. A. Feden, Lodge 2562; E. E. Essenhigh, Lodge 1441; C. G. Nesden, Lodge 720, S.C.; J. M. Watson, Lodge 2911; E. Blom, Lodge 6226; G. L. Calman, Lodge 5595; G. Maxwell, Lodge 2911; A. Wheatley, Lodge 6226.

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Letters of apology for absence were reported from Bros. *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Waples, P.Pr.G.R. (Durham); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., Steward; G. Brett, P.M. 1494; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C.

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One Grand Lodge, two Lodges and sixty-two Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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Bro. Ivor Grantham drew attention to the following

#### EXHIBITS

From Grand Lodge Library:—

An unidentified Apron and Sash, possibly not Masonic.

From the Lodge Library:—

The Edinburgh Apprentice and Burgess Rolls.

Photographs of two pages from the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel).

Lent by Bro. H. Carr:—

Charts illustrating his paper.

Lent by Bro. B. W. Oliver:—

An Operative Mason's Tool, combining Square, Level and Plumb-Rule.

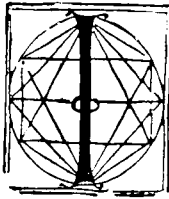
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An interesting paper, entitled *The Mason and the Burgh*, was read by Bro. H. CARR, L.G.R., I.G., as follows:—

## THE MASON AND THE BURGH

### AN EXAMINATION OF THE EDINBURGH REGISTER OF APPRENTICES AND THE BURGESS ROLLS

BY BRO. H. CARR, L.G.R.



IN 1475 the Freemen Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh were first Incorporated, under a Seal of Cause, a document which gives us our earliest glimpse of organised trade control for the mason craft in Scotland. Some years before this (1469) the Town Council had decided that the various crafts should have a voice in the choosing of magistrates, and in 1475 they began to grant Charters of Incorporation (*i.e.*, Seals of Cause), which were usually a re-statement of the conditions under which the trades had already been governing themselves for many years.<sup>1</sup>

From the trade point of view, the prime objects of these Incorporations were union and self-protection, with the right of self-government amongst their members. For the town, this kind of organisation was very useful because it provided a direct link between the burghal government and each of the crafts, which greatly simplified the collection of funds and "extents" (levies), the control of prices and labour, and the enforcement of the duties of defence, etc.

At the head of each of the Trade Incorporations was the Deacon, elected by the Burgesses and Freemen of that craft out of a "leet" or list of names furnished by the Town Council. A ruling of the Town Council in 1634<sup>2</sup> warned the crafts that those elected to this office must be ". . . such as an expert handie lauborers in thair craftis . . .", and the Deacon, by virtue of his office, was automatically the representative of his craft in all matters connected with the government of the town.

This arrangement was as efficient as it was simple, and its success was ensured by the extraordinary powers of the Council, which were exercised with severity when necessity arose. In 1615, the Deacon of the Wrights refused to accept the Council's "leet" for the election of deacon, and they ordered him ". . . to be put in ward within the tolbuith . . . till they tak forder ordour with his contempt . . .".<sup>3</sup> His immediate predecessor in office summoned for the same purpose refused likewise, and was also sent to prison. A few days in prison were enough to convince them that they could not hope to succeed against the Council; they ". . . confess thair offence and submitit thameself in the counsellis will".<sup>4</sup>

In general the crafts were left to manage their own affairs, so long as their activities did not bring them into conflict with the overall interests of the community. This mildly-limited self-government was provided for in the Seals of Cause of the various Craft Incorporations, and the individual Crafts do not appear unduly often in the Burgh Records except when they applied to the authorities for redress of wrongs, and when, for some reason or other, they had incurred the wrath of the Council. Thus, in 1610, by reason of the exorbitant prices of masons' and wrights' work, the Council (through its magistrates) exercised their powers of setting prices, and fixed a daily wage scale for masters and "servands", with "lads or boyes" to be paid as they deserved; and a month later, for one particular job, the working hours were fixed as well.<sup>5</sup>

In one respect, however, the Burgh's interest in its craftsmen followed them from the beginning of their careers to the end, and that was in the matter of records. A substantial proportion of the Burghal revenue was derived from the individual craftsmen by way of booking fees for apprentices at the beginning of their indentures, "upsetts" paid by them at the end of their terms, and Burgess fees when they took their freedom. There was also

<sup>1</sup> Colston, *Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh*, Intro, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626-1641, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1604-1626, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> E.R.B.E., 1604-1626, p. 61.

the wider system of Town taxation and "extents" which were levied, *inter alia*, upon the crafts as a whole, with some reference to their financial stability. Thus it was inevitable that the Burgh should have at least an adequate system for recording the various stages in the life of its craftsmen.

On 22nd April, 1583, the Decreet Arbitral was published, which virtually united the hitherto antagonistic merchants and craftsmen into ". . . ane commoun weil . . ." One of its many provisions was ". . . that thair be ane commoun buik maid . . . quheirin the names of all prenteissis to merchants and craftsmen, the names of their masters, day of thair entres, and space of thair prenteischip, sall be insert and buiket . . ." <sup>1</sup>

The records were not always kept as carefully as we would have wished, but allowing for the troubled state of Scotland during our period (c. 1475-1750) an amazing amount still remains, and so far as the Mason craft is concerned, the study of the Edinburgh Burgh Records in conjunction with the Apprentice Registers and Burgess Rolls, together with the evidence of the Minute Books of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), provide us with an unrivalled store of information concerning the craft in those days.

### THE EDINBURGH REGISTER OF APPRENTICES AND THE BURGESS ROLLS

The Edinburgh Apprentice Registers and Burgess Rolls, which have been summarised and published by the Scottish Record Society, seem to have been neglected by our Craft historians.

The publications are as follows:—

Scot. Rec. Soc. No.	Reg. of Apprentices of Edr.	Period	Abbrev. Title
28	Reg. of Apprentices of Edr.	1583-1666	E.R.A.1
60	" " " " "	1666-1700	E.R.A.2
61	" " " " "	1701-1755	E.R.A.3
59	Roll of Edr. Burgesses	1406-1700	R.E.B.1
62	" " " "	1701-1760	R.E.B.2

As to the sources from which these records are compiled, I quote from the introductions of their editors. "The Register of Apprentices for the City of Edinburgh, as a separate record, is contained in two volumes, *viz*:—

- I. 29th May 1583 to 28th Dec., 1647;
- II. 12th January 1648 to 30th May, 1666;

after which date it is incorporated in the ordinary Guild Register . . ."

"The books bear to contain the names of all persons received as Apprentices to a merchant or craftsman with the duty of their entry-silver . . ." The dates are those at which the indenture was booked. The records from 1666 onwards were edited by C. B. Boog Watson, and in his period, *i.e.*, after 1666, ". . . there are no separate registers of apprentices; the entries occur along with those of Burgesses and Guild-Brethren<sup>2</sup> in the *scroll* registers of the Dean of Guild Court, from which the Burgesses and Guild-Brethren were carefully and legibly entered in their own register volumes, some of which still exist".

As to the trustworthiness of the records, there is every reason to accept them as genuine and correct *so far as they go*. The original documents were actually written during the sessions of the Court or Council, and the printed extracts upon which this study is based were most carefully compiled by competent men. There is, however, some reason to believe that the *original* records are not quite complete. The Burgess Rolls, for example, give the names of many men who became Burgesses, although their names do not appear in E.R.A.

Our doubts as to the completeness of the E.R.A. lists are confirmed however, when we find that the Mary's Chapel Minutes contain the admission-records of a considerable number of apprentices and fellows of craft whose names do not appear either in E.R.A. or R.E.B.

Despite all the doubts that may have been raised by the foregoing remarks, a surprising portion of the records are absolutely complete, and out of some 197 mason apprentices who appear in E.R.A. 1-3, we are able to trace more than 80 who took their freedom. The Burgess Rolls give dates and details, which enable us to check the identity of each of these men, and in a large number of cases, the Mary's Chapel minutes complete the picture by giving the dates when they were received into the Lodge as entered apprentices and fellows of craft.

<sup>1</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Gildbrother*: a kind of "inner circle" of the Burgesses, having special rights in the election of municipal government, and also certain trading privileges. See p. 36.

The lists of apprentices given in E.R.A. show a fascinating and bewildering collection of crafts, and for the purposes of this essay, I have extracted only the items relating to the Masons, ignoring the kindred crafts, *e.g.*, slaters, quarriers, wrights, etc. As a preliminary to our examination of the E.R.A. and R.E.B. lists, I have tried, in the following chapters, to draw a brief sketch of the duties and responsibilities of the craftsmen in relation to the "guid toun", occasionally with special reference to the Mason Craft in Edinburgh, which is the main subject of this study.

It only remains now to emphasise that this is not a study of the broad history of the mason craft, or of the itinerant masons who left their mark in stone over the length and breadth of Britain. Here we are concerned with one narrow aspect of the mason craft *as a stationary trade*, working within the burghal limits of the Scottish capital. We shall trace whole families of men who spent their working lives in the burgh through many generations, and we shall follow many of them in their careers as witnessed by their records in the books of the Burgh and the Lodge.

### THE APPRENTICE AND THE BURG

Although there are records of apprentices to the mason craft in Scotland as early as 1466,<sup>1</sup> the Seal of Cause of 1475 appears to be the earliest official Scottish document which prescribes regulations for them. The regulations, insofar as they apply directly to apprentices, were very few. No master (" . . . nor persone of any craft . . .") was to take an apprentice for less than seven years, and when the term was completed he was to be examined by the four representatives of the Incorporation (two masons and two wrights), and if he was found "sufficient" he was to be made fellow of craft. If they found that he was not yet qualified, he was to serve a master until he had learned his trade, and then he was "to be maid freman and fallow".

The apprentices in those days were, of course, the absolute property of their masters, and it is perhaps not surprising that we find little evidence that they owed any kind of duties or responsibilities to the town. There are, however, a number of entries which show that the Burgh took a close interest in their welfare and behaviour. In 1587 there was a proclamation against prentices (and servants) living licentious, drinking, playing and harlotry—with a warning that they must be in their master's houses before the ringing of the 10 p.m. bell, under penalty of "warding" (*i.e.*, imprisonment).<sup>2</sup>

In 1660, the Council ". . . Taking to their consideratioun the pravitie lawdnes isolencie and bad dispositioun of a number of young boyis prenteisses both merchands and crafts . . .", and despite their duties to their masters they ". . . slight their masters service by untymelie mariage Quherby the master suffers . . . throw the want of his prenteis service night and day as use is . . . And the trade wronged throw the unskilfulnes of the prenteis in the airt . . . And the prenteis so marieing becomes themselves and their children a burthen to the Cittie Quherfoir the Counsell statuts and ordaines that it sall not be lawfull to any prenteis to marie in any tyme within the space of fyve yeirs sex yeirs or seven yeirs conteind in their indentouris . . .", under penalty of loss of all rights to the freedom which ". . . is heirby declaired to be void as if they had never been bund prenteis . . ."<sup>3</sup> Clearly the Council were very anxious that the Burgh's apprentices should become competent workmen, and to emphasise the point, they ordered that this act should apply to all apprentices, present and future, and that all indentures henceforth should contain a non-marrying clause. In spite of all this, however, the records, only a month later, show that a merchant's apprentice, having married, was admitted Burgess and Guild Brother and the Council dispensed with the unexpired period of his apprenticeship.<sup>4</sup>

**Booking.** The first duty of an apprentice in relation to the Burgh was to ensure that he was properly booked in the Town records, and the failure to make the booking might create serious difficulties for him when the time arrived for taking his freedom. In 1576, a tailor's apprentice, who had never been booked, was refused Burgess-ship for that reason. The craft, through its Deacon, pleaded that he had been properly "booked" in *their* records, but the Council ruled that this was not evidence of a properly served apprenticeship, and that candidates for the freedom must bring their Indentures, with testification of good and true service throughout the whole term of their apprenticeship.<sup>5</sup>

Any serious delay between the beginning of an apprenticeship and the date of its booking was, of course, an offence on the part of the master concerned, but the records show that the apprentices were not made to suffer for their master's neglect.

<sup>1</sup> Knoop and Jones. *The Scottish Mason*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 502.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1655-1665, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> E.R.B.E., 1655-1665, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 49.

The official time limit for booking apprentices was within one month from the beginning of the indentures.<sup>1</sup> This little detail is very important, because it establishes the dates given for each apprentice in the E.R.A. lists as a fixed point in relation to the subsequent stages in his career, and it provides a sure foundation for a wealth of statistical data that can be extracted from the old records.

**Death or "Decay" of Master.** The death or "decay" of master-craftsmen, which prevented their apprentices from completing their normal terms of service, were a source of trouble to the authorities. It was customary for an apprentice bereft of his master to complete his term with another master in the same trade, but unless the change was properly booked, there was liable to be some difficulty when the apprentice ultimately came up for his freedom. On November 8th, 1622, the Council ordered that all prentices whose masters had died or "decayed" before the expiration of their prenticeship, should appear before the Dean of Gild and his Court, and book themselves for the number of years still to run with their new master, warning those who disobeyed that they would not be granted their freedom. An exception, however, was made for those apprentices who completed their terms of service by remaining in the widow's employ.

**Duration of Service.** A point of great interest to the craft historian is the customary length of service of a mason's apprentice. The Seal of Cause of 1475 certainly envisaged the possibility that an apprentice might be made freeman and fellow after the bare minimum apprenticeship of seven years. The Council records during late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries show that the seven year term was *not* deemed sufficient. On April 28th, 1585, the Council ordained that no apprentice be received Burgess by right of his apprenticeship ". . . without he haif seruit after the ische (issue) of his prenteisschip ane frieman for the space of thre yeir for meitt and fie . . ." <sup>2</sup>

The Statute gives three reasons for this extended term of service:—

- (a) The extra experience to be gained.
- (b) To ensure that an apprentice had less rights through his years of service than his master's son could acquire by heritage.
- (c) To encourage apprentices to marry their masters' daughters. A non-freeman could acquire the freedom (at the cheapest rate) by marrying a burgess' daughter, and if he did this at the end of his indentures he was absolved from the extra three years! The Burgess Rolls show that the masons took full advantage of this arrangement.

The additional three year period of service must have been unpopular with apprentices, and the Council soon found that they were evading the spirit of the Act of 1585 by serving the extra three years wherever they pleased, *i.e.*, with non-freemen, and even with employers outside the Burgh. On 7th April, 1615, the earlier statute was tightened up, so that the three years had to be served to ". . . ane burges and frieman of this burgh of the sam tred, craft and calling quherto he was bund prenteis . . ." <sup>3</sup>

A few years later, in 1598, William Schaw, the King's Master of Works, issued his famous code of regulations addressed specifically to the mason craft, and it is interesting to see that these rules were far more exacting in their demands, for they required a further *seven* years of service after the expiration of his apprenticeship before a mason might be made "brother and fallow in craft".<sup>4</sup>

We shall see, when we examine details of numerous apprenticeships in the mason trade, that this 14 year training period demanded by the Schaw Statutes was little more than a pious hope, and however desirable it may have been as an ideal to be aimed at, it was practically ignored by the craft.

**Fees.** The fees paid for booking of apprentices seem to be very modest sums by present-day standards. The Decreet Arbitral of 1583, ordered that every apprentice at his booking should pay to the Clerk (of the Council) "sex penneis and for the owt-drawcht twelf penneis . . ." <sup>5</sup> The same Statute specifies the fees which were payable to the "common purse" of the Burgh by apprentices to the different crafts; and mason prentices were assessed at 13/4 for "Booking", plus £3 6s. 8d. for "upsett" at the end of their apprenticeships.

<sup>1</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 534. In Feb., 1656, the time limit was extended to forty days (E.R.B.E., 1655-1665, p. 9).

<sup>2</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, pp. 412-3.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1604-1626, pp. 126-7.

<sup>4</sup> Lyon, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 273. I assume that "owt-drawcht" means the writing of the indentures.

### THE BURGESS AND THE BURGH

The ultimate aim of every apprentice was to be made Burgess; only then could he begin to enjoy the full rights of citizenship and exercise the freedom of his craft. Burgess status alone did not qualify craftsmen to practise their craft as masters. The craftsmen were first made free by their own craft organisation, but even then *within the Burgh limits* they were still unable to exercise their trade as masters, until after they had been made Burgess. Usually, the freedom of a Craft and Burgess status were practically simultaneous, and the two combined made the holder a fully responsible member of the Burgh.

**Residence.** The real body of the town's citizens were the ordinary Burgesses, who acquired the status as burgess heirs, or by apprenticeship, or marriage. It was a status that brought some real privileges, but it also involved many and arduous responsibilities. The first and most important of these was residence, and no merchant or craftsman could enjoy the privileges of Burgess-ship unless he resided within the Burgh limits. An act of Council of 1567 ordered that no "outlandish" men be made Burgess, etc., till they had married and had "stob and staik" within the Burgh, and no craftsmen save such as had completed their apprenticeship in the said Burgh.

Leith and the Canongate were outside those limits, and there are any number of entries in the Council records warning burgesses to take up their residence under severe financial penalties:—

27 Oct. 1669 . . . The same day compeired Rob. Dowglas merchand, Burges of Edinburgh, indweller in Leith, comperand acts and obliges himself that he shall come to Edinburgh & reseed there with his wyff and familly at Witsunday nixto come under the paine of ane hundreth punds Scots money.

(Signed) Rob. Douglas.<sup>1</sup>

In August, 1691, the Council made matters much easier, by defining the period of residence as at least eight months in the year, with a warning that those who did not spend those eight months in Edinburgh would be counted as unfreemen throughout the whole period of their absence.<sup>2</sup> After this date, there are very few notes on the subject of residence in the Burgh records.

**Weapons.** One of the more serious responsibilities of every Burgess was in connection with the defence of the Burgh, and here his duties fell under several heads. The newly-made Burgess was expected to provide himself with weapons (or armour), and to attend the annual "weapon-showing".

After a time the Council realised that to allow the citizens to provide their own weapons was not likely to yield the most efficient results, and in 1647 we find that the B. and G. admission fees carry a surcharge for weapons, new Burgesses paying an additional £10 Scots, and Gild brethren paying £16.<sup>3</sup> The last record of admission with a weapon (musket) was in 1644.<sup>4</sup>

**"Watch and Ward."** "Watching and Warding" was a more continuous responsibility of Burgesses. Until the end of the sixteenth century there was no kind of established constabulary in the Burgh, and Burgesses were expected to discharge this duty under a rota drawn up by the Baillies. In 1597, this somewhat rough and ready arrangement was abolished and an annual levy (watch-money) was instituted to defray the cost of a hired watch.

**"Extents."** "Extents" were the basis of the burghal system of taxation. The fourteen Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh were assessed as to what proportion each craft must pay out of every £100 that was required by the Burgh from its crafts.<sup>5</sup> In 1574 new rates were published, and they are interesting as showing the status of the Masons and Wrights in relation to the other Crafts. Out of every £100, the Skinners paid £20, Tailors £18, Bakers £13, Hammermen £13, Fleshers £9, Cordwainers £7, Goldsmiths £6, Weavers £2 13s. 4d., Barbers £3, Masons and Wrights (combined) £8.

But the Burgh records show that the wrights in the Burgh outnumbered the masons enormously, in a proportion of perhaps three to one. *Had the extent been levied upon the masons alone*, it is extremely doubtful if they could have borne more than 2% of the total.

**Privileges.** The privileges of Burgesses were not very numerous, but some of them were very important. They enjoyed certain educational advantages for their children, a rough and ready system of charitable grants for those impoverished through age or ill-health,

<sup>1</sup> R.E.B.1, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> R.E.B.1, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1642-1655, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> R.E.B.1, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> A similar system applied to merchants and other "indwellers".



a meagre system of quarterly grants (or pensions) for widows, right of asylum in the town's hospitals, and a certain priority of housing within the narrow boundaries of the overcrowded city. But first, before all these, was the right of craftsmen Burgesses to exercise their crafts as masters, for Edinburgh was a closed shop to unfreemen in those days.

Most important of all the Burgesses' privileges was the Burgh's defence of their trade interests, and the Burgh records are full of all sorts of Acts and Statutes designed to protect the Edinburgh Burgesses against infringements of their rights. A statute of 1579 is rather curious, because it is directed against the Craft Incorporations themselves which had been passing their craftsmen to have liberty and freedom to work within the Burgh *before they had been made Burgess* "conforme to the auld ordour". No particular crafts are named in the record, but this is typically the kind of thing that could have happened with the masons, where the Lodge at Mary's Chapel and the Craft Incorporation were so closely linked as to be almost indistinguishable. The complaint was laid by the Council before the Deacons of Crafts, who were forced to admit that such actions were against the best interests of the town, and it was ordered that ". . . in cace ony craftsman vse the fredome of ane freman befor his admissioun in maner foirsaid thai are content to tyne (=forfeit) their seill of caus, privigelis and fredomis thair of . . ." <sup>1</sup> So the Deacons promised, under penalty of forfeiting their Seal of Cause, that they would prevent this abuse in future. In 1602 a similar statute carried only a penalty of £20 to be paid by the Deacon of the offending craft.

I have only been able to trace one other record relating to this type of offence, a comparatively late entry in the Town Council minutes, dated 18th March, 1702:—

"The same day the Council prohibits and discharges the Incorporation of the Baikers and other Incorporations of this city in all tyme coming to communicat the fredome of the trade to any in the head of the Cannongate or any other place within this burgh but to such who are burgesses and appoynts the several corporations to cause record thir presents in their respective books and return ane extract of the same to the Council." <sup>2</sup>

These three examples, dated 1579, 1602 and 1702, are not necessarily indicative of widespread and continuous practices; they may have been only occasional lapses. But in our study of the conditions of the operative mason craft in Edinburgh these rulings of the Town Council are very significant, for they show how far the crafts as a whole (and the mason craft among them) were subservient to the Burgh authority in all matters which might affect the public interest.

**Unfreemen.** Far more frequent were the difficulties which arose because of individual infringements of the Burgesses' rights.

In March, 1584-5, a scale of penalties was laid down for individual breaches of the statutes against unfreemen:—

1st Fault	...	...	...	£5 fine
2nd "	...	...	...	£10 fine
3rd "	...	...	...	Banishment

Typical of the lengths to which the Council would go in order to protect its freemen was a statute made at the same time ordering that no houses within the Burgh limits were to be let to any unfree men or women (unless they were forced to stay in Edinburgh to attend process at law). All unfree persons were to be removed before Whit-Sunday next, and no houses were to be let henceforth to unfree persons under penalty of £2 per house "unforgiven". <sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the infringements by unfreemen continued. In 1633 there was a complaint by the Deacons of the Masons and Wrights that they suffered by the unjust intrusion and usurpation of sundry unfree persons dwelling both within and without the Burgh, bringing local craftsmen to ruin, and they requested that all such persons be prevented from working in the Burgh unless they be examined and found qualified to be admitted "to the libertie". <sup>4</sup>

Still the troubles continued. In 1668 the Council ordered again that the acts against unfreemen were to be put into execution, and announced that ". . . all persones ar declared unfriemen that are not actually entered burgesses whither they pretend richt as burges sones or be mariage prenteship or any uther maner of way quhatsomever . . ." <sup>5</sup>

The various entries in the Burgh records relate, of course, to all sorts of crafts, but the infringements and difficulties arising therefrom are reflected in the Lodge minutes of Mary's

<sup>1</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, pp. 110-111.

<sup>2</sup> R.E.B.2, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> E.R.B.E., 1626-1641, pp. 123-5.

<sup>5</sup> E.R.B.E., 1665-1680, p. 50.

Chapel. In 1599 an unfree mason accused of taking work "over fre maisteris heidis" made a saucy answer, and it was ordered that no master in Edinburgh should give him work, under penalty of £40.<sup>1</sup> Similar cases are quoted in Lyon<sup>2</sup> during 1618 and 1680. Thus we see that the infringements were fairly continuous, but very rarely by the same man twice. The powers of the Council were almost unlimited, and an offender might be haled off to prison, to remain there without trial until he changed his mind and made submission.

But in spite of the town's solicitude for its Burgesses, the Council would not allow any high-handed action of the crafts which might affect the common weal. In times of labour shortage (and when specialist skills were needed) the Council would have no compunction in employing unfreemen upon the town's works. An excellent example of this is recorded in the M.T.C. of April, 1577:—

"The provest baillies and counsall understanding that the wrychtis and masonis of thair pretendit maner had stoppit certan *masonis vnfremen* to big ane cone in Grayes clois *because* the baxteris wald nocht geve thame sic exorbitant prices as thay desyrit for remeid quhair of the provest baillies and counsall . . . ordanit that the saidis *vnfre masones* . . . *sall compleit and end the said wark and nane vtheris*, and commandis this ordour to be kept in all tymes cuming quhen wrychtis or masonis becomis vnresonabill on thair prices."<sup>3</sup>

**Burgess Fees.** One very great privilege of Burgesses was the right which devolved upon their heirs of acquiring the "Libertie" at a nominal fee. The rates were altered from time to time, but they may be briefly stated as follows:—

Between 1450 and 1736 a Burgess' eldest son paid from 6/8 to 13/4; a second son or a son-in-law paid from 13/4 to 20/-. Apprentices (1602 to 1736) paid £5. All rates were subject to contemporary surcharges for weapons and watchmoney. Burgess status by "purchase" was far more expensive; between 1450 and 1642 the fee rose from £2 to £160; between 1654 and 1736 it fluctuated from £50 to £66.

It was customary for intending Burgesses who were short of ready cash to provide a "souerty" (*i.e.*, security) for their fees. When, as frequently happened, they were not resident in the Burgh, they also had to provide someone of standing who would give surety for their taking up residence within a specified time, and we also find numerous entries showing that guarantors were provided for "watching and warding", for the provision of weapons and armour, and for payment of "extents".

**Minimum Age For Burgesses.** It is impossible to be precise as to the minimum age for Burgesses. This is never stated. It depended so much on the length of the apprenticeship, which varied from five to seven, or even eight years. Apprenticeships might begin at the age of 13 or 14. After the apprenticeship was over, a period of from two to four years was served as journeyman. During this time the journeyman made sufficient money for his entrance fees and the expense of setting up on his own.

(I am indebted to the learned Keeper of the Burgh Records, Edr., for this note.)

**Gildbrother.** The status of Gildbrotherhood was a higher and very exclusive grade of citizenship. It conferred upon its holders certain trading privileges, and considerable powers in the election of the Town Council and its officers.

The privilege of Gildry was, however, a very rare and expensive luxury, except for those who acquired it at the lowest fees by inheritance, or by apprenticeship to a master who was both Burgess and Gildbrother.

Craftsmen, of course, did not need to enter Gildbrother, and did not do so unless they intended to abandon active work in their craft.

The comparative exclusiveness of Gildbrotherhood may be deduced from the R.E.B. index. Out of some 240 mason Burgesses recorded between 1488 and 1750, only 33 became Gildbrothren.

### MASON EXTRACTS FROM THE EDINBURGH REGISTER OF APPRENTICES

The statistical charts which follow are all based on the Tables of mason extracts from the Edinburgh Register of Apprentices. (The Tables are printed in full in the larger work, which is only summarised here.)

The first point to be noted, is the small number of men who were booked, as apprentices to the mason trade, within our period. In the 172 years from 1584-1755, only 197 names were booked in the town records; but the Mary's Chapel minutes show that during this period a considerable number of men were admitted to the Lodge as entered apprentices (and

<sup>1</sup> Lyon, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> E.R.B.E., 1573-1589, p. 58.

many passed as Fellows of Craft) whose names cannot be traced on the E.R.A. lists. Undoubtedly some of these men were properly booked, but they cannot be identified owing to lack of information as to their father's or master's names.

It is probable that some of these unidentified Mary's Chapel men belonged to the associated trades, e.g., quarriers, painters, plumbers, glaziers, slaters, etc., which have not been included in the extracts. It is also possible that many itinerant masons, who had no intention of taking up residence (and freedom) in Edinburgh, but had merely come to work there for a time, were entered and passed through the Lodge without coming on to the Burgh books. Towards the end of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century the Mary's Chapel minutes sometimes distinguish between those apprentices entered "for the tread" and those for the freedom, and the majority of the latter are, of course, traceable in both E.R.A. and R.E.B., but even here there are some omissions. In the following chart, the actual intake of mason apprentices, as recorded in E.R.A., is shown for each ten-year period.

**NUMBER OF MASON APPRENTICES RECORDED IN E.R.A.**

Period	No. of Mason Apprentices recorded in E.R.A.	Period	No. of Mason Apprentices recorded in E.R.A.
1584 - 1590	5	1671 - 1680	21
1591 - 1600	17	1681 - 1690	15
1601 - 1610	11	1691 - 1700	11
1611 - 1620	19	1701 - 1710	8
1621 - 1630	9	1711 - 1720	4
1631 - 1640	19	1721 - 1730	6
1641 - 1650	17	1731 - 1740	5
1651 - 1660	9	1741 - 1750	2
1661 - 1670	18	1751 - 1755	1

For the purpose of comparing the E.R.A. details with other relevant data, I have divided our period of 170 odd years into five periods of 34 years each. (The first period is 36 years.)

**TRADE TRENDS**

Period	1	2	3
	No. of Mason Apprentices Recorded	No. of Masons' Sons App'd to other trades	No. of Mason Prentices in Col. 1 subsequently Recorded as Burgesses
1584 - 1619	50	12	22
1620 - 1653	50	9	27
1654 - 1687	56	11	23
1688 - 1721	27	5	10
1722 - 1755	14	18	3

A striking feature of the figures is the high proportion of apprentices who failed to take freedom:—

In the 1st period, 1584-1619, 58% remained E.A. or journeymen.  
 " " 2nd " 1620-1653, 46% " " " "  
 " " 3rd " 1654-1687, 61% " " " "  
 " " 4th " 1688-1721, 63% " " " "  
 " " 5th " 1722-1755, 86% " " " "

The number of mason Burgesses recorded under Col. 3 refers only to those who were also booked as apprentices, and the figures are directly related to those in Col. 1. During the period there were a goodly number of mason Burgesses whose names were not booked as apprentices, and they do not appear in the charts above. It is probable, however, that the number of Burgesses in Col. 3 might be slightly increased to allow for those who ultimately obtained their freedom *in right of wedlock*. Several instances of this kind have been included

in Col. 3 where identification was certain ; but where there was any doubt they were omitted.

Returning to the figures of mason apprentices in Col. 1, we notice that the intake of new men was fairly steady during the first three periods. In the 4th period the numbers fell by half, and they were halved again in the final period. When we consider that the later periods were a time of great expansion in the size and population of the city, we can realise how serious was the decline in the system of trade-apprenticeship.

Appropos of decline, in Col. 2 I have shown figures which are interesting only for purposes of comparison. The mason craft, like many other skilled crafts, was very much a family business, the skill of the father being passed on to his sons, and the records show many family names with close trade associations spreading over several generations, e.g., the Hamiltons, Patersons, Taillefeirs, Thomsons, etc. Yet the over-all number of apprentices was so small that it is interesting to compare the figures with the numbers of masons' sons who were apprenticed out of the trade.

In Period 1, 1584-1619, the craft lost 12 potential craftsmen, against 50 that it gained, *i.e.*, 24% loss.

In Period 2, 1620-1653, 9 lost to 50 gained, *i.e.*, 18% loss.

In Period 3, 1654-1687, 11 lost to 56 gained, *i.e.*, 20% loss.

In Period 4, 1688-1721, 18 lost to 27 gained, *i.e.*, 75% loss.

In Period 5, 1722-1755, 5 lost to 14 gained, *i.e.*, 36% loss.

**Four Stages.** In the full-length Tables we have included for every apprentice the principal dates in his career, so far as they can be ascertained from the Town records and from the minutes of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel. In the best-recorded cases we have four separate dates ; in others we have only one, two or three. The mass of information thus collated shows that the routine stages of a mason's career in Edinburgh followed a fairly uniform pattern of four separate stages:—

- (1) The Booking in the Town Records at the beginning of the apprenticeship.
- (2) Admission into the Lodge as an *entered* apprentice. A check of the dates shows that admission as E.A. was usually two to three years after the date of the booking ; actually a 2½ years' average over 99 cases.
- (3) Passing in the Lodge as a Fellow Craft. A check of dates shows that those apprentices who passed as Fellow-crafts usually did so about 10 years after their date of booking, *i.e.*, approximately 7½ years after being made "Entered Apprentice". (An average taken over 63 cases.)
- (4) The final stage of Burgess-ship, which, taken over 69 recorded cases, averaged approximately 11 years from the date of booking ; but if long-delayed freedoms are ignored, that figure would be exactly 10 years and 8 months. Thus we see that those craftsmen who were able to attain the freedom did so, as a rule, within 10 or 12 months after passing F.C. in the Lodge.

### APPRENTICES AND ENTERED APPRENTICES

One of the many important results of our study of these old records is the new evidence which emerges upon the relative status of the "Apprentice" and the "Entered Apprentice". The Schaw Statutes imply that the apprentice served for seven years, and that at the end of that time, unless he had special permission, he was to wait a further seven years before he was passed F.C. *The statute does not name the "rank or quality" of the young mason during the second period*, but gives certain clues, *i.e.*, a reference to booking the date of "ressauying" (=reception), and another reference to the booking of the date of entry. From these clues, in conjunction with the meagre evidence that is available from early Lodge records, it has been generally deduced that a mason-apprentice was "apprentice" during the seven or so years of his indentures, and when that was ended he became an "entered apprentice".

It should be noted, however, that former studies of the question have been largely hypothetical because we have lacked fundamental data in general, and especially two all-important dates in respect of each apprentice, *i.e.*, the actual date of booking and the number of years already served at the time when an apprentice was made "Entered apprentice". Here, at last, in the Edinburgh Register of Apprentices and in a closer examination of the Mary's Chapel minutes, we are able to fill in those gaps, and it is clear that we must modify our views very considerably.

First, as to our definition of the term "Booking". The Schaw Statutes imply that it was the official recording of the commencement of an apprentice's term of indentures, and the Statute ordered that every master was to report the taking of an apprentice to the Warden of the Lodge, in order that the name, date, etc., might be "ord'lie buikit". From this we have inferred that booking was done in the Lodge.

Following a careful examination of the minutes, in conjunction with the E.R.A. lists, it may be stated categorically that (excepting "freak" entries<sup>1</sup>) *there are no records of any such bookings in the Mary's Chapel minutes.* Whatever *bookings* there were, of apprentices, were all made in the *Burgh records*, from which the mason extracts have been collected in the Tables above.

So far as apprentices are concerned, *the M.C. minutes record only the dates when they were made Entered Apprentices.*<sup>2</sup>

This new data on the Entered Apprentices has important bearing on the question of when the apprentices took their first ceremony, *i.e.*, at the beginning or at the end of their term of service. It is a subject outside the strict scope of this essay—but, having uncovered the evidence, we may perhaps touch upon it very briefly.

But we must first take into account the fact that except for the regular mention of those who held office as Deacon or Warden (and the infrequent minutes relating to men who were charged with infringements or misdemeanours), the masons of Mary's Chapel were only recorded twice each in the Minute-Book, once upon being made "Entered Apprentice" and again on being passed F.C.

In the circumstances, we are forced to the conclusion that the "E.A. ceremony" (such as it was) was normally conferred about two or three years after the beginning of indentures, and the "F.C. ceremony" some seven years later.

### THE ENTERED APPRENTICE AND THE JOURNEYMAN

After the Entered Apprentices had finished their indentures, they exercised their craft in the capacity of journeymen. The title "journeyman" (like the word "servand", which appears equally often in the minutes) does not indicate any particular rank or grade of mason, and should be understood as a generic name covering Entered Apprentices, or Fellows of Craft who worked for a master for daily (or weekly) wages.<sup>3</sup>

The journeyman might continue in his former master's employ, or he became a free-lance, taking work wherever it was to be found. As a journeyman he was entitled to take an apprentice, which was a useful source of supplementary income.

There must have been times when the employer (who might be a freeman-burgess, or a fellow craft, or even only a journeyman) was unable to use his apprentice's services profitably, and in such cases it was customary and lawful to hire out the apprentice for a specified time.

When work was plentiful there would be little difficulty, but in times of bad trade the journeymen, with their apprentices, became the scapegoats, and Lodge legislation seems to have been designed either to separate the journeymen from their apprentices, or to compel them to seek work outside the Burgh's jurisdiction.

A situation of this sort must have arisen in 1613 (and again in 1624), and Mary's Chapel, in an effort to remedy the position, decided ". . . to expell out of this burc of Ednr, all kynd of srvands quhidder thay be follows of craft or enterit prenteis that hes prenteis ather workand wthin this toun of Ednr, or wthin ye toun of Leith, presentlie, or to be feit to work in ony tyme heirefter . . ." They further ordained that if a fellow-craft who was a "servand" desired "to fie himself" without his apprentice, any master might hire him; and if he desired to fee his apprentice and not himself (for 6 months or 12) it was lawful for the master to hire the apprentice, but no master was allowed to hire both the fellow-craft and his apprentice together.<sup>4</sup> And, finally, the minutes ruled that if a servand was entered (*i.e.*, entered apprentice) and not a fellow-craft, and desired to fee his apprentice, no master was allowed to fee him.<sup>5</sup>

The Mary's Chapel minute of 1613 clearly recognises the right of an Entered Apprentice to take apprentices, and, despite all restrictions that were raised against them, I have found no evidence of any action on the part of the Lodge or the Town to prevent the practice.

In 1681 the Lodge made regulations designed to penalise those journeymen who refused to pass F.C., and ordered that no master should employ them if they remained unpassed two years "after the date of their discharge".<sup>6</sup> In 1682 the Lodge levied a tax of 12/- Scots per annum on each journeyman "that dous not beloung to our Lodg" for the privilege of working

<sup>1</sup> One such entry is that of Feb. 3rd, 1601, when the Lodge consented to the "buking and entring of Andro Hamiltoun, prenteis to Johnne Watt . . . as past prenteis to ye said Johnne . . ." (Lyon, pp. 78-79). Another reference to booking was in 1636, when the Lodge ordered that ". . . Thomas Gowdie is abstollie forsaken be the compenie and his bouking canselled . . ." (Lyon, p. 47.)

<sup>2</sup> There are two exceptional records in which the Lodge promised to enter an Apprentice within a given time, and in due course we find the normal record of entry.

<sup>3</sup> The M.C. minute of 29th August, 1712, speaks of ". . . journeymen (who) works within the priviledges of this burgh who are not either entered apprentices or fellowcraft . . ."

<sup>4</sup> We see here a great distinction between the status of the Fellow Craft and that of the Freeman Burgess, against whom such a restriction could not have been levelled.

<sup>5</sup> Lyon, p. 31. The (unpublished) minutes for 27th Dec., 1624, ratify the act of 1613 and confirm the original penalty of £10 Scots. Ratified again in Dec., 1670, with £20 penalty.

<sup>6</sup> Lyon, p. 28.

with a freeman; and in 1705 the Lodge issued an edict against jobbing (*i.e.*, free lance) journeymen.<sup>1</sup>

The general aim of the Lodge seems to have been to induce its craftsmen to take up their full responsibilities as artisans, by becoming Fellows of Craft. We have seen from the minutes of 1613 (*ante*) that even the F.C.s suffered certain disabilities as compared with the freemen masters, and it was not until they attained the status of Burgess and Freeman that they achieved full rights, and the maximum exemption from the restrictions which affected the lower grades of craftsmen.

#### “ PAST PRENTEIS ”

The E.R.A. and R.E.B. furnish some additional information on a problem which has perplexed us for many years. Andrew Hamilton was booked as an apprentice to John Watt on May 27th, 1600. He was “entered” apprentice in Mary’s Chapel on February 3rd, 1601, and the minute states that the Lodge “. . . pntlie (=presently) at ye wrytting heiroff enterit ye said Andro Hamiltoun as past prenteis to ye said Johnne Wat his Mr. . . .”<sup>2</sup> What was a “past prenteis”?

In the photographic copy of the Mary’s Chapel minutes (which I have been permitted to examine), I discovered an exact parallel to this item. On December 18th, 1599, the Lodge “. . . promittit to enter Thomas Tailzeфир prenteiss to Thomas Weir betwix and Candilmes nixtocum . . .” (*i.e.*, before the following February 2nd).<sup>3</sup> In fact, he was entered prentice in the Lodge on January 29th, 1600, and the minute is curiously phrased. It states that the Lodge “. . . hes instantlie enterit the said Thomas Tailzeфир an enterit and past prenteiss to the said Thomas Weir”. Again “past prenteiss”!

The full trade records of these two “past prenteisses” were as follows:—

	Recorded in E.R.A.	Mary’s Chapel		Made Burgess
		E.A.	F.C.	
Andro Hamiltoun	27 May, 1600	3 Feb., 1601	2 Dec., 1607	13 Jun., 1610
Thomas Tailzeфир	14 Aug., 1599	29 Jan., 1600	10 Dec., 1607	1 Nov., 1609

The Mary’s Chapel minutes habitually use the word “past” in recording the passing of Fellows of Craft, but clearly this had nothing to do with “past prenteisses”, for both men were duly “past” F.C. several years later. I would hazard the explanation that the term “past prenteis” was a kind of official acknowledgment of their qualifications.

The use of the word “presently” (“pntlie”) in one minute, and “instantlie” in the other, suggests that although, in fact, both apprentices were still fully bound, the Lodge, for some reason, had decided to treat them as past (or finished) apprentices. This would imply that the “past prenteis” was a matter of status, *i.e.*, in relation to salary. In the chapter entitled “Fellow Craft or Master” (see *post*), I have noted a Council regulation fixing masons’ wages for masters and “servands”, with “lads and boys as they are worth”, and in the same chapter it will be seen that one man, John Menzies, who was only an entered apprentice in 1617, was paid on the same scale as the F.C.s with whom he worked on that job. Our two “past prenteisses” belong to an earlier period, but it seems possible that their masters had them established and recorded as “past prenteisses” on the day they were entered, in order that they might be officially recognised as being qualified for a certain scale of pay.

It is perhaps pure coincidence that these two “past prenteisses” had another unusual characteristic in common, and this is discussed below, under the title “Delayed Freedom”.

#### MASON EXTRACTS FROM THE EDINBURGH BURGESS ROLLS

Altogether, some 240 mason Burgesses are recorded in Edinburgh within the period 1488-1760. The early records are, however, very scanty and perhaps unreliable. One mason was made B. in 1488, and then there is a gap till 1550, when a steady stream of mason entries begin; there are no records at all between 1500 and 1520. To all intents and purposes, there were 240 mason Burgesses within the 210 years from 1550 to 1760. In the period 1550-1580 some 28 Burgesses are recorded, the majority “by act of Council”, and among them were at least seven who were made B. gratis, for services rendered to the “guid toun”.

<sup>1</sup> Lodge Minutes, 27th Dec., 1705.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Lyon, p. 41.

For purposes of comparison with the E.R.A. charts, I have analysed the best-documented period 1584-1755 (204 Burgesses), and here I have again broken up the data into five periods of approximately 34 years each, and have shown how these 204 men qualified for their freedom, either by Apprenticeship, Heritage, Wedlock, or by Act of Council.

Burgesses Made in the Period from 1584-1755:—

Period	1 By Apprentice- ship	2 By Heritage	3 By Wedlock	4 By act of Paid	5 Council Gratis	6 Total
1584 - 1619	23	6	6	4	1	40
1620 - 1653	23	10	6	8	—	47
1654 - 1687	27	8	5	5	4	49
1688 - 1721	11	6	10	11	—	38
1722 - 1755	5	6	16	2	1	30
Total	89	36	43	30	6	204

In the E.R.A. lists for the same period we dealt with 197 mason apprentices. Here we have 204 Burgesses, but only eighty-five of the men in the R.E.B. are the same as those recorded in E.R.A. The reasons for this discrepancy are clear. Many of those who were booked as mason apprentices in E.R.A. either failed to take their freedom, or cannot be identified in the R.E.B. lists. Again there are many names in the R.E.B. lists of freemen who were never booked as prentices in E.R.A.

Returning to the analysis above, we find that almost half the total number of freemen acquired their right by apprenticeship, and the last two periods, 1688-1721 and 1722-1755 again reflected the decline in apprenticeship. Burgesses by heritage and by wedlock were approximately equal over all, but it is interesting to see that the decline in apprenticeship coincides with a *rise* in freedoms conferred by wedlock, during the last two periods. It is as though masons who could not be bothered to serve an apprenticeship for their freedom were well content to acquire the status by a less arduous route!

**The Four-Stages and Reverse-Order.** We have already noted that the fully recorded careers of the operative masons in our period fall clearly into four stages:—

- (1) Booking in the Town Records.
- (2) Entering as "enterit" apprentice in the Lodge.
- (3) Passing as Fellow of Craft in the Lodge.
- (4) Taking the Freedom.

and in the vast majority of fully-recorded cases this was the usual pattern or routine. An examination of the date columns in the E.R.A. lists shows that there were about a dozen exceptions to this routine, and in these cases we find that the Freedom had been acquired *before* these men were passed as F.C.

All these cases of "Reverse-Order", with only one exception, belong to the period 1630-1670, when the Lodge still functioned strongly as an operative organization, and it is difficult to find an explanation for the seeming complacency with which the Lodge accepted these "Reverse-Order" Burgess-ships.

Whatever the reasons, the total number of cases of "Reverse-Order" in this period is comparatively small, and it does not suggest any widespread abuse.

In our last period, however, 1722-1755, the number of operative masons who were joining Mary's Chapel had grown very small, and from 1729 onwards the few instances of "Reverse-Order" are proportionately much higher, indicating a serious breakdown in the normal routine.

Indeed, the records reveal at least three cases of men who had been entered apprentices in the Lodge, and some time later appear in the town records as Freemen Burgesses of their Craft, although they never troubled to be passed F.C. at all, and simply disappear from the M.C. minutes.

#### FELLOW-CRAFT OR MASTER

One of the many problems upon which the Burgh records shed a little light is the status of the Fellow Craft. It is clear beyond doubt that the Fellow Crafts were masons who had completed all their years of training, and were no longer bound to anyone. In those

places outside the Burgh limits, *where there was no higher jurisdiction than the Lodge*, they would be free to take work as masters, and to employ masters, journeymen or apprentices.

Within the Edinburgh Burgh limits, however, they were still subject to the overriding authority of the Council, and they did not rank as masters until they had taken their Freedom. There was, at that stage, practically nothing to stop them from acquiring the status of Freeman Burgess; it was simply a matter of residence, paying the requisite fees, and providing customary sureties for "extents", etc.

For those who could not qualify at the reduced fees, the Freedom must have been an almost unattainable luxury, and they could progress no further than Fellow of Craft. We have seen, from the Mary's Chapel minute of 1613 (which was confirmed by the Lodge in 1624 and 1670) that the Fellow Crafts of Edinburgh were subject to restrictions which could never have been imposed upon the Freeman Masters in the Lodge. The minutes at that time frequently contain phrases which indicate the "composition" of the Lodge, and up to the 1640's the Fellow Crafts are conspicuously absent from these entries, *e.g.*:—

18 Dec., 1599: The "dekin & maistris" elected their warden. (Lyon, p. 41).

18 Dec., 1599: The "warden & maistris wt the consent of the Ludge" order Paull maissoun to pay his servant's wages. (Lyon, p. 41).

27 Dec., 1636: ". . . be for the heall ginrell compenie off mesteres Thomas Gowdie is absootlie forsaken be the compenie . . ." (Lyon, p. 47).

There are indeed a number of minutes which indicate that the Lodge acted "with consent" of the Brethren (*i.e.*, Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts), but up to the 1670's it is evident that the whole *management* of the Lodge lay in the hands of the masters, who are usually referred to as Freeman Masters or Freeman Burgesses. The majority of the early minutes are signed by the masters present (or else their marks) and almost invariably we can trace each of these men in the Burgess Roll.

In short, the situation in Edinburgh may be summed up as follows:—

- (1) The Freeman Masters were the actual full members and managers of the Lodge, with the fullest rights within the Burgh and the Lodge.
- (2) The fellow crafts were fully trained masons, potential masters, and they could take apprentices, and do a limited amount of "Jobbing" on their own account, but they could not work as masters until they had been made Burgess.
- (3) They needed no additional qualification for the status of master beyond the payment of the appropriate fees, and the execution of an "essay".
- (4) The Lodge minutes do not indicate any kind of ceremony or procedure for making a fellow into a master. A man is "past falow of craft" in the Lodge and nothing more is usually heard about him until after he has been made Burgess and Freeman, and then without any announcement or minute of any kind, we find him signing the Lodge minutes as one of the "friman mesteres".

### DELAYED FREEDOM

Andro Hamiltoun was "Booked" apprentice to John Watt in 1600,<sup>1</sup> and was entered apprentice on February 3rd, 1601, in Mary's Chapel, where the minutes state that he was "enterit . . . as past prenteis to ye said Johnne Watt".<sup>2</sup>

On 2nd December, 1607, Hamilton was passed F.C. in the Lodge, and the minutes record that he was then ordered not to pursue his liberty, or freedom, until two-and-a-half years had expired. Then, almost exactly two-and-a-half years later we find Hamilton recorded in the Burgh books as having been made Burgess and Freeman.

This is one of those perfectly documented cases where we can follow the stages in a mason's career from first to last. Lyon<sup>3</sup> reproduces the minute relating to Hamilton's passing, at length, and he comments on it as follows:—

"The liberty to work as Master Masons was in some instances withheld for periods of from two to ten years."

Unfortunately, he does not cite any other instances of "Delayed Freedom", and for many years his comment has been accepted as a statement of fact, although the idea of a ten-year delay has always seemed unduly harsh and quite out of keeping with normal trade custom of that time, which usually required only a three-year delay, after the completion of the period of the indentures.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.R.A.1, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> The problem of the "Past Prenteis" is discussed separately (*ante*).

<sup>3</sup> Lyon, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*. "Duration of Service".



Access to the photographic records of the Mary's Chapel minutes, has enabled me to discover two items which bear on this question of "Delayed Freedom".

On 19th December, 1615, William Thorbran was made Fellow of Craft in Mary's Chapel, and this was duly recorded.<sup>1</sup> There is no record of his admission as an entered apprentice, and he does not appear in E.R.A.<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to find a mason of that name in R.E.B., but on 29th November, 1615, a Wm. Thorburn (or Thoirbrand), *whose trade is not specified*, was made Burgess, in right of his marriage to the daughter of the late John Broun, mason, Burgess, and it is extremely probable that this is our Wm. T.

It should be noted that W.T. was made B. in November, 1615, and passed F.C. a month later. Apparently, it was a normal "unconditional" passing, and the minute does not hint at any kind of restriction or delay. But there may have been some sort of verbal arrangement, because exactly one year later, on the 19th December, 1616, the minutes indicate that Wm. T. had fallen foul of the Lodge in some way:—

" . . . it is ordenit amangst the haill friemen of Edr. that Wm. Thorbran sall nocht perseu the Leberte and aney furdre nor he has done quhill tua zeirs expyre and then thairefter (a word illegible) the expyrmt of the foresaids tua zeirs gif he cum upoun the goudwill of the haill friemen it sall be lesum to him to seik custom . . ."<sup>3</sup>

If the Wm. T. of Mary's Chapel is the same as the Wm. T. in R.E.B., then he had already been a Burgess for some 13 months before this delayed freedom was imposed, and it is difficult to imagine how the Lodge could take such action. It is possible that he was under 21 at the time of his marriage, and the Lodge took a realistic view of the matter<sup>4</sup> by passing him F.C. and imposing a two-years "delayed freedom", despite his Burgess-ship. (There is no official statement as to the minimum age for Burgess-ship.)

As an alternative solution, it is possible that Wm. T. was still serving his term of apprenticeship at the time of his marriage, and the Lodge, in making him F.C., merely ratified his status as Burgess, and imposed the "delay". I think this is the more probable explanation.

I have found only one other instance of "Delayed Freedom", and it is perhaps the most important of all, because it corrects or explains Murray Lyon's misleading comment on the subject. The minute relates to the passing of Thomas Tailzefer, who, like Andro Hamiltoun, above, was entered in Mary's Chapel as a "past prenteis".

"Ye tent day of december 1607.

The qlk day Thomas Tailzefer prenteis to Thomas Weir massoun burges & freman of Edr is admittit fellow of craft amangst ye fremen of Edr and hes done deutie in all poynts as efferis to ye c'tentment of ye deken wairdin and haill mrs. of ye said massoun craft undersubcryvin wt — (a word illegible) hands & ye said Thomas binds & obleiss himself yt ten zeirs efter ye dait of his indentur sall expyre befoir he perseu his lebertie of fredome & he sall serve wtin this burt dureing ye haill space of ye said zeirs."<sup>5</sup>

Here we see where Lyon got the idea of a ten-year delay. In this minute the ten-year figure is actually prescribed, but a careful reading shows that it means ten years from the *beginning* of Thomas Tailzefer's indentures. In fact, he was made freeman B. two years later, just ten years and four months after the date of his original booking in E.R.A.

It is very curious that these two cases of "past prenteis" (the only ones known at present) should also prove to be the two best-documented instances of "Delayed Freedom". Could there be any connection between their admission as "past prenteis" and the delays that were imposed?

If, as I suggested earlier, they were entered as "past prenteis" in order to qualify them for higher rates of pay, it is possible the "Delayed Freedom" was imposed in order to discount the Lodge's liberality at the time of their admission; but this is pure conjecture.

### MARY'S CHAPEL RECORDS

Despite the mass of information which is furnished by the Burgh Records, the Apprentice Registers and the Burgess Rolls, our study of the mason craft of Edinburgh would be incomplete without recourse to the minute-books of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel. In the preceding chapters we have made good use of some of this material to supplement our

<sup>1</sup> M.C. Minutes, folio 67.

<sup>2</sup> The M.C. Minutes for 24th Nov., 1605, record that a Wm. Thorbraine was made F.C., but this cannot be the same man, unless the minute was intended to say that he was admitted E.A.

<sup>3</sup> M.C. Minutes, fol. 66A.

<sup>4</sup> M.C. Minutes for 1683 ruled that none under 21 were eligible for an essay for passing as F.C. See Lyon, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> M.C. Minutes, fol. 11.

information from burghal sources, with the result that we have a very clear picture of the mason's trade career in all its aspects up to the 1670's.

The later period is not so clear. We have already seen, in each of the statistical charts, the evidence of some sort of decline, which becomes increasingly noticeable with the passing years. But the reasons for the decline and the nature and scope of the changes are not easily visible; and here the supplementary information to be gleaned from the minute-books of Mary's Chapel becomes extremely valuable.

As a preliminary to our examination of the period of decline and transition, the following chart is designed to show details of admissions of apprentices into the Lodge, with records of passings and other relevant data.

Analysis of Recorded Admissions into the Lodge of Edinburgh Mary's Chapel:—

	Operatives		Non-Operatives		Raisings
	E.A.	F.C.	E.A. & F.C. <sup>1</sup>		
1599 - 1600	4	1	—		
1601 - 1610	10	17	—		
1611 - 1620	12	8	—		
1621 - 1630	13	2	—		
1631 - 1640	26	27	7		
1641 - 1650	14	17	5		
1651 - 1660	21	19	2		
1661 - 1670	35	21	4		
1671 - 1680	62	25	2		
1681 - 1690	46	25	—		
1691 - 1700	32	23	2		
1701 - 1710	39	45	11		
1711 - 1720	36	20	3		
1721 - 1730	29	4	36 <sup>2</sup>		
1731 - 1735	3	6	8 <sup>3</sup>		
			E.A.	F.C.	
See Note <sup>1</sup>					
1736 - 1740	5	4	37	27	13 in 1738 5 in 1748
1741 - 1750	7	2	11	8 <sup>4</sup>	3 in 1750 7 in 1754
1751 - 1755	3	2	28	16	1 in 1755

At first glance the chart reveals the high proportion of entrants to Mary's Chapel who failed to make their "bookings" in the town records. In the period 1601-1700 there were 271 operative apprentices "entered" in the Mary's Chapel records,<sup>5</sup> while only 149 apprentices were booked in the town's register of apprentices; nearly half of all Mary's Chapel apprentices during that century failed to make their "booking".

In the period 1701-1755 there were 123 Operative apprentices entered in Mary's Chapel and only 26 were "booked". Apparently "booking" was no longer necessary.<sup>6</sup>

As regards Fellows of Craft, we find in the period 1601-1700 that about two out of every three apprentices eventually passed F.C.; but a closer look at the figures shows that the rate of passings was not uniform over the whole of that century. There were two distinct phases. In the first 70 years, 1601-1670, passings averaged more than eight out of every ten apprentices admitted. In the last three decades of that century only five men in every ten were being passed. The proportion would probably have been lower, but for the frequent regulations made against "unpassed" apprentices and journeymen. The exceptionally large number of F.C.s passed in 1701-1710 (forty-five in all) was the direct result of one such regulation passed by the Lodge in 1705, after Deacon Nisbet had been accused of "tolerating" journeymen. The Lodge ordained a fine of £10 Scots on all masters who might be found

<sup>1</sup> Up to 1735, all Non-Ops. were admitted to the F.C. grade in a single session. Starting in 1736, they were only admitted E.A.'s, and passed at later dates.

<sup>2</sup> Plus 3 Joining Non-Operative E.A.'s who were passed F.C.

<sup>3</sup> Plus 4 Joining Non-Operative E.A.'s who were passed F.C.

<sup>4</sup> In addition, two men were re-passed, and two joining E.A.'s were passed between 1738 and 1750.

<sup>5</sup> There are no admission records for some ten years during this century.

<sup>6</sup> See Chart of Mason Apprentices Recorded in E.R.A., *ante*, p. 37.

guilty of this offence, and the journeymen involved were debarred from all work in the town for full three years. Between 1706 and 1708 no less than 31 men were passed F.C., clearly as a result of this edict.

From 1730 onwards, the numbers of Operative apprentices fell sharply, revealing the extent to which the Lodge had by that time lost its operative character.

The data relating to admissions of non-operatives is very interesting, and the figures effectively dispose of any suggestion that the non-operatives can have played any important part in the Lodge during the seventeenth century.

The substantial influx of non-operatives into the Lodge did not begin until the 1720's, and even then there was not a steady flow, but a series of spasmodic bursts of activity, interspersed with periods of comparative quiet. In the decade 1721-1730, 36 non-operatives were admitted altogether, but 12 of them came in during 1721, and 20 in 1727. From 1736-1740, admissions of non-operatives rose very sharply, and out of 21 men admitted in 1740, only one was an operative mason.

Between 1742 and 1752 admissions averaged only about two per annum, but there were 20 new men in 1753 and 1754, and among them only three operatives.

(The figures relating to "Raisings" are wholly irrelevant to this study—merely a by-product of the analysis of the minute books.)

### EVIDENCE OF DECLINE

Towards the end of our period, despite the increasing population of Edinburgh, we find a steady decline in the numbers of craftsmen who sought the status of Burgess-ship.

It should be noted, however, that during this period when the proportion of mason Burgesses was decreasing, there was a steady and substantial intake of apprentices and journeymen into the Lodge. Indeed, the figures show that up to the year 1730 there was an ample supply of tradesmen. It was only the old "four-stage" routine that was breaking down.

At first glance, the high intake of operative apprentices into Mary's Chapel in proportion to the decreasing numbers of mason Freemen, might seem to suggest that the Lodge was beginning to usurp (or take over) some of the trade-control functions of the Burgh authority. But this was no mere change of management, and the declining numbers of mason Burgesses appear to be matched by a decline in the power and influence of the Lodge, and by a noticeable change in its objectives.

Unfortunately, this aspect of Edinburgh's Masonic history is not richly documented, and in examining the factors which contributed to the changes, it is often difficult to distinguish cause and effect.

**Apprentices Refusing to Pass F.C.** In the E.R.A. statistics we noted the high proportion of apprentices who failed to take their *freedom*, and this tendency is most noticeable in the last periods, 1688-1755. But a glance at the Mary's Chapel chart reveals that quite a high proportion *refused to pass F.C.* Apparently the years of their apprenticeship were sufficient to qualify them to earn their livelihood quite comfortably as journeymen, and so long as they had no particular ambition to set up as masters, there was no need for them to undertake the responsibility and the financial obligation of passing F.C.

The reasons for this reluctance may have been purely economic, and the Lodge seems to have been slow to realise that the results might be detrimental to the craft.

**Trouble with Intruding and Itinerant Labour.** The Lodge minutes of February and March, 1673, show that the craft within the city limits was suffering from the "encroachment" of masons from the little town of Corstorphine, three miles outside Edinburgh, who had ". . . most unhandsomely intruded themselves upon the liberties of the Burgh . . ." <sup>1</sup> This was not a single breach. And the trouble with the Corstorphine men recurs at intervals in the M.C. minutes up to 1680.

The Lodge minutes from 27th December, 1681, suggest that the masons of Edinburgh were suffering also from the activities of itinerant journeymen. Speaking of unpassed journeymen, we read, ". . . and such as should happen to rouse in ye toun shall be debarred from service or any employment conforme to ye forsd act unlesse y<sup>e</sup> they obleidge themselves to tuo or three years service . . ." <sup>2</sup>

**Rival Lodges.** It is possible that the Lodge was suffering other difficulties on its own boundaries. Canongate (a separate Burgh with its own Incorporation of wrights, coopers and masons since 1585) actually formed the eastern part of the city, and here the Lodge and the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel had no jurisdiction. The foundation of the Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, in 1677, as a so-called branch of Mother Kilwinning, may not have

<sup>1</sup> M.C. Minutes, fol. 47.

<sup>2</sup> M.C. Minutes, fol. 56a.

made any material difference to the craft in Edinburgh at that time, but its very existence seems to indicate that Mary's Chapel was losing its grip. In May, 1688, yet another Lodge was founded, by masons seceding from Mary's Chapel, (Canongate and Leith, Leith and Canongate), and in December of that year a strong protest appeared in the Mary's Chapel minutes, with penalties for any who employed the culprits. Eventually, only one man out of those who seceded returned to Mary's Chapel—and the new Lodge continued in peace. It seems evident that it was no longer possible to bring the Canongate and Leith masons to heel by forbidding them work within the Edinburgh city limits, because the growth of the city provided plentiful employment outside and around those boundaries.

**Employment of "Inhibited" Men.** There are two items in the M.C. minutes (1683 and 1690) which show that some of its own responsible members were ready to employ "unfree and inhibited men" when it suited them.

These are the only two instances of this kind recorded in the Lodge Minutes in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and they are not necessarily indicative of wide-spread irregularities. I have quoted them only to show the kind of breaches that could and did take place.

**Compulsory Passing.** On 27th December, 1681, the Lodge issued an edict against entered apprentices who refused to pass F.C., and ordered that no master should employ any who remained unpassed for more than two years after their discharge, under penalty of 20/- (Scots) per day, to be paid by the master who employed them.<sup>1</sup> This minute has received only scanty attention at the hands of our historians, despite its importance as indicating a complete change of outlook. The Lodge minute of December, 1681, seems to indicate the abandonment of an important principle, for if the Entered Apprentices were *compelled to pass F.C.* within two years of their discharge, there can have been no question of any real qualifying test.

Our evidence on the subject is still too scanty for hard-and-fast conclusions, but I believe that it is from about this time that we may date the gradual change in the character of the Lodge, from a strict "closed-shop" association of highly-skilled craftsmen, to a trade or craft association of "members", *i.e.*, a society in which actual numbers and Lodge income were to become more important than technical skill.

The rest of the story may be told very briefly. Beginning in 1682, the M.C. minutes record a levy of 12/- per annum on unpassed journeymen, specifically for the benefit "of our poor", and the same theme of benevolence occurs with some regularity in the following years.

In 1708 we find the first hint of trouble between the Lodge and its journeymen because the interests of their dependants were not being adequately cared for by the Lodge. The dispute was settled in 1715 after legal action, and resulted in the formation of the Lodge of Journeymen as a new and separate organisation.

It was probably a desire to increase the benevolent activities of the Lodge which led, in 1727, to another dispute, which resulted in the admission of a substantial number of non-operatives who each paid £1 1s. (sterling) for the use of the poor, and from 1730 onwards the minutes show that the Lodge had lost or abandoned its original functions of trade control, and was now virtually a social and benevolent society.

The following chart is designed to illustrate the nature of the transition:—

#### ILLUSTRATING DECLINE AND CHANGE

		Appren- tices in E.R.A. All Operative	Operative E.A.'s in the M.C. Minutes	Non-Opera- tive E.A.'s in the M.C. Minutes	Mason Burgesses in R.E.B.
		1	2	3	4
1st Period	1584 - 1619	50	25 <sup>2</sup>	—	40
2nd "	1620 - 1653	50	60	11	47
3rd "	1654 - 1687	56	147	7	49
4th "	1688 - 1721	27	118	28	38
5th "	1722 - 1755	14	41 <sup>3</sup>	108	30

<sup>1</sup> Lyon, p. 28. M.C. Minutes, fol. 56a.

<sup>2</sup> No records prior to 1599.

<sup>3</sup> Of these 41 Operatives, 23 were admitted between 1722 and 1730. From 1731 to 1755 only 18 operative apprentices were admitted into the Lodge.

The figures under column 1, though very small in relation to those in column 2 (which represent more truly the mason population of Edinburgh), are nevertheless useful because they indicate how the custom of booking apprentices in the town records gradually fell out of use.

The Mary's Chapel figures in column 2 show the Lodge as an Operative institution in its earliest recorded days, and in the full flush of its power and importance; and the last figure in that column shows how great was the decline.

In column 3, we trace the growing non-operative influence in the Lodge. Only 18 non-operatives were admitted in the first 100 years of the Lodge's recorded history;<sup>1</sup> in the 34 years from 1722-1755 there were 108 new non-operative members.

In column 4, the statistics relating to the mason Burgesses in the Burgh records are not nearly so dramatic, but much useful information can be drawn from them. In the first three periods when Lodge and Burgh controls were at their peak, we see that a substantial proportion of the town's masons perfected their trade careers by becoming Freemen Burgesses. In the 4th period, 1688-1721, against 118 apprentices in Mary's Chapel, only 38 mason Burgesses were recorded. In the last period, 1722-1755, there were 30 Burgesses recorded, but the old "Four-Stage" routine has virtually disappeared, and the status of Burgess was no longer a matter of necessity, but rather of social standing.

### IN CONCLUSION

My few concluding sentences are mainly an acknowledgment of my indebtedness for the help which I have received in the preparation of this essay. First to W. Bro. Dashwood, our Secretary and Editor, for his editorial guidance and encouragement. Also to Miss Marguerite Wood, Ph.D., Keeper of the Burgh Records, Edinburgh, who furnished valuable information, and transcripts.

More especially I have to thank Bro. George S. Draffen, the Grand Librarian of the G.L., Scotland, for his help. Masonic students everywhere have been laid under an obligation to him for his long and painstaking efforts in arranging for the two earliest minute books of Mary's Chapel to be photographed, so that these priceless records might be made available for use by students in the London and Edinburgh (Grand Lodge) Libraries. It is earnestly to be hoped that careful transcripts will soon be more widely accessible. I would like to add my personal thanks to the Officers of Mary's Chapel for their far-sighted co-operation. The ability to check those minutes side by side with the E.R.A. and R.E.B. lists has been quite invaluable.

All too often in the past our Masonic historians have had to draw major conclusions and inferences from a few isolated records, and the results in such cases are inevitably vague, and frequently unsatisfactory.

Here, for the first time, we have operative records relating to some 350 masons, and virtually complete records for over 80 of them—perhaps the richest store of factual information on the operative craft that has ever been uncovered.

I count it a great privilege to have been allowed to examine and classify it, and I have tried to do the work objectively, without being influenced by preconceived ideas.

There remain a number of interesting questions, arising from the Mary's Chapel minutes, which I would gladly have discussed here, although they are, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this essay, where we have been concerned primarily with the relationship of the masons with the Burghal authority. Much remains to be done, and I hope most earnestly that this essay may prove a useful starting point for further investigation.

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On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Carr on the proposition of the Master, seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. J. R. Rylands, W. Waples, H. C. Booth and B. W. Oliver.

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The W.M. said:—

To have brought forward additional material upon a subject that has exercised the minds of generations of Masonic Students is no mean achievement. This Bro. Carr has done in his paper which is obviously the result of a vast amount of research. Those who have

<sup>1</sup> "Boiswell of Achinfleck" made his mark on the minute book in 1600, but there is no record of his admission into the Lodge.

studied the gilds and companies of our own cities will have enjoyed this paper of Bro. Carr, for the Rules and Regulations of Edinburgh will strike a familiar chord.

Of the English Gilds, Lipson remarks: "But the Crafts must often have found difficulty in coercing recalcitrant members". It is due to this that records of many of our English boroughs are so scanty.

One is struck by the manner in which Edinburgh Town Council, by its extraordinary powers was able to enforce its rules and regulations, and, as Bro. Carr observes, it is due to this fact and the recording of the fees paid by the individual craftsman that so much information is available to-day.

From 1698-1707, the Vicar of Holy Cross, Canterbury, when registering burials, invariably entered the trade or occupation, and 74 trades and occupations are recorded. Many of these would not be reached by apprenticeship, but it does make one wonder how many pages of records had to be searched to obtain the information uncovered concerning the 197 Mason Apprentices whose careers are recorded.

The early records of Mason Burgesses are very scant and unreliable we are told. One Mason was made Burgess in 1488 and there is a gap till 1550 when a steady stream of Mason entries begin. One wonders whether Ecclesiastical building in Edinburgh had anything to do with this. In Canterbury, the Cathedral and the City Council were two distinct and often antagonistic bodies. The Canterbury records show one Mason made Freeman of the City in the fourteenth century, whereas in the fifteenth century there were no less than 18. Of these, 15 were by purchase, and the fact that the nave of the cathedral was completed in 1411 may have had something to do with so many Masons entering the building industry in the city where there was no building in stone. It may be significant that one of the 18 is described as "Bricklayer Mason".

No merchant or craftsman could enjoy the privilege of Burgess-ship unless he resided within the Burgh limits.

The Carpenters' Company Book of Accounts records:—

26th Feb., 1683: Rec of John Castle Bricklayer for a fine for living out of ye Cittie and working in the same 10/-.

A striking figure, we are told, is the high proportion of apprentices who failed to take out their freedom. In Edinburgh the journeyman was allowed to take an apprentice—surely an unusual privilege, and one usually restricted to the Freeman—but he could not work with him in the Burgh. Could not this have been due to the fact that Cannogate and Leith districts adjoined Edinburgh and that in these districts the journeymen could work as a master man without interfering with his master's business in the Burgh.

Edinburgh is to be congratulated on having such complete records as those from which Bro. Carr's paper has been produced, and as Master, I should like to add the thanks of the Lodge to all who have helped Bro. Carr to place before us so complete a picture of the Mason and the Burgh. Bro. Carr's paper read to-day, together with those he has already produced on the Haughfoot Minutes, have made clearer the path taken by the Craft in Scotland.

I have much pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Carr for his paper.

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Bro. ROGERS said:—

On a previous occasion I ventured to disagree with Bro. Carr, but on this I wholeheartedly agree with him, and congratulate him on having produced a factual paper, with conclusions which no student can ignore.

There is just one thing I would suggest to him as a possible improvement, *i.e.*, that he should include in his paper the authority under which the masons and wrights of Edinburgh were incorporated in 1475, which Incorporation was gradually extended till, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it included glaziers, plumbers, slaters, painters, coopers, sieve-wrights, bow-makers and upholsterers. (*vide* Lyon, p. 231.)

The earliest records of Constitutional Masonry appear with the release of James I of Scotland in 1424, after an eighteen years' captivity in England. In that year, the Scottish Parliament, meeting at Perth, ordained the appointment of "Deakons or Maister-men" to "governe and essaye all warkis that beis made be the craftismen of his craft". In September, 1426, another Act restricted the Deacon's powers to the testing of the craftsman's professional competence, the fixing of the wages of masons and wrights being vested in the Town Council of each burgh. Still another statute, passed in the following year, authorised the Town Council to delegate its powers to Wardens, one being chosen from each trade (*vide* Lyon, Tercentenary Edition, p. 3).

It was, therefore, under the authority of previous Acts of Parliament that the Seal of Cause was granted in 1475, and these Acts of March, 1424, September, 1426, and July, 1427, give us an even earlier glimpse of attempts to control the mason craft in Scotland.

This comment does not detract from the great value of the paper, which is another milestone in the eternal quest for an answer to the problem, "When Freemasonry came!".

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BRO. J. R. RYLANDS writes:—

Masonic students the world over have ample reason to thank Bro. Carr for the masterly treatment of his material. The priceless records of Mary's Chapel, now available for wide study, deserve the closest critical attention, and Bro. Carr has made admirable use of his opportunities.

Reading through these careful paragraphs, I must confess that the most critical doubts arise in my mind. How far did our present craft Lodges indeed arise from their operative prototypes? How much, or rather, how little, does the speculative craft to-day owe to the operative masons of the seventeenth century? Was the "Transition" only a decline in the "closed-shop" aspect of an association of skilled craftsmen and a retention of the social and benevolent aspects? Bro. Carr's comments towards the end of this essay must inevitably raise these questions and the doubts they indicate. The more we analyse the operative records now available, the more the impression seems to grow that the modern Masonic craft owes little to the old operatives apart from some features of form and organization.

That the craft Lodge of to-day and the operative Lodge of the time of Mary's Chapel have a good deal in common is, I think, undeniable. But it does seem increasingly evident that those aspects of masonry which appeal to our Brethren of to-day—the allegorical teachings, the philosophy, the whole ethical background—these are a later importation. For myself, I cannot help but feel that Murray Lyon's use of the expression "fabrication" was very near to the mark. Bro. Carr's work is valuable in this respect, that it makes clear the growing preoccupation of Mary's Chapel, towards the end of its operative period, with the more mundane aspects of restricted benevolence. Whether or not other contemporary operative Lodges "degenerated" in the same way remains to be seen, but the influx of non-operatives able to contribute to, rather than desirous of drawing from, the Lodge funds, must have altered the complexion of the society fundamentally. It does seem to me to be possible that at some time around 1700, with a margin of perhaps 25 years each way, there was a sudden importation of speculative characteristics, by a very small group of men, probably in London. They may have simply fabricated our third degree and given to the masonic craft its present background of principles and tenets, which have been elaborated in the century that followed. Who and what these men were is in doubt; but if Bro Carr's painstaking essay does, as he hopes, prove a starting point for further investigation, and if these investigations follow the intriguing lines suggested, then the craft will have additional cause to be grateful for his labours.

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BRO. W. WAPLES writes:—

Congratulations to Bro. Carr upon an excellent paper. It is helpful and concise, and a valuable contribution to Masonic research. There are variable points of procedure both sides of the Border, and I have thought it desirable to draw attention to that concerning the Entered Apprentice status south of the Border. In general, the system of civic and Masonic government followed more or less a common pattern, with the exception of the delayed period of apprenticeship in Scotland, which existed for perhaps a generation or more—an arrangement probably instituted for local conditions. In Durham and Northumberland, and, I believe, elsewhere in England, there was no delayed period of apprenticeship, either voluntary or statutory. There were three clearly-defined stages in the apprenticeship of a boy to the mason trade:—

- (1) Compulsory registration in the Register of the Guild or by the master, within three months, of the boy he had taken as an apprentice.
- (2) Production of the indentures to the Mayor and Magistrates in order that the apprenticeship be recorded in the books of the City Corporation, the same to be done within a quarter of a year of the commencement of the apprenticeship.
- (3) The apprentice, having *truly* served an indentured apprenticeship of seven years, was entitled within the following three months to receive
  - (a) Freedom of his Guild to work as a journeyman.
  - (b) To be "sworn" before the Mayor and Magistrates as a Freeman of the City.

And, having secured both "freedoms", the newly-sworn mason was "free" to work at his trade at the statutory wages fixed for journeymen, which varied in summer and winter. (See Skirbeck, *Rate of Wages*, 1611.)

He was "free" to join the Guild as a brother and share its privileges, or become an itinerant mason, in which case he would be free to get work where he could, his safeguards being

- (a) The production of his indentures ;
- (b) His knowledge of the three fraternal signs ;
- (c) His "know-how" when sent to the Banker.

By virtue of an indentured apprenticeship and being made "free" of his Guild and city, the young mason became entitled to the Burgess vote. If he joined the Guild in his city or town, he became in due course eligible for the office of Searcher (or Deacon), and later in life that of Warden. Having served the office of Warden, he became eligible to represent the Guild on the City (or Town) Council.

At Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne there were no exalted ranks of Brethren ; all were equal. Office was compulsory by vote, and non-compliance subject to a heavy fine. The three officers were Warden, two Searchers and a Clerk. The Warden, who was appointed annually, was sworn before the Mayor and Magistrates, at the commencement of his office, to sue and be sued at the Petty Sessions, should occasion arise.

Whether the young mason joined the Guild or not, he was at all times subject to the traditions and conditions of the mason trade and to the statutes regarding skilled artisans. The ceremonials were simple. When the boy was brought before "the Ancients" of the Guild for registration, his master read the Apprentice Charges, which were preceded by a short history of the craft of masonry and its traditions. This done, the boy kissed the "Book".

Having served his apprenticeship, the young mason

- (1) Claimed the "freedom" of his servitude, that is to say, his signed indentures were handed to him.
- (2) Being made "free", he was made a Fellowcraft and given the three fraternal signs and the grip. He was then "sworn" to the Orders of Antiquity and the Penal Orders of Masonry.
- (3) Had to provide a dinner for the officers of the Guild.
- (4) Had to appear before the Mayor and Magistrates within three months of the expiration of his apprenticeship to be "sworn" into the freedom of the city.

So far as is known, no "essay-piece" was required in Northumberland and Durham, the time-honoured custom being one of putting the mason to the Banker to test his knowledge of the mason tools. This was sometimes followed by the laying out of a job.

I trust these comments make it clear that there were not two stages of apprenticeship in North-East England, and that a boy became an "Entered Apprentice" from the commencement of his servitude.

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Bro. B. W. OLIVER writes:—

In preparing his excellent paper, Bro. Carr has been fortunate in finding continuity between the apprentice indentured by the town and entered by the Lodge.

In England, that connection has not yet been traced, but Bro. Carr will inspire Masonic students to renew the search, for most English towns have records of apprentices bound for a minimum period of seven years and until the age of 21 was reached.

My own town has a number of such records, and in Exeter we find, for example, in the Company of Weavers and Fullers, that the apprentice served seven years and was then elected a "Freeman" of the Company and paid 2s. 6d. ; and we find in the "Charter of Incorporation of the Carpenters, Masons, Joiners, Glaziers & Painters of Exeter (1586)", "every apprentice of the said Mysterye which hath heretofore served or which shall serve hereafter the full term of seven years to and with any of the said Misterie Fellowship and Company within this City & Country of the same and known or judged to be skilfull & expert in his Art & Science shall be admitted to the freedom of the said Company upon his request made to the Master & Wardens freely . . ." (Printed in *A.Q.C.*, xli, 3.)

It may not be without significance that the first recorded Lodge in Devon was at Exeter (St. John the Baptist No. 39).



Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I congratulate Bro. Carr on his paper, "The Mason and the Burgh", and have enjoyed reading through the pull.

Bro. Carr certainly has the advantage in dealing with Edinburgh, where the Burgess Rolls were the top notch of many trades as well as masons, whereas when considering the individual Operative Lodge, such as Alnwick or Swalwell, working in almost isolation, the top notch was the Mastership of the Lodge.

Bro. Carr confirms what I have always said—that the Operative Entered Apprentice was a term given to an apprentice almost or just out his time, but who had not qualified by his practical work for his craftsmanship. This was generally done in most trades by presenting what was called his essay or test piece.

This term "Enterapprentice" is confirmed by that earliest minute, of the earliest existing minute book, of the Old Swalwell Lodge when, on September 29th, 1725, Mathew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, *Masons*, were accepted as Enterprentices, a term never given to the ordinary Operative apprentice when presented to the Lodge by his master. The term "Entered Apprentice" is used for the Speculative because he is of the full age of 21 years, and as in the Speculative no question of wages arises, this, I think, accounts for the conferring of two and three degrees on the candidate on the same night.

*Note.*—The essay, or test piece, was the practice not more than 100 years ago. I well remember, when a schoolboy, I was told by an old friend of the family, a retired Engineer Commander in the Navy, that when he had to submit his essay he was given a cube of gunmetal, a hammer, a chisel, a file and the use of a vice, and told to produce a ball out of the cube of metal. Some test piece!

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Bro. H. CARR writes in reply:—

I am grateful to the W.M. and to Bro. Bruce Oliver for the all-too-brief extracts from the records of Canterbury and Exeter; I believe that if more of these items were collected and made available by publication, we might gradually acquire a body of information which would enable us to trace a regular pattern in the operative Masonry of our towns and cities.

Our W.M. asks whether Ecclesiastical building in Edinburgh was the cause of the steady stream of mason entries in the Burgh records from 1550 onwards. There can be little doubt that churchworks were a contributory cause, for I have found no evidence throughout our period that St. Giles (the Cathedral), or any of the other churches maintained any permanent staff of masons of their own.

Bro. Rogers suggests that I might have given details of the authority under which the masons and wrights of Edinburgh were incorporated, and he quotes the Act of Parliament of James I (Perth, 12th March, 1424), which was indeed the general authority.

Perhaps I may be permitted to point out, however, that this was not a "record of Constitutional Masonry", but simply a general order to all the crafts to appoint deacons, whose principal duty was to govern their crafts so that the "kingis leidges be not defraude and skaithed in tyme to come, as yai have been in tymes bygone threw untrue men of the crafts".

The later acts of Parliament (quoted by Bro. Rogers) were also of a general nature, and where the masons are mentioned they appear *with the other crafts*.

The *specific* authority, under which the Edinburgh Seal of Cause was issued to the masons and wrights, was the whole of the municipal government, *i.e.*, the Provost, Baillies, (Town) Council, Dean of Gild and Deacons of Crafts, and they are all listed in that document.

Bro. Rylands raises the interesting question as to the nature of the changes that must have taken place during the transition from operative to speculative masonry. I am forcibly reminded of our late Bro. Knoop's remarks on the changing "Motifs of Freemasonry" (Knoop, *The Genesis of Freemasonry*, pp. 6-10). Our present-day definition, "a peculiar system of morality, etc.", would hardly be applicable to the Freemasonry of Mary's Chapel in the 1600's. My essay on the Apprentice Registers and the Burgess Rolls deals necessarily with the everyday and practical side of the operative craft, and inevitably I have ignored the more extreme changes which might be described as later speculative developments. The full nature and extent of those developments is something we are unable to measure precisely, because we still have only an imperfect notion of the contents of the operative ritual.

But the Mary's Chapel Minutes, unique in many respects, are perhaps most valuable of all, because they run in a practically unbroken line from its purely operative days right through the period of change and transition, so that we are enabled to study the Lodge throughout this extraordinary metamorphosis, and we can observe the changes, even though

we cannot measure them. (The minutes of Mother Kilwinning are of comparable importance for they cover very nearly the same period as those of Mary's Chapel, but at Kilwinning we lack the records of Apprentices—Burgesses, etc., which have helped so much towards our study of the Masonic history of the Scottish capital).

Bro. Waples' notes seem to indicate that Gild and freedom practices south of the border were somewhat similar to those of Exeter (as quoted by Bro. Oliver). They differed from Edinburgh mainly in that the status of *Entered* Apprentice was apparently unknown in English operative masonry: but apart from this, the progress from apprenticeship to freedom was probably much the same everywhere. Unfortunately, we cannot make a proper comparison between English and Scottish practices, because in England we lack the early Lodge records.

Bro. Booth comments that the "Operative Entered Apprentice was a term given to an Apprentice almost or just out of his time." This was the general opinion until now, but it is only partly true, and may be misleading. One of the most interesting points that emerges from the data relating to apprentices and entered apprentices (*ante*, p. 38/9) is the evidence, amounting to complete mathematical proof, that in Edinburgh, apprentices became entered apprentices within some two-and-a-half to three years after the beginning of their apprenticeship, *i.e.*, *four or five years before* the end of their indenture.



## NOTES

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**ING SOLOMON.**—The article on King Solomon greatly pleased me, particularly the bit about descent of all modern Arab horses from Zad-el-Ragib, the stallion given by King Solomon to Queen Balkis. The late King Feisal of Iraq, some thirty years ago, told me that there is a point in the pedigrees of the best-bred Arab horses where the main line of descent, which for many centuries had been from sire to sire, suddenly changes to being from dam to dam. I wonder if the change came in honour of Solomon's gift! Have we any learned Arab Brother who is interested alike in horse-breeding

and history, who might give an opinion?

I was also greatly pleased with the account of the Cambridge Professor who sought to make out that King Solomon wrote the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

H. PIRIE-GORDON.

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**Roving Charters.**—The reference to roving charters (*A.Q.C.*, lxx, p. 54) may be misleading. Also, California was not the only Grand Lodge to issue the charters described as "roving". The same was done in Oregon, the distance in this State being "within three miles".

Two of the first charters issued by the California Grand Lodge came to Oregon for Lodges that are now Nos. 2 and 3 in the register. A Lodge receiving such a charter was expected to take up a permanent location within three miles of the community named. That was done by the two Oregon Lodges getting California charters. That is what has been done by all the Lodges in Oregon which received similar charters. They are still working under those "roving" charters, but they are not permitted to move from one location to another without approval of the Grand Master, nor may they hold communications anywhere except at their permanent locations except by dispensation. I believe it ever has been thus, both in Oregon and California, as well as in various other States in which similar charters were issued.

Outdoor meetings are common in California and Oregon, but a dispensation is required for each such communication.

What were known as travelling charters were issued by Grand Masters in the eastern States to Brethren leaving for California. These enabled the Brethren to make Masons *en route*, but they were expected to establish Lodges upon reaching their destinations, and this they did.

ELBERT BEDE.

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**The Alleged Templar Chapter at Edinburgh in 1745.**—Did Prince Charles Edward Stuart, sometimes known as the Young Pretender or "Bonnie Prince Charlie", attend a meeting of the Order of the Temple in the Palace of Holyrood, Edinburgh, on the 24th September, 1745? The question is posed by the following paragraph, quoted from the *Statutes of the Great Priory of Scotland*, 1933 edition:—

"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 Mastership (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, 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 is written by the Duke of Perth to the Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, who shortly afterwards joined the Scottish Army with a large body of gentlemen from Forfarshire and Angus, and it is further interesting, as it established the fact of the existence of a Convent or Priory of Templars in the North. Unfortunately the locality of that Priory is not stated, but our conjectures point towards Montrose.

The letter is dated 30th September, 1745, and the following is an extract:

'It is a truly 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.'

The paragraph I have quoted is part of the Historical Note which precedes the *Statutes of the Great Priory of Scotland* in the 1933 edition. This Historical Note has appeared in every edition of the *Scottish Templar Statutes* since 1843, with the sole exception of the edition in 1856. It has thus received the imprimatur and sanction of the Chapter-General and the Great Priory for over one hundred years. To what extent is the text I have quoted a truthful statement of fact?

The statement regarding Prince Charles Edward Stuart's connection with the Order of the Temple seems to have gone unchallenged until 1906, when the late Dr. Begemann, in his *Die Tempelherren und die Freimaurer*,<sup>1</sup> subjected it to a critical examination. The results of this examination occupy pages 56 to 63 of his book, and he concludes, to quote his own words, "without exception nothing contradicts the opinion that the whole Letter is a forgery".

With this opinion the late J. E. S. Tuckett<sup>2</sup> expressed disagreement, and, without advancing the view that the letter was genuine, concluded:—

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 by 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 POSSIBLE actual facts (I do NOT say that they are).

Dr. Begemann, on page 56 of his book, states, "At my request for more than ten months past, well-informed gentlemen in Scotland and England have been hunting for the original of that letter—but in vain." The letter books of the Great Priory of Scotland bear witness to the truth of this statement, for Dr. Begemann wrote to Lindsay Mackersey and J. H. Balfour-Melville, who were Grand Secretaries from 1878 to 1905 and 1905 to 1913 respectively, and asked their assistance in his search for the original letter. Both of these Brethren instituted exhaustive searches in the larger public and private libraries in both Scotland and England. The Scottish National Library, the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, the Register House Library in Scotland; the Bodleian, the British Museum and the King's Library at Windsor were all searched without result. Most curiously, there is no record of any search having been made where one would certainly expect to obtain results—I mean (a) the Archives of the Airlie family at Cortachy Castle and (b) the Archives of the Order of the Temple in Edinburgh. Can it be that both these sources were conveniently overlooked? I think that would be an unfair suggestion, for I feel sure that both Mackersey and Balfour-Melville were honest in their researches.

So far as (a) is concerned, any search would have been abortive, for Bro. the Earl of Airlie informs me that a careful search of the letters and documents of the Airlie family (which were transferred to the Edinburgh Register House in 1945) has revealed no trace of any such letter as that under consideration. Source (b) is more illuminating—much more illuminating! The Archives of the Great Priory of Scotland for the period 1840-43 contain the Minute Book and numerous originals of letters received. It is most unfortunate that the letter book of the same period has not survived, for we are bereft of the details of any replies sent to the surviving incoming correspondence. Still, an examination of the incoming letters which deal with the Historical Note and the alleged Templar Chapter in Edinburgh in 1745 reveals a reasonably accurate picture of how this controversial paragraph came to be incorporated in an official Templar publication. I have had the opportunity of examining these

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxxiii.

letters, and they are reproduced in chronological order, with my comments interpolated where appropriate.

It is necessary, first, to explain that the Royal Grand Conclave of Scotland, during its fitful life of 25 years, never managed to produce a book of Statutes.<sup>1</sup> Its successor—the Chapter-General produced one in 1836, a very modest little affair which dealt only with the most essential items.<sup>2</sup> In 1842, J. Linning Woodman, the Grand Secretary, informed Grand Master's Council that the 1836 edition of the Statutes was exhausted. The preparation of a new edition was authorised, and it would seem, although the minutes are rather vague on the point, that a small committee was set up to deal with the matter. As far as I have been able to trace, this committee consisted of:—

George Arnott Walker-Arnott, LL.D., of Arlary.  
 Professor William E. Aytoun.  
 Veitch Sinclair, M.D.  
 J. S. Hepburn, of Colquhalzie.  
 William Pringle, W.S.  
 J. Linning Woodman, Grand Secretary.

Of the members of the committee. Walker-Arnott was by far and away the most enthusiastic member of the Order. If the surviving letters represent the complete correspondence he was full of bright ideas, and in one letter, which it will not be necessary to quote in this paper, he formulated a most elaborate scheme for bringing the Great Priory of England under the control of Scotland! The preparation of the Preface, or, as it was afterwards called, "The Historical Note", was not an afterthought, though the letters indicate that much of the preparation work on the actual Statutes themselves had been done before the preface had been compiled. The Statutes were published with the following title page:—

Statutes of the Religious and Military  
 Order of the Temple, as established in  
 Scotland

With an Historical Note of the Order  
 Edinburgh A.D. MDCCCXLIII, A.O. DCCXXXV

Of the edition there was printed off:—

50 Quarto Copies with designs of Ensigns Armorial  
 60 Octavo " " " " "  
 150 Octavo Copies without "designs". "

The edition became exhausted within a few years and a new edition was authorised in 1846. This edition was never published, for the engraver took so long to make the printing blocks for the Ensigns Armorial that J. Linning Woodman had died before they were ready. This and other factors not relevant to our subject made the new edition unnecessary, and a modified edition was published in 1856.

The correspondence we are considering opens with a letter from G. Walker Arnot, dated 30th March, 1843, and which is reprinted below (in all these letters I have altered the old-fashioned long "s" to the modern pattern):—

*Arlary, 30th March, 1843.*

*My dear Sir,*

*I am uncertain from your letters whether Mr. Sinclair knows that you have forwarded his Mst. and breast pin to me for my inspection. I have therefore enclosed to you, for him, a few lines on both subjects; with the understanding that if he does not know of your having sent them to me, you will not forward my note to him; but if they were sent to me by his desire, then be so good as address my letter to him. I know he has the idea that there was nothing black about the templars, and thinks we ought to wear the white jewel in which I differ from him.*

*In his Mst. he states Sir D. Milne to be the 72nd Grand Master—I wish to know on what grounds he goes, as if one could prove anything on that subject, it would form a most interesting addition to our preface. He also says that Walter de Clifton fought at Bannockburn, and was elected Grand Master of the Order, here also I ask for proof; a reference to any historian, although not very authentic, would be gladly seized on by us.*

*One thing, however, we must introduce into our preface—viz. that a letter from the Duke of Perth to Lord Ogilvy, 30th Sep. 1745, proves that the Duke of*

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Pour La Foy, a Short History of the Great Priory of Scotland* (Draffen, Winter & Son, Dundee, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> The only known surviving copy is in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

*Athol was then Regent of the Templars; that "Prince Charly" was initiated at Holy Rood on Tuesday 24th Sepr. 1745, and the same day, Athol resigns (and) he was elected Grand Master. I suspect that from that period till Deuchar's election there was none.*

*I do not much like to send Dr. Sinclair's brooches by post, in case of their being lost; but if you cannot call a meeting of conclave to suit me, I will try to get them to you some other way.*

*I have no distinct copy for scroll of the preface I wrote for our statutes, but if the notes I have be correct, you will see after the words "Old Abbey of Cambuskenneth," the following,*

~~From this period the templars have continued in appearance to be masonic, but they principally received that appellation from having accepted charters of constitution from a body of masonic templars, etc.-~~

*Now strike out the words as I have done above with red ink and read in their place what I have now said on a separate piece of paper.*

*The letter from the Duke of Perth proves most decidedly that in 1745 we were not masons, i.e., did not use aprons, but the white mantle of the Order. Also that then the place of meeting was not "Encampment", but "Priory" "Convent", which is nearly the same as Priory. I think some curious records may be found in Angusshire about the Order—perhaps among the Ogilvy or Airly papers. I shall not be surprised that the French got their knowledge of our secrets from those who fled to France after the Rebellion. One thing is clear that Perth, Ogilvy and company did not belong to the French Order, otherwise they could not have elected the Chevalier Grand Master, if Louis-Francis of Bourbon-Conte was then over the French Order.*

*The letter was published in Grays weekly register (or supplement to the North British Advertiser). It would be worth while to ask them from what work they extracted it. It is the highest importance to us.*

*Yours truly,*

*G. Walker Arnot.*

From what Walker Arnot says it seems that Veitch Sinclair had prepared a draft Preface which he had sent to Linning Woodman and which had been sent in turn by him to Walker Arnot. Walker Arnot appears to have had some doubt as to the authenticity of some of Sinclair's statements and those that he questions in the second paragraph of his letter were actually omitted from the preface when it was finally printed.

From the third paragraph I form the opinion that this manuscript preface of Sinclair's brought to Walker Arnot's notice for the first time the alleged letter which is the subject of this paper. Whether or not Woodman ever enquired of the publishers of the *North British Advertiser* I cannot say, for unfortunately any letter books which may have contained any letters of outgoing correspondence from Woodman are lost.

The second letter is from William E. Aytoun, who was Professor of Belles Lettres in Edinburgh University.

I presume from this letter that Sinclair's manuscript, or a copy of it, had been sent to Aytoun for his observations. Aytoun states that "a little research would clear up many of these matters", but this, unfortunately, never seems to have been undertaken by anybody and even the manuscript which he states was then in the Advocates Library, no longer appears to grace these shelves. Some of the amendments and notes which Aytoun made to the preface were incorporated and still appear therein.

*Abercrombie Place,  
1st April, 1843.*

*My Dear Woodman,*

*I have gone over the enclosed pretty carefully, and made a note or two. The introduction seems to me hardly bold enough, for, as you are well aware, Alexr. Deuchar was the venerable founder of our order, & I see no use for half measures, if a claim of antiquity is to be made at all. For this purpose I have written on a separate sheet a few curious and authentic facts regarding the Scottish Templars which must be interesting to antiquarians. Arnot, being apparently insane on the subject, should not be taken into full confidence, but Veitch Sinclair, with whom he corresponds, can perhaps hereafter enlighten him by the production of some quaint old rhymes from an M.S. poem in the Advocates Library, which show that the orthodox Templars under the commands of George Lord Seton left the Hospitallers in 1503, when Lord Torphichen got the priory lands. The poem was copied a good many years ago by a celebrated antiquarian now deceased, & the original seems to*

have been mislaid. I have also an indistinct recollection of a Charter by Robert the Bruce to Walter de Clifton in which he styled "magno et illustrissimo magistro templi in regno nostro Scotive" or something of that kind. My Clerk is just looking for it among some old Charters. Then as I mentioned to you, the Abbe de Buisson in his letters published in Paris in 1714, states that he received from David Graham titular Viscount Dundee the Grand Cross of the Scottish Templars which his brother the G. Master had worn at the battle of Killiecrankie. A little research would clear up many of these matters. As however I am naturally of a shy and retiring disposition you need not say to whom you are indebted for all this interesting information.

One rule I would advise you to make & that is that each Priory shall be bound to apply for and take from the Grand Secretary an admission book for new members in which the forms should be printed & which should be returnable once a year. This is by far the best check you can make—that is if the thing is to go on, which I think problematical.

Yours always,  
William E. Aytoun.

Eureka! The copy of the charter is found and inclosed. I have brought down the succession to Oliphant of Bachillon in the end of last century. A little research would surely discover who came between him and (risum teneatis) Deuchar.

Our third letter is from Walker Arnot, and is apparently a covering letter sent with a manuscript for the preface:—

Arlary,  
Saturday Evening.  
(8th April, 1843).

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a few lines yesterday from Crieff. By embodying Dr. Sinclair's amendment in my head and tail, I think a better preface will be got up than we looked for 4 (four) months ago. I still wish Dr. Sinclair would introduce that part which alludes to the French or Italian Knights coming to Scotland, and I think that in my concluding observation, I rest a little on that, so that to make mine understood, Wilcke's assertion should be somewhere engrafted. On coming home this afternoon I found that Mrs. Arnot's mother (who has been for a few months a great invalid) died this morning.

If my horse were not pretty much fatigued, I would again set off to-night to where she resided, and whither, in my absence, Mrs. A. went yesterday.

What the arrangements about the funeral may be, of course I am quite ignorant at the present, but I fear the sudden dispensation will prevent me being over on Thursday, as that seems to me to be the most probable day. I shall however know to-morrow, and shall write you positively on Monday or Tuesday.

I feel sure in the circumstances of the case my Brother Knights will excuse their Preceptor being present. I could have wished to be present, in order to have given any additional information about the ritual.

Yours very truly,  
G. Walker Arnot.

I have got Mr. Hepburn's 10/6, and he, as well as I, will willingly give 5/- each towards furnishing our coats of arms for the new edition.

Our next letter indicates that Walker Arnot had in his possession Sinclair's draft preface and that he had taken this when going on a visit to Hepburn, with whom, presumably, he discussed it.

My dear Sir,

I am in a terrible state, and perfectly ashamed to face you and Dr. Sinclair to-morrow. On putting up Dr. Sinclair's papers to bring them back with me, I cannot lay my hands on his valuable extract from the newspaper containing the letter from D of Perth to Lord Ogilvy. I took it with me to Hepburn's in hopes that as he is acquainted with the representatives of the Perth family, the Lord Strathallen, he might be stirred up to apply to them to search for similar letters among the old papers of the families—and I fear I must have left it on his Library table. I have written him to make a strict search but in the meantime I would like, if you could, to-morrow before we meet, inquire at Gray's office (the office of the

North Brit. Advertiser) and find out the exact date when the letter appeared in their paper. I forget its name, it is sent to those resident in Edinburgh and certain anecdotes, etc., on two of the sides. I would be obliged to you also to see if they could give a copy of the paper. If they cannot, I am in hopes that if I knew the date, some of my friends may have a copy still in existence. Come the worst, I must I suppose get them to print a copy.

I still hope however that Hepburn may find it at Colquhalzie, but I think if he had seen it he would have sent it to me to-day in a letter I have just had from him.

Try and see Dr. Sinclair and explain this, for I shall not be able to face him and tell him of my carelessness myself.

Yours very truly,

G. Walker Arnot.

Arlary,

12th April, 1843.

Is it possible that I could have sent the extract to you in my letter of Saturday? I have no recollection about it, but my head has been so confused for some days with scenes of family grief that I remember nothing of what I have said to you or written you since my return from Colquhalzie.

Our next letter is one which is somewhat puzzling. The date would appear to be 15th February, '43, but the hand-writing is not particularly good and the contents of the letter very obviously refers to the loss mentioned by Walker Arnot in his letter of 12th April, 1843:—

Colquhalzie 15 Feb. 43.

My dear Sir,

I am extremely vexed that owing to the stoppage of our cross post and the malarrangement of what remains, I have only to-day learned by your letter the misfortunate of the loss of the letter to Lord Ogilvie—I searched my table in vain for it—but after having given it up in despair it caught my eye among some useless papers under the table. My room having been locked it fortunately escaped the Priestess of the Broom—I shd. have liked to have kept a copy of the letter which is curious but I must not lose another post.

With our best wishes & kind regards

Yours most truly

J. S. Hepburn.

This letter seems to have been published in Grays monthly advertiser.  
Dr. W. Arnott.

The correspondence continues with a letter from Arlary, dated 15th April, 1843, in the following terms:—

My Dear Sir,

I was quite in time for the boat, and was home here by a quarter past 7, before even the mail, which left Edin'. at 4, had passed—I got yours with Law's receipt yesterday morning.

Did Law say that he would still put the lower stretcher to the ribbon if I wished it—or is he to charge additional for that. I am not even sure which way it ought to be, but looks very crumpled when the ribbon is passed through the ring. Which way is Lawries?

I think that if Dr. Sinclair would take the trouble of writing out the preface before printing, he might improve it; thus my two preambles to his differed more than I anticipated, and perhaps (although the substance be the same) they might be improved by comparing them and uniting them—

Then again I wish he would still introduce that about Peter of Bologne, the Grand Prelate, coming to Scotland with several of their Knights—as Wilcke says) for that will show that even the French sought refuge here, and that the whole story about Larmenius is nonsense—

I think too that it is an important feature in the history, that the Templars were not good Romanists—and I should like that the portion of my scribble referring to the Mem. Hist. du Templars, and the reference to Luther, were some way introduced. But let Sinclair get my two prefaces and give him back his own, and let him try to combine them, keeping to the substance, otherwise Mr. Gordon may come across our fingers.



*My opinion decidedly is that notwithstanding a party hired off under David Seton at the time of the reformation, they could not remain in Scotland if they obeyed the Pope; and therefor a squad of them might then have gone to France: it is from this period I trace the Protestantism of the order—*

*I am obliged to go on Monday to Stirling to attend the circuit there for two or three days, & may not get back till Thursday or Friday, so may not have it in my power to assist you & Dr. Sinclair for a short time.*

.....  
Yours truly

G. Walker Arnott.

The portion omitted is of no importance to our subject. From this letter it would seem that Veitch Sinclair was "editor" of the preface and that he had compiled the first draft.

The next letter in the series is a lengthy one and comments for some pages on the proofs of the Statutes. The relevant portion of this letter runs:—

Arlary, Monday  
24 April (1843)

My Dear Sir, .....

*As to the Introduction, I think Sinclair could give the early history well — but take care what you borrow from Burnes. I see you intend to take the Scottish part from Burnes, but is that not too long for the preceding; if you say any thing of the origin of the order, you cannot pass over the death of De Molay.*

*Now how would it do to adopt as much of the early history as we can from Burnes Mst ritual, and which we have adopted into ours: with a few sentences to join the whole.*

*But Dr. Sinclair has studied the whole so much that if he will undertake the job, it could not be in better hands.*

*If we take too much from Burnes printed book, he may be displeased and I suspect he will not have his blood over cooled, by our contempt of the French order.*

*I hope ere long to see the English Templars who desire to un-masonise themselves, flock to our standard. I have thrown a bomb among them as the accompanying letter from an eminent Templar will prove — Pray return it to me.*

*I send you The Letter for Dr. Sinclair.*

Yours truly,

G. Walker Arnott.

What does the writer mean by "The Letter"? Can he be referring to the original of the alleged letter? I think not, for he would assuredly have commented at length upon it as a historical document.

The following letter from William Pringle (dated also 24th April, 1843):—

To J. L. Woodman, Esq.,  
Castle St.

Dear Sir,

*In reflecting over the matter of the Duke of Perth's letter to Lord Ogilvy, I am rather inclined to think that the orthography is much too good for that unlettered knight and nobleman, especially when I recollect the villainous spelling and writing of the Duke, as shown in a short official document issued by him while in command of the Highlanders in 1745, and to be seen in W. B. D. D. Turnbull's "Analecta Scotica" vol. I a copy of which used to lie in Laurie's window at the Gazette office, where you might look into it for curiosity.*

*I own I was at first quite taken with the Duke's description. It was admirably got up — only I remember Mr. A. saying, that the way it was printed would induce the competent critic to suspect that it was not really original.*

*Nevertheless, would it not be best and safest to omit it? We have demolished the charter of Larmenius — ought we to risk a similar fate? I think not. Dr. Burnes, like a second Samuel Johnson, might demand the original M.S., and depend upon it, he knows too much of affairs here and elsewhere to be of easy swallow — besides being a shrewd scholar and linguist.*

*But facts! might be alluded to, (if you will dub Prince Charlie without particular reference to authorities. For instance, in the thread of the history it might be bounced right out that "when Prince Charles Edward was at Holyrood, he was induced to join the Knights of the Templar through the medium of his friend the Duke of Perth who was a keen mason and originally belonged to the Crieff lodge in Perthshire, but ~~became~~ was also a member of Drummond Kilwinning Lodge from Greenock instituted at Edinburgh by Provost Drummond and others."*

*These Masonic facts I can prove. A. Marshall has the evidence. Excuse these hints from.*

*Yours truly,  
W.P.*

to my mind clearly has the air of conspiracy about — as if the writer well knew that too much digging would upset the foundations.

By June, 1843, the Historical Note had been set in type, and the following letter shows that a proof of the work had been sent to Arnott:—

*I cannot comprehend how the expense will be so heavy.*

*Arlary 26 June 1843.*

*My dear Sir,*

*I return you the proof sheets. — I am highly pleased with the preface: and the order ought to be much obliged to the concocter. It avoids the objections I formerly raised and touches in a somewhat masterly way on the Cardinal de York. I confess however that while we refer to Burne's work with approbation, I think some notice should be made to show that we were not ignorant of the work now publishing in Paris. There seem to be two ways of doing this. First, by a footnote at p.IV, to the words "seek to solve" in line 9: there may be inserted the following "The reader may consult on this point the exposures made in the Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maconnerie et des Societés Secretes, par F. T. B. Clavel; Paris, chez Pagnerre, 1843". Or, as the insertion of this footnote at p.IV, will I fear require considerable alteration of type in the following pages, the same end may be attained by adding at the conclusion of the whole Preface a black line and the following note: thus*

*Whilst the above notice was passing through press, we have had a few pages sent us from Paris of a work publishing there in numbers: It is the Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maconnerie et des Societés Secretes, par F. T. B. Clavel. At p. — the curious reader will find the forgery of the charter and the pretension of the French Templars exposed, from information contributed by a Chevalier des Temple and an office bearer of high rank in that order: from which it would appear, even although the charter had not been a forgery, that the present French Body are not of forty years standing.*

*One or other of these memoranda I confess I would like. I like the last the best: neither commits us to the authenticity of the story of the forgery of the charter in 1705: and as Fabre had himself never been initiated, the present order may be styled Fabres order. I am now quite certain that the secrets they have were obtained from some of our own Templars who had joined them since 1814, or 1815. I feel that our work will only be half done if we do not refer to Clavel's book: In corresponding with the English bodies who may desire to join us, we must refer to Clavel; and a question will be asked why did we say nothing of his book in our Preface. It will look ill, and as if we discredited it: whereas it is the best weapon we have. If you & the committee agree to insert the memorandum sketched above, fill up the page, as you have my copy of the sheets.*

*Is it intended to have cut the copy of the Duke of Kents Charter? I have not objection: but it may be thought curious not to give it. It ought (if at all) to come after the memorandum about Clavel's book.*

Here our correspondence ceases. The word "concocter" in the first sentence may have been used as an alternative to "compiler", but did this word slip out with its usually accepted meaning?

G. S. DRAFFEN.

**150 Years of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" in Berne, Switzerland.**—Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation on October 18th, 1953, when a large number of Masonic dignitaries and visitors were present, amongst them Bro. Kasser, ruling Grand Master of Grand Lodge Alpina of Switzerland, supported by a fair number of his Grand Officers, all the living Past Grand Masters of Grand Lodge Alpina, viz., Brethren von Sury (1935-1939), Jomini (1939-1942), Boeni (1942-1947), Natural (1947-1952), as well as deputations from most Lodges in Switzerland.

When the waves of the French revolution reached Switzerland towards the end of the eighteenth century, opposition was negligible, due to a Government in Berne which at that particular time was composed of aristocratic reactionaries who jealously guarded their

privileges. Any inclination towards freedom of thought and expression was punishable and suppressed. Finally, on March 10th, 1803, the acts of mediation were enforced by Napoleon and the sovereign rights of the Cantons re-established, opening the way for a modern way of life. This led to the formation of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" on July 1st, 1803, in Berne, where a number of Brethren resided at that time who were mostly former officers of Swiss regiments serving in foreign countries, as well as officers of the French occupation forces. It must be attributed to no small extent to the influence of the said French officers that the attention of the Bernese Brethren was directed towards France.

Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" was founded provisionally on July 1st, 1803, its constitution still to be ratified and confirmed by the Grand Orient of France. The first and temporary Master was Bro. Antoine Pallandre, Past Master of Lodge "Des Trois Temples" of Carouge (Geneva) and resident members were Brethren Belmont, Real, Marty, Kaufmann, Neuhaus, Korbmann, jun., Kuenstler and Brethren residing temporarily in Berne were Burdin, sen., French Army Commissioner and Pasqualini, Quartermaster of the French occupation forces. Meetings were held at short intervals with the object of initiating numerous candidates. During the first meeting Burdin, Jun., clerk in the French Army, Jolimai from Yverdon, captain in the French Army, and David Korbmann from Wurzburg (Germany) were proposed and initiated at the second meeting when also the following proposals for initiation were passed: Kaufmann, Tschiffely and Roux from Montreux, captains in the French Army. Already at the third meeting Brethren Marty, Jolimai, Korbmann, sen., and Burdin, jun., were passed to the second degree, and ten days later, at the fifth meeting, these Brethren were raised to the sublime degree of Master Masons. For quite some time the Lodge accepted as members officers of the French forces. At the sixth meeting, for example, P. A. Miquel de Beziers, commanding officer of the 27th half-brigade of infantry of the line was initiated. On the occasion of the seventeenth meeting, which took place on September 7th, 1803, the Lodge was organized definitely and the following officers were duly elected:—

W.M.	Belmont
S.W.	Burdin, sen.
J.W.	Neuhaus
I.P.M.	Korbmann father
Lecturer	Pasqualini
Asst. Lecturer	Jolimai
Treasurer	Marty
D. o. C.	Real
Keeper of the Seal	Tschiffely
Secretary	Burdin, jun.
Registrar	Roux
S.D.	Korbmann, sen.
J.D.	Korbmann, jun.
Almoner	Roschi

The above officers were duly installed on September 14th, 1803, and Bro. Pallandre was elected a honorary member. On February 7th, 1804, the Lodge was formally consecrated by a delegation from the Grand Orient de France and it was declared that the date of foundation was to be September 14th, 1803, this with a view to regularising the work of the Lodge. It is extraordinary that the minutes do not contain the names of the French consecrating officers. However, the text was as follows: "In the name of the Grand Orient de France, we, delegates duly authorised, do herewith consecrate in Berne a St. John's Lodge under the name 'Zur Hoffnung', to last forever and to take its rightful place amongst the regular Lodges under the date of the 14th day of the year 5803. The St. John's Lodge named 'Zur Hoffnung' is hereby consecrated". The original warrant is still in existence and is reproduced on plate I. The text reads as follows:—

*No. 4357 Constitutions Pour La Régulière Loge de L'Espérance à L'Orient de Berne.  
A La Gloire du Grand Architecte de L'Univers.*

*Le Grand Orient de France A tous les Maçons Réguliers Union, Force, Salut.*

Sur la demande présentée le Seisième jour du neuvième mois de l'An de la vraie lumière cinq mil Huit cent trois

par les frères composant la Loge de l'Espérance à l'Orient de Berne à l'effet d'Obtenir des constitutions pour leur loge sous le dit titre. Vu la décision de la Chambre Symbolique du vingt quatrième jour du neuvième mois de l'an 5803 Nous avons constitué et constituons a perpétuité par ces présentes à l'Orient de Berne une loge de St. Jean sous le titre distinctif de l'Espérance pour la dte. Loge avoir à se livrer aux travaux de l'Art masonnique à la charge par Elle de se conformer exactement aux Statuts et reglemens faits et à faire en notre Grand Orient et être inscrite sur le tableau des loges réguliers de France à la date du

quatorzième jour du Septième mois de l'An de la vraie lumière cinq mil Huit cent trois Epoque de la demande, approuvant et régularisant en tant que de besoin les travaux ci-devant faits de bonne fois —

En foi de quoi luy avons délivré ces présentes qui ont été expédiées au Grand Orient de France scellées et Timbrées des Sceaux et Timbre de l'Ordre signées de nous et contre-signées par notre Secrétaire Général le neuvième jour du dixième mois de l'An de la vraie lumière cinq mil Huit cent trois (17 jour au 12 de l'Ere française).

Enregistré en la Chambre Symbolique a la date du dixième jour du dixième mois de l'an de la vraie lumière cinq mil huit cent trois (18 jour au 12 de l'Ere française).

Enregistré en la Chambre des Grades à la date du 11 jour du dixième mois de l'an de la vraie lumière cinq mil huit cent trois (19 jour au 12 de l'Ere française).

In English the above reads as follows:—

*No. 4357 Constitutions for the regular Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" in the Orient of Berne.*

*To the glory of the Great Architect of the Universe.*

*The Grand Orient of France to all regular masons, Union, Strength, Greetings.*

Upon the request presented on the 16th day of the 9th month A.L. 5803 by the brethren forming the Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" in the Orient of Berne to obtain a warrant for their lodge under the said denomination, and in view of the decision by the symbolic committee of the 24th day of the 9th month A.L. 5803 we have constituted and we constitute forever through these presents in the Orient of Berne a St. John's lodge under the distinctive title "Zur Hoffnung" for the said lodge to perform masonic work under its care and to adhere exactly to the statutes and regulations made and to be made by our Grand Orient and to be inscribed on the list of the regular lodges in France under the date of the 14th day of the 7th month A.L. 5803, epoch of the demand, approving and regularising as much as possible the work performed in good faith—

In testimony we have delivered them these presents which have been sent to the Grand Orient of France sealed and stamped with the seals and stamp of the Order signed by us and counter-signed by our Secretary General on the 9th day of the 10th month A.L. 5803 (17th day of the 12th of the French era).

Registered by the symbolic committee under date of 10th day of the 10th month A.L. 5803 (18th day of the 12th of the French era).

Registered by the Committee of the Degrees under date of the 11th day of the 10th month A.L. 5803 (19th day of the 12th of the French era).

Of great interest is also the Lodge Certificate which was issued to Bro. Roux, and which is in the archives of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung". During the years the Lodge worked under the Grand Orient of France, it issued these certificates in lieu of Grand Lodge Certificates. It is shown on plate II and reads as follows:—

*A La Gloire Du Grand Architecte De L'Univers.*

A tous les Maçons réguliers répandus sur la surface de la Terre.

SALUT FORCE UNION

NOUS VENERABLE et OFFICIERS de la Régulière Loge de St. Jean, sous le titre distinctif de L'ESPERANCE Régulièrement Constituée à l'Orient de Berne et Assemblés par les nombres Mistérieux connus des vrais Maçons Declarons, Certifions, et Attestons, que le très cher frère JEAN PIERRE ROUX Agé de 32 ans Natif de Montreux en Suisse Possède le 3ème Grade Symbolique, que son zèle, et la pureté de ses moeurs, l'ont fait chérir de tous les frères, en foi de quoi nous lui avons donné le présent Certificat et pour qu'il ne puisse servir qu'au dit frère ROUX nous lui avons fait apposer sa signature en marge, NE VARIETUR, à fin qu'il reçoive JOIE, SATISFACTION, et SECOURS, s'il se trouvait dans le besoin, offrant le même retour, à chaque frère qui se présentera de votre part. Fait et Délivré, dans un lieu très Eclairé, ou Règnent la Paix, le Silence, et la Charité, le 12 Jour du 12 Mois de l'An de la Vraie Lumière 5803, répondant au 12 fevrier 1804 Année Républicaine.

The English version reads:—

*To The Glory Of The Great Architect Of The Universe.*

To all regular masons spread over the surface of the Earth.

GREETINGS STRENGTH UNION

WE THE WORSHIPFUL MASTER and OFFICERS of the regular St. John's Lodge known under the title of "Zur Hoffnung" regularly constituted in the Orient

of Berne and assembled, by the mysterious numbers known to true masons declare, certify and attest that our beloved brother JEAN PIERRE ROUX aged 32 years native of Montreux in Switzerland is in possession of the 3rd symbolique degree, that his zeal, and the purity of his morals have rendered him dear to all the brethren and that consequently we have given him this Certificate and that it may only be of use to the said brother ROUX we have made him put his signature in the margin, NE VARIETUR, so that he may receive JOY, SATISFACTION, and HELP if so needed by him, offering in return the same to any of your brethren who may apply for it. Made and Delivered in an enlightened place where Peace, Silence and Charity reign, on the 12th day of the 12th Month A.L. 5803 corresponding to the 12th February 1804 Republican Year.

During the first years the Lodge assembled in the so-called "Hercules" room, also known as the "New Garden" room, in the Vannaz property, then situated on the outer side of the town walls. The national element in those days consisted mainly of members of the aristocracy, and these gained a constantly growing influence within the Lodge through the joining of the following Brethren: von Freudenreich, von Erlach, von Willading, Baron de Alcahaly, Count de Gallano, Colonel Huenerwadel, Gasser from Fribourg (chancellor of the Swiss Chief Magistrate), Gerwer and Jayet (both lawyers), as well as Ferreira de Leitaon (Minister to Switzerland of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain)<sup>1</sup> and de Villars (Secretary of the Spanish Legation). Whilst Belmont remained as Master of the Lodge, we find the following aristocrats amongst his officers:—

J.W.	Baron de Alcahaly
D. o. C.	de Villars
Asst. D. o. C.	von Freudenreich

the other officers being:

S.W.	Neuhaus
Lecturer	Gimel
Treasurer	Troette
Secretary	Howart, jun.
Keeper of the Seal	Mueller
Registrar	Veyer
S.D.	Korbmann, sen.
Almoner	Roschi

Beginning of 1805 a somewhat unpleasant controversy arose, inasmuch as Brethren de Alcahaly, Count de Gallano, Gimel, Troette, de Villars, de Ferreira de Leitaon and Chatelain had abused the confidence of the Master by initiating a certain Keller, Catholic priest, of Berne. The Secretary, Bro. Howart, who lived in the house where the Lodge met, had discovered and reported the irregularity, and the Brethren at fault were expelled and subsequently formed an irregular Lodge under the name of "La Discretion", the officers being:—

W.M.	von Jenner
S.W.	Rouger, Secretary of the French Legation
J.W.	F. R. von Ernst, Colonel, ret'd.
Lecturer	Ambroise Michel Gimel, Agent of the French Salt Monopoly
Asst. Lecturer	Jacques Pacifique Keller, Catholic Priest
Secretary	Charles Louis Chatelain
Treasurer	von Tavel von Kruyningen
D. o. C.	Joseph Vereida de Leitaon, Spanish captain
Keeper of the Seal & Registrar	L. A. Troette, French Paymaster General
Almoner	Ramon Alexis de Villars, Secretary of the Spanish Legation
Asst. Registrar	Captain Rudolf von Willading
S.D.	Ludwig Mueller

<sup>1</sup> On August 7th, 1814, Bro. Ferreira de Leitaon, Spanish Ambassador in Switzerland, called off, presumably under pressure from his Government, but re-joined immediately under the name of de Villars. He was granted this special privilege by the Lodge, and was assured at the same time that the matter would be dealt with with the greatest possible care and secrecy. The actual Bro. de Villars (Secretary of the Spanish Embassy) had died in 1811.

The other founder members were: de Goumoens, Commandant of Berne; Schifferli, professor of surgery at Thoune; Gasser, chancellor of the Swiss Chief Magistrate; Frederic von Ernst, captain and country squire; Ruiz de Lihory; Count de Gallano; Baron de Alcahaly.

Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" refused to endorse the petition of "La Discretion" for the granting of a warrant by the Grand Orient of France, with the result that "La Discretion" dissolved and most of its members rejoined "Zur Hoffnung". Thus Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" counted, on September 4th, 1805, thirty-four resident members and ten country members. Unknown for what reasons, Bro. Howart, who had discovered the afore-mentioned clandestine Lodge, tendered his resignation shortly afterwards.

Towards the end of 1806 the Lodge addressed a petition to the Grand Orient of France asking for the rituals of the three degrees, because those in the possession of the Lodge had become illegible due to wear and tear, and the Lodge pledged itself to keep the said rituals in a place of safety, consisting of a case or trunk with three keys, one key to be kept by the Master, another one by the Secretary, and the third by the Registrar.

On the 19th October, 1806, the Lodge decided to rent premises in Hartmann House, Reitschulgasse, at a price of Fr. 150 yearly, as the old premises had to be given up. At the same time a commission, consisting of Bros. von Wattenwyl, Buerky, Fluegel, Koenig and Stuerler, was appointed, whose duty it was to locate a property suitable as a temple.

Bro. von Tavel von Kruyningen was indubitably a true Mason in every respect, and Lodge "Zur Hoffnung", especially during the first years of its existence, owes much to the outstanding qualities of Bro. von Tavel, who showed his Brethren the way to turn from the complicated French system to the simpler system of the three symbolical degrees. Cordial correspondence was being entertained with the following Lodges: Union des Coeurs at Geneva, Modestia cum Libertate at Zurich, Freundschaft und Bestaendigkeit at Basle, Vrais Frères Unis at Le Locle, Bonne Harmonie at Neuchâtel, as well as with several Lodges in France and Germany.

The new temple was consecrated on December 16th, 1809, and Bro. von Tavel was the consecrating officer, delegations from numerous Lodges being present. At the suggestion of Brother Lecturer, Bro. von Tavel was appointed Honorary W.M. by acclamation. Shortly afterwards the French Ambassador, Bro. de Talleyrand, in view of his forthcoming departure from Berne, was elected a honorary member.

A considerable number of persons of rank and opulence were initiated in Lodge "Zur Hoffnung", amongst them, on August 6th, 1813, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, then a General in the Russian Army, and subsequently to become King Leopold I of the Belgians.<sup>1</sup>

As far back as 1813, Bro. von Tavel persevered in the idea to free Swiss Lodges from French influence and to create an independent Swiss Grand Lodge. Correspondence was exchanged with the Lodges at Basle and Zurich, but nothing definite became of these endeavours because Zurich insisted that Berne change over to the rectified Scottish Rite. During 1816 and 1817 the aspects were more favourable, and the Berne Brethren considered earnestly to switch over to the rectified Scottish Rite, on condition, however, that the Swiss Scottish Rite declare itself independent from abroad. At the same time Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" was in correspondence with the United Grand Lodge of England, and Bro. von Haller went to England to discuss with H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex the terms of affiliation. The good offices of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Francfort-on-Main were sought to obtain a warrant from England, and after lengthy negotiations the warrants from England arrived on September 21st, 1818—one for the Lodge (Plate III), and the other one appointing Bro. von Tavel Provincial Grand Master of Switzerland (Plate IV).

The warrant for the Lodge reads:—

*Augustus Frederick G.M.*

To all and every Our Right Worshipful, Worshipful, and Beloved Brethren  
We Prince Augustus Frederick  
of Brunswick Lunenburgh, Duke of Sussex, Earl of Inverness, Baron of Arklow,  
Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter etc. etc. etc.

GRAND MASTER

of the United Fraternity of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England  
SEND GREETING

Know ye that We, at the humble petition of our right trusty and well beloved brethren Pierre Louis de Tavel, Emanuel Bondeli, Jaques Emanuel Roschi, Albert Emanuel Haller, David Wild, Jean Rodolphe de Frisching, Frederic d'Ernest, Rodolphe de Schiferli, Frederic de Sinner, and several other Brethren residing at

<sup>1</sup> Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, later King of the Belgians, was initiated in the Lodge, *i.e.*, he was actually initiated by delegation by Bro. von Schifferli in the field during a campaign in 1813, and was made a honorary member in 1815.



Plate I. Warrant of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" from the Grand Orient of France

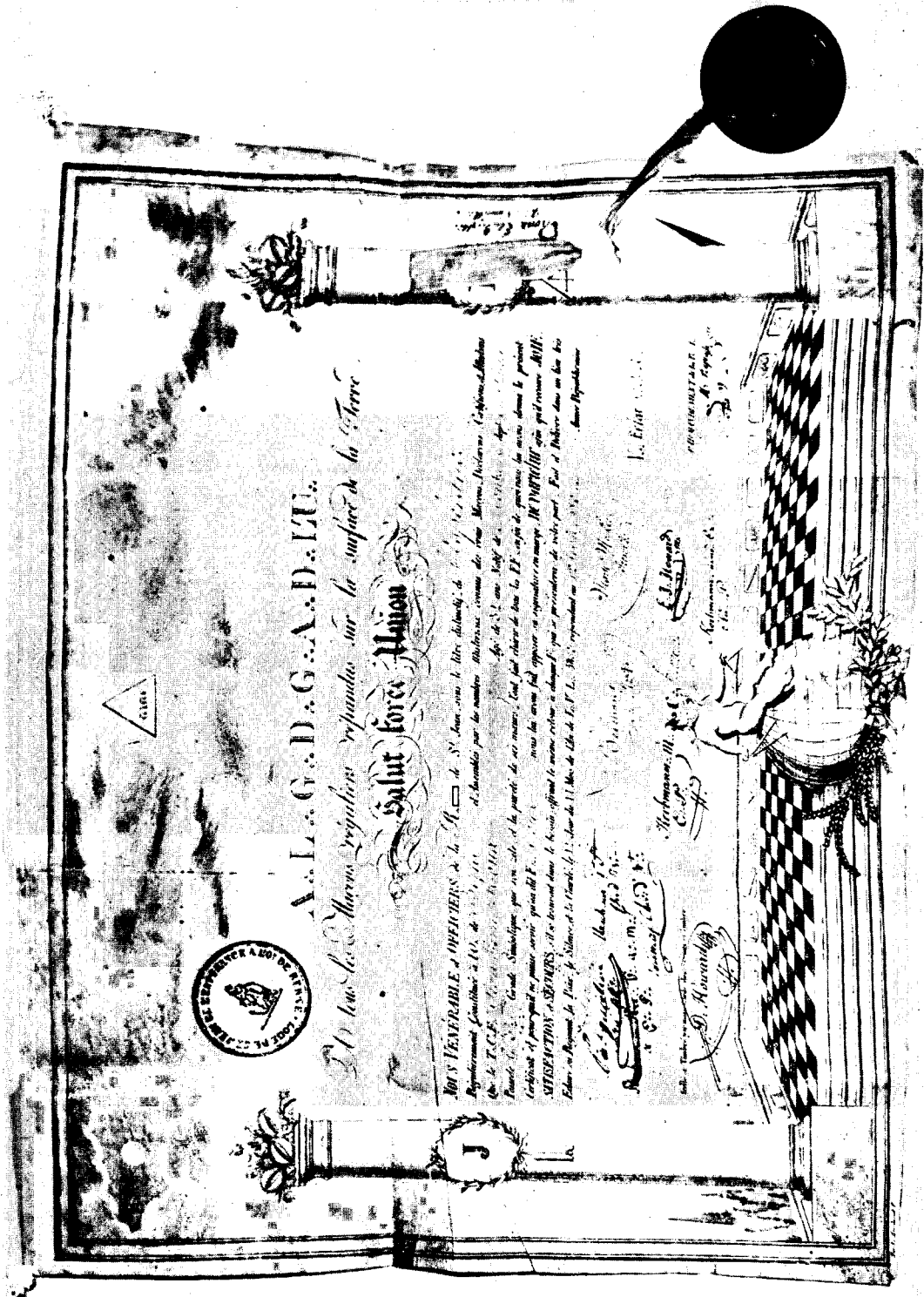


Plate II. Certificate issued by Lodge "Zur Hoffnung"





Augustus Fredericus G.M.

I, all and every our Right Worshipping, Worshipful, and Beloved Brethren  
The Prince Augustus Fredericus  
(DUKE OF SUSSEX) Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. &c.  
(GRAND MASTER)  
Of the United Fraternity of Ancient Free and Accepted Masters of England

Know ye

Know ye that We of the same tenor and complexion signed in our right tenor and well beloved Brother the Right  
Worshipping Bern Jousé Javel & Knappinger, do hereby constitute and appoint him the said Bern Jousé Javel to be Provincial Grand Master  
for the SWISS CONFEDERATION with full power and authority in due form to make, Alter, Amend, Revoke, and regulate, Judges as common usage require, subject  
membership to our approval. And also to do and execute all and every such other acts and things appertaining to the said Office as usually have been and ought to be done and  
executed by the Provincial Grand Masters. We taking special care that all and every the Masters of every Lodge be well constituted have been regularly made, chosen  
and that they and the Masters of all other Lodges within his Majesty's Kingdoms do always perform and keep all and every the Rules, Orders and Regulations contained in the  
Book of Constitutions, except such as have been or may be reported as being generally commensurate to the Grand Lodge, together also with all such other Rules,  
Orders, Regulations and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by Us or by the Right Reverend Thomas Rod Gunders to our Deputy  
Grand Master or by any of our Honorable Grand Masters or their Deputies for the time being. And we do hereby will and require you our said Provincial Grand  
Master to cause the said generally commensurate to be held in every year, one whereof to be upon or as near the first day of August then the Day of our annually being  
to wit that you provide in those and all other reasonable matters, every to, for the better and advantage of the Fraternity and the benefit of the Grand Charity. And that  
you yearly send to Us our Honorable Grand Masters an Account in writing of the Proceedings therein, and also of what Lodges you constitute and when and where  
held, with a list of the several Masters of the said Lodges and of such other Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good government of the same,  
with whatever else you shall think fit by order of these presents. And that at the same time you send to the Treasurer of the Society for the time being at London Five  
Guineas, being for every Lodge you shall constitute for the use of the Grand Lodge and other necessary purposes.

Given at London under our hand and the Seal of our Grand Lodge this Twenty seventh day of July, 11. 3M.V. A.D. 1818.

By Command of His Royal Highness The W. W. Grand Master

William W. G. S.

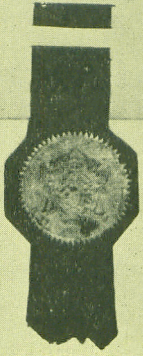


Plate IV. Patent of von Tavel as Provincial Grand Master

Berne in Switzerland Do hereby constitute the said Brethren into a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons under the Title and Denomination of the *Lodge of Hope* to be opened and held at Berne aforesaid there to make, pass and raise Masons according to the Antient Form. And we further at their said petition, and of the great Trust and Confidence reposed in every of the abovenamed Brethren, hereby appoint the said Emanuel Bondeli to be the first Master for holding and opening the said Lodge and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the Brethren thereof. It being our will that this our appointment of the above Master shall in nowise affect any future election of Master of the said Lodge, but that such election shall be regulated agreeable to such Bye-Laws of that Lodge as shall be consistent with the General Laws of the Craft contained in the Book of Constitutions. And we do hereby require and strictly charge you the said Emanuel Bondeli to take special care that all and every the said Brethren are or have been regularly made Masons, and that you and they and all others the Members of the said Lodge do observe perform and keep all the Laws, Rules and Orders contained in the Book of Constitution or as may from time to time be made by our Grand Lodge or transmitted by Us or our Successors Grand Masters or our Deputy Grand Master for the time being. And further that you do from time to time cause to be entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose an Account of your proceedings in the Lodge, together with all such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made for the good Government of the same. That in nowise you omit once in every year to send to Us or our Successors Grand Masters or to the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Dundas Our Deputy Grand Master or to the Deputy Grand Master for the time being an account in writing of your proceedings and Copies of all such Rules, Orders and Regulations as shall be made as aforesaid together with a List of the Members of the said Lodge and the Names and descriptions of all Masons initiated therein with the Fees and Monies payable therefore. It being our will and intention that this our Warrant of Constitution shall continue in force so long only as you shall conform to and comply with the Laws and Regulations of our Grand Lodge. And we further require you the said Emanuel Bondeli as soon as conveniently may be to send us an account in writing of what may be done by virtue of the presents.

Given at London under our Hand and the Seal of our Grand Lodge this Twenty-seventh day of July AL 5818 AD 1818.

By Command of His Royal Highness the M.W. Grand Master

William H. White, G.S.

This is the warrant under which Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" worked from 1819 till 1822 as an English Provincial Grand Lodge. The Patent of the appointment of Bro. Pierre Louis de Tavel de Kruyningen is the following:—

*Augustus Frederick G.M.*

To all and every Our Right Worshipful, Worshipful, and Beloved Brethren  
 We Prince Augustus Frederick  
 of Brunswick Lunenburgh, Duke of Sussex, Earl of Inverness, Baron of Arklow,  
 Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter etc. etc. etc.

GRAND MASTER

of the United Fraternity of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England

SEND GREETING

Know ye that We, of the great trust and confidence reposed in our trusty and well beloved Brother The Right Worshipful PIERRE LOUIS de TAVEL de KRUYNINGEN, Do hereby constitute and appoint him the said PIERRE LOUIS de TAVEL de KRUYNINGEN to be Provincial Grand Master for the SWISS CONFEDERATION, with full power and authority in due form to make MASONs and constitute and regulate LODGES as occasion may require, subject nevertheless to our approval. AND ALSO to do and execute all and every such other acts and things appertaining to the said Office as usually have been and ought to be done and executed by other Provincial Grand Masters, HE taking special care that all and every the Members of every Lodge he shall constitute have been regularly made Masons and that they and the Members of all other Lodges within his Province do observe, perform, and keep all and every the Rules, Orders and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as have been or may be repealed at any quarterly communication or other Grand Meeting) together also with all such other Rules, Orders, Regulations and Instructions as shall from time to time be transmitted by US or by The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Dundas, etc., etc., etc.,

Our Deputy Grand Master or by any of our Successors Grand Masters or their Deputies for the time being. AND we do hereby will and require you our said PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER to cause Four quarterly communications to be held in every year, one whereof to be upon or as near the feast day of Saint John the Baptist as conveniently may be, and that you promote, on these and all other occasions, whatever may be for the honour and advantage of Masonry, and the benefit of the GRAND CHARITY. And that you yearly send to US or our Successors Grand Masters an Account in writing of the proceedings therein, and also of what Lodges you constitute and when and where held, with a list of the several Members of the said Lodges, and Copies of all such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as shall be made for the good government of the same, with whatever else you shall do by virtue of the presents. And that at the same time you remit to the Treasurer of the Society for the time being at London Five Guineas Sterling for every Lodge you shall constitute for the use of the Grand Lodge and other necessary purposes.

Given at London under our hand and the Seal of Our Grand Lodge this Twentyseventh day of July AL 5818 AD 1818.

By Command of His Royal Highness the M.W. Grand Master

William H. White, G.S.

The text of this Patent is quite interesting, inasmuch as it authorised Bro. von Tavel to constitute Lodges, viz., to issue warrants instead of having to apply for them to Grand Lodge.

A special committee to introduce the English constitution was appointed consisting of Bros. Bondeli, Combe, Roschi, Ganguillet and Gerwer and the acceptance of the English Constitution took place on February 28th, 1819, the vote being unanimous. The act of adoption reads as follows:—

The Master Masons of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" in the Orient of Berne, who have gathered this day free from any masonic obligation, and after having been acquainted with reports compiled by their members, their sovereign Chapter and by their Lodge Committee, and in consideration that their Lodge having remained for over six years without news of the existence and activities of the Grand Orient of France by which their Lodge had been constituted and warranted and also in consideration of the changed circumstances and national feelings in Switzerland tending towards a unification of all Swiss Lodges and furthermore agreeing that on the strength of the documents produced and in the opinion of their most trusted members the Constitution and rituals of the United Grand Lodge of England being in accordance with antient usages of the Craft and free from any adulteration declare and agree:—

1. The Constitution promulgated by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, M.W.G.M. of the United Grand Lodge of England for the benefit of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" in the Orient of Berne, is herewith accepted with thanks.

2. Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" accepts the ritual of the antient fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, as presented and recognised by the said Grand Lodge, as well as the statutes and rules resulting therefrom, as basis of usages, ceremonies and bye-laws of the Lodge, reserving however the right to make use of those liberties especially granted by the said Grand Lodge to all foreign Lodges, especially in connection with higher degrees, if so desired.

3. The Brethren recognise and accept Brother Peter Ludwig von Tavel von Kruyningen as Provincial Grand Master, as well as the Provincial Grand Officers appointed by him, as Provincial Grand Lodge for the whole of Switzerland. The latter, however, only under reserve of those privileges which are constitutionally granted to the Lodges and in the sense that the recognition of the person of Provincial Grand Master be restricted to the person of our worshipful brother von Tavel and in case of his death, from which God may preserve him, or in the case that this office become vacant for one reason or another, this document be returned to Lodge "Zur Hoffnung", should this be asked for and that this Lodge then have the right, as well as all other Lodges in Switzerland being members of this organisation, to elect a new Grand Master, free and without being hampered in their choice by anybody. All this will have to be gone into, details to be fixed more precisely.

4. On the occasion of the next St. John's Festival the introduction of the English ritual as well as the formal installation of the R.W. Provincial Grand Master will take place in due and ample form provided that the necessary preparations by the organising committee be completed and on condition that all Lodges have been informed accordingly, in writing.

Thus agreed on the 28th day of the 12th month at the end of the masonic year of 5818 or the 28th February anno domini 1819.  
Signed: von Graffenried, W.M. ; J. A. Herrenschwand, J.W. ; B. von Steiger, S.W. ; F. Combe, Lecturer ; Wilhelmi, D.o.C. ; L. Graf, Treasurer ; A. Tribolet, Almoner ; Ganguillet, 1st Steward ; Roschi, Secretary.

The Swiss Lodges working according to the rectified Scottish Rite did not fully approve of the action of Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" of having adopted the English working and of the constitution of an independent Provincial Grand Lodge. The Brethren of Lodge "Bescheidenheit" (Modesty) at Zurich least of all. Also other Lodges such as "Freundschaft und Bestaendigkeit" (Friendship and Perseverance) voiced disapproval and some intimated that Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" was aiming at a kind of supremacy in Swiss Masonry. In Berne this situation was well known and everything possible was done with a view to dispersing this animosity, as is shown by a circular letter dated the 14th April, 1819, important enough to be quoted:—

When we were assembled in these premises in 1803 for the purpose of founding our Lodge, all other Lodges in our country were closed since their voluntary recess at the outbreak of the French revolution. No Swiss Grand Lodge was in existence which could have constituted and warranted us, nor any Lodge which could have recommended us to some foreign constitution. Two French Lodges applied on our behalf to the Grand Orient of France for a warrant and since we received it we worked according to the French system.

We named our Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" surmising and hoping that we would not for very long remain alone in our country and that, with order being restored, soon at least those Lodges which had gone into temporary recess would resume their activities and new Lodges be formed. We also cherished the hope that all Lodges throughout the country would be united into one body comprising all the cantons of our beloved country into one organisation.

Part of our hopes were fulfilled. Not only were some of our Lodges resuscitated but new ones were formed and some of these were consecrated by us and to-day we have nineteen Lodges in the country as well as two governing authorities who are taking a most active part in spreading Masonic activities in Switzerland. Only our most ardent wish has so far not been realised, namely the formation of an independent National Grand Lodge, constituted by representatives of all patriotic Lodges by which course of action alone freedom and independence from foreign influence could be secured. Alas, all our endeavours were futile in view of the various Masonic systems practised in this country.

This was not derogatory to our relations with all Lodges within the country as well as with a fair number of Lodges outside our frontiers with which we entertain cordial relations. This exchange of opinion has always been of great importance to us. We do not only owe it useful information about the development of the craft in other places, but we also profit by knowledge of innovations beneficial to the craft. The more information we gathered, the more we were convinced that our true intentions might be misinterpreted and be subjected to an entirely false rendering which made our decision to separate from the Grand Orient of France, by which we have always been treated with brotherly consideration, more difficult, and delayed it for some time.

When through the introduction of the new order the fate of the French Grand Orient had become doubtful and after this Lodge had remained without news over a considerable lapse of time, we deemed it necessary in the interest of this Lodge to take such steps as would ensure the continuance of our organisation and we were thus compelled to affiliate with another Grand Lodge. We are free in our choice of constitution and rite and it has been for a considerable time our intention to return to the oldest and purest form of the craft, but we nevertheless approached the honourable rectified Scottish Rite in Switzerland with a view to forming an independent association comprising all Masonic bodies in Switzerland but our endeavours were fruitless. And as we have come to the conclusion that we would never reach our goal in this way we decided to apply to the United Grand Lodge of England for a warrant.

Our petition was favourably received and our Lodge was granted a warrant by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, the Most Worshipful and Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, and we have received a warrant dated the 27th July, 1818, and at the same time our beloved brother Peter Ludwig von Tavel von Kruyningen who has for a considerable time directed the business of our Lodge, has been appointed Provincial Grand Master for Switzerland.

By acquainting you, dear brethren, of these happy events, we wish to add that we shall, on the occasion of our next St. John's Festival on the 24th June, celebrate the appointment of our beloved inauguration act to which ceremonies you are hereby cordially invited. We shall consider it an honour and token of your brotherly love if you will be represented by a large number of brethren. The ceremony will begin at 10 a.m. followed by a banquet. We shall appreciate if you will let us know at the latest at the beginning of June the names of the brethren who will be present and we wish to assure you that they will be most welcome.

The name of our Lodge remains unchanged "Zur Hoffnung" because it is still our predominant hope to see our wish of a united Swiss Grand Lodge materialise and we know that we can rely on the fullest collaboration of our beloved brother Grand Master who shares our intentions in every respect.

As far as our Masonic principles are concerned we wish to emphasise that they will not differ from those which we have followed hitherto. We adhere to the principles and tenets of the oldest Masonic constitution and we recognise Masonry as an institution to further the interests of humanity, without interfering with Church or Government. The true Mason is a good man, true to his God and a good citizen. Masonry shows him the way how to achieve this. Neither the dominant doctrine of a religion nor political extremes can govern Masonry, but to reach a higher level must be our constant aim. Any true man wishing to adhere to these principles will be welcome amongst us, irrespective of position, country and religion.

Convinced that our principles are also yours, we feel confident that you will also in future help us to foster our mutual understanding. We recommend ourselves to your fraternal care and we shall treat you similarly on all occasions and may the Great Architect of the Universe help us and sustain us.

The opening sentence must not be interpreted literally, but symbolically, since the Lodge had changed from the original premises to newer ones. In all likelihood they were merely referring to the Temple, wherever it might be.

The Swiss Lodges had to realize from the foregoing declaration that the brethren in Berne had no intention whatsoever to sever relations with the other Lodges and the fact that Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" reserved itself the right to nominate their own Provincial Grand Master, should the office become vacant through the death of Bro. von Tavel was another proof that Berne followed the principle that no obstacle should ever exist which might prevent the Swiss Lodges from becoming united. The rectified Scottish Rite, however, continued to reproach Berne for having sought recognition abroad, but the Brethren in Berne rejected this rebuke in a dignified answer and within a relatively short time cordial relations between the various Lodges in the country were re-established.

In those days conditions in Switzerland were such that the Brethren had to form closed ranks in order to repel the many attacks which were launched against their activities and especially the Jesuits revelled in attacks by making use of the lowest kind of slander and defamation, with the result that Lodge "Brudertreue" at Aarau was weakened to such an extent that it was compelled to go in to recess for some time. Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" suffered much less than the others, although infamous and slanderous attacks were continuously launched by Karl Ludwig von Haller, born a protestant who later became a Roman Catholic convert.

On August 21st and 23rd, 1820, the Lodges at Neuchâtel and Le Locle were consecrated in the presence of Bros. Ganguillet and von Steiger from Berne. These two representatives were greatly impressed by the friendly and brotherly attitude shown by Brethren from other parts of Switzerland and especially by Bro. F. Sarasin from Basle. They returned to their Lodge and declared that they considered the moment most opportune and auspicious to make another effort in the direction of the forming of a National Grand Lodge. A conference by delegates from various Lodges was held on April 29th, 1822, in Berne with the result that the Grand Atelier du Grand Orient helvétique Romand dissolved its organisation on May 18th, 1822, and the Provincial Grand Lodge in Berne took the same action on May 25th, 1822. Finally, on the 24th June, 1822, the INDEPENDANT SWISS NATIONAL GRAND LODGE was formed and Bro. von Tavel was elected Grand Master for the rest of his life. Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" was numerically the strongest Lodge of the new Grand Lodge. Although none of the Lodges working according to the rectified Scottish Rite joined the National Grand Lodge, a step towards a UNITED SWISS GRAND LODGE had very definitely been taken.

When the Swiss National Grand Lodge was formed, Lodge "Zur Hoffnung" did not get a new warrant, but Bro. von Tavel simply endorsed the warrant from the United Grand Lodge of England, as can be seen on plate III. The text is as follows:—

Le Grand Maître National Suisse, déclare par la présente, que la Régulière Loge ci-dessus dénommée, fait partie de l'alliance maçonnique, existante sous le nom de

Grande-Loge-Nationale-Suisse, et légalise ainsi cette lettre patente, selon le décret du 25 Juin 1822.

Ot. de Berne le 28 Novembre 5822

(sgd) Le Grand-Maitre-National  
P. L. de Tavel-de Kruyningen.

(sgd). Le Grand Secrétaire  
d'Ernest.

The English translation of the above is:—

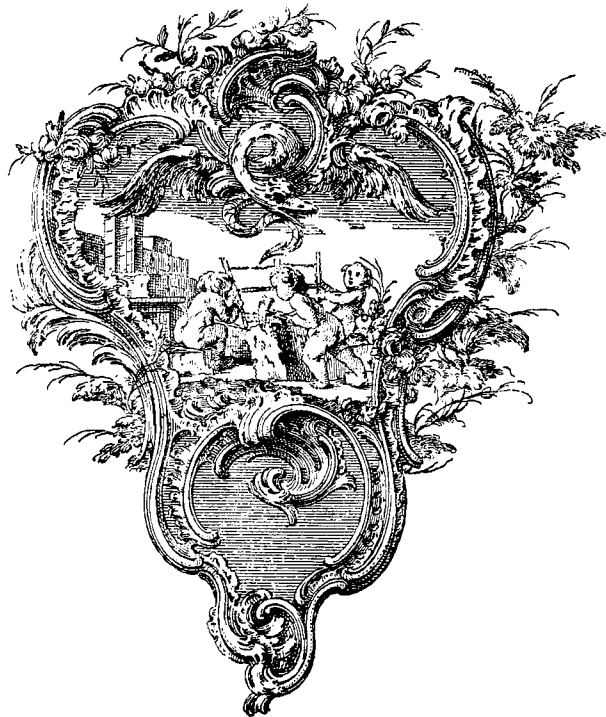
The Swiss National Grand Master hereby declares that the regular Lodge mentioned above, is a party to the masonic alliance, existing under the name of Swiss National Grand Lodge, and he legalises herewith this warrant in accordance with the decree of the 25th June, 1822.

Orient of Berne, 28th November, 1822.

When, in 1844, the Swiss National Grand Lodge was superseded by Grand Lodge Alpina of Switzerland, likewise no new warrant was issued, and, consequently, the Lodge still works under the original, though endorsed, warrant from the United Grand Lodge of England.

HANS O. MAUERHOFER,

P. Dist. G. D. (Hong Kong and South China).



## REVIEWS

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### LODGE OF UNANIMITY No. 89 (1754-1954)

*By James Lockett Wood, J.P., P.P.G.D.*



THE M.W. the Grand Master, the Earl of Scarborough, accompanied by R.W. Bro. Sir Sydney White, Grand Secretary, attended an Emergency Meeting of the Lodge of Unanimity No. 89, the senior Lodge of Cheshire, on 8th February, 1954, for the purpose of presenting the Bi-Centenary Warrant. The story of this event and those of the preceding two centuries has been written by Bro. J. L. Wood, a well-known local Masonic writer. The Lodge is fortunate in having preserved all its minute books since 1754, as well as the Warrant issued by William Ratchdale, Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire, with other interesting relics of early days: three ornate carved chairs, a gargantuan punch bowl and other pottery, ram's horn snuff box, tyler's hairy cap (a pigskin mitre), etc. It is even more fortunate in having acquired first its Centenary Warrant in 1871 and then its Bi-Centenary Warrant in 1954.

Founded in Manchester, the Lodge met at several hosteleries which have now passed away, the most noteworthy of these being the Bull's Head or Budworth's Tavern (from the name of a former proprietor), destroyed by enemy action in 1940. About 1803, the Lodge underwent a crisis when it removed to the Buck and Hawthorn, Back Square. According to Lane it lapsed about 1805, but, on April 1st, 1807, it announced its removal from the Buck and Hawthorn to Mr. John Bradley's the "Old General" in Dukinfield, in the County of Chester. The Brethren present included the Master of Integrity (now 163) and Henry Mills, who was one of the survivors of the Lodge of Fortitude, the last Lodge warranted by the Grand Lodge of All England at York.

Francis Dukinfield Astley, later to become the last Provincial Grand Master for the undivided Province of Lancashire, was elected Master. He was then Lord of the Manor of Dukinfield and the "Old General" was named after a fine old hunter.

The second meeting at Dukinfield was held on 20th April, 1807, with Henry Mills in the chair, when four Brethren "received Mark Masonry", three of them being visitors. In September, again with Henry Mills in the chair, "The Business of the night was Royal Ark Masonry". It must be remembered that Dukinfield was the home of the famous Travelling Mark Lodge of Ashton-under-Lyne (the two places, one in each County, are contiguous).

Bro. Wood has furnished an interesting account of the adventures of this fine old Lodge, generously illustrated and while the student will "spot" an occasional flaw, he has provided a summary of activity in what was from a Masonic point of view at least one of the most virile parts of the country.

FRED. L. PICK.

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### THE GOTHIC WORLD, 1100 - 1600

*By John Harvey*

(B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1950)

James Anderson, in 1738, wrote of the Gothic Nations wanting "both Heads and Hands to imitate the Antients", hammering out a New State of their own, and rendering their structures "Venerable and Magnificent; though not Imitable by Those that have the true High Taste of the Grecian or Augustan Stile". In this he voiced the opinions of his age and, despite a literary vogue for Gothic romances which developed shortly afterwards, it was not until the nineteenth century that we find Gothic architecture receiving appreciation as something more than a dark and eccentric interlude in the history of art, and attempts being made to re-discover and investigate its principles, its purpose, and its spiritual basis. And even then the appreciation of such admirers as John Ruskin and William Morris was inspired or stimulated by their religious or political views.

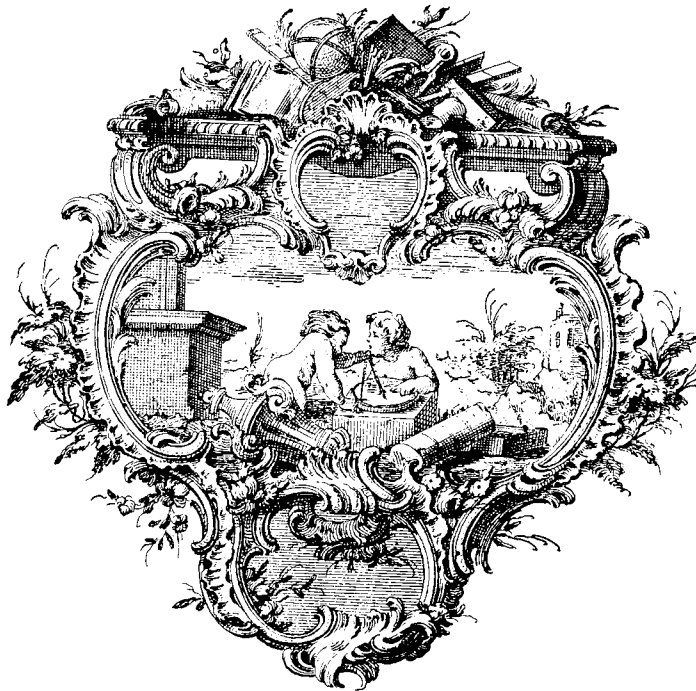


Mr. Harvey shows himself not only as a lover of the Gothic Spirit as revealed in its architecture, but as one whose devotion is clear and unquestioned, even though other admirers of the Gothic World may temper their own devotion with the reflection that a modern view of a past age tends to become a sublimation of the more obvious qualities of the latter, and we others may be uneasily aware how much intolerance, squalor and poverty that world also contained.

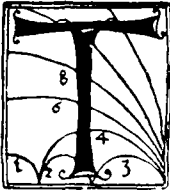
Within the last fifty or sixty years much work has been done, both on the Continent and in this country, on the surviving records of the building craft. Von Schlosser, Fagniez, and Mortet and Deschamps have published select documents (we should have liked to see mention of these works in the bibliography) and more recently in England, Knoop, Coulton, Briggs and Salzman have published valuable works based on original authorities. Mr. Harvey follows worthily in their footsteps. He shows us—what not all of us realise—the vast extent of his world—from Norway to Italy, and from Ireland to Syria; and, what is of great interest and value, he points out so far as is possible, the connection of its various parts through its master-builders and its schools. Full attention is devoted to the consideration of the life and work of the Gothic builders, their organisation, their training, their tools, their rates of pay, and their social status. Our author, moreover, gives his own views and conjectures on the difficult question of the sources of the master-builder's skill, whether empirical or learned.

In fine, the book is one which can be strongly recommended to all those who are interested in our operative ancestors, and in addition to the text it contains a wealth of illustrations, many of them of buildings very little known in this country.

LEWIS EDWARDS.



## FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1954



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), W.M.; H. C. Booth, *B.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as* I.P.M.; N. Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; G. S. Draffen, *M.B.E.*, Grand Librarian of Scotland, J.D.; and H. Carr, L.G.R., I.G.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. H. Bartley, C. E. Purslow, P. J. Watts, G. Holloway, A. I. Sharp, W. V. Miller, F. L. Bradshaw, C. Marshall Rose, A. P. Cawadias, T. W. Marsh, G. Norman Knight, H. Chilton, D. Coloco Osorio, T. Sykes, H. Gould, A. H. Benon, C. T. Beynon, C. Madison Roberts, H. H. Hoffman, A. Beecher Stowe, J. C. Dribbell, H. S. Buffery, G. P. Daynes, A. H. Antrum, P. J. Dawson, H. E. Colvin, A. W. Gibson, H. Davies, R. H. Ruel, G. D. Elvidge, A. F. Cross, L. Ivanovsky, E. J. FitzGerald, A. F. Hatten, R. Edwards, B. Foskett, L. F. Elvin, E. V. Winyard, M. R. M. Cann and J. Yahouda.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. P. Smith, Lodge 5857; M. E. Ladd, Lodge 4506; D. W. Sagin, Lodge 185; M. R. Dayton, Lodge 235; S. W. Haines, Lodge 2721; H. Morton, Lodge 3942; and H. O. Quicke, Lodge 6106.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, *O.B.E.*, P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Waples, P.Pr.G.R. (Durham); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., Steward; G. Brett, *M.A.*, P.M. 1494; and Bernard E. Jones, P.A.G.D.C.

One Library, three Lodges and fifty-three Brethren were duly elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

Promotions: to Order of Service to Masonry—J. Wainwright.

to Past Grand Deacon—

Lewis Edwards, M. J. B. Montargis, *Dr.*  
C. C. H. Binns, S. H. Hughes, H. L. Harnett  
and John Lawrence.

Past Rank: to Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies—

J. H. Bottomley, E. E. Cromach, W. J. Hudson,  
O. C. Klagge, J. R. Napier, H. Parker, F. Smith  
and A. E. Watts.

to Past Grand Standard Bearer— R. E. Burne, W. R. Fairbrother, W. G. Fisher,  
and A. G. Smith.

to Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer—A. D. Wells.

to Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant—S. Hartz.

Bro. Ivor Grantham called attention to the following

### EXHIBITS

From the Library of Grand Lodge:—

The original MS. of the Dialogue between Simon and Philip.

Several early editions of the Holy Bible.

Three pierced Masonic Jewels (*circa* 1760-1770), portraying the Bible, Square and Compasses, grouped together.

Lent by Bro. E. Ward:—

Photograph of a Print of a Knight taking an Obligation.

Lent by Bro. G. P. Daynes:—

Drawing of a diagram from the Dialogue between Simon and Philip.

An interesting paper entitled, *The Bible—its place and use in Lodges*, was read by Bro. G. P. DAYNES, W.M., of the Gihon Lodge No. 49, as follows:—

## THE BIBLE — ITS PLACE AND USE IN LODGES

BY BRO. G. PETER DAYNES



NOT so very long ago, the United Grand Lodge of England had the painful duty of withdrawing recognition from the Grand Lodge of Uruguay on the grounds that such an element of atheism had entered into their Lodges, that they no longer made use of the prayers to which we are all accustomed and, in addition, the Volume of the Sacred Law had been withdrawn from their Lodges and was no longer exhibited in the place to which we are all so well accustomed. Many years prior to this, Grand Lodge had also had to take similar action in connection with the Grand Orient of France, by withdrawing recognition for similar reasons, although in this latter case the political aspect could not be disregarded. Unfortunately, these two major cases which I have cited, are not by any means isolated, and it would seem that there is a pernicious tendency in the world to-day to ignore the Deity in preference to other forms of more material worship.

It was doubtless with this problem very much before their minds, that Grand Lodge, in conjunction with other Grand Lodges in communication with them, saw fit to issue in 1929 the famous declaration of the basic principles of the craft, and although these are so very well known to all Brethren, I should like to remind you of three of them:—

1. That a belief in the G.A.O.T.U. and His revealed will shall be an essential qualification for membership.
2. That all Initiates shall take their Obligation on or in full view of the open Volume of the Sacred Law, by which is meant the revelation from above which is binding on the conscience of the particular individual who is being initiated.
3. That the three Great Lights of Freemasonry (namely, the Volume of the Sacred Law, the Square and the Compasses) shall always be exhibited when the Grand Lodge or its subordinate Lodges are at work, the chief of these being the Volume of the Sacred Law.

In addition to this declaration, which one would have thought would have been sufficient guidance for all Masonic Brethren for many years to come, the Grand Lodges of England, Ireland and Scotland only nine years later found it necessary to issue in August, 1938, a further agreed statement entitled "Aims and Relationships of the Craft", of which paragraph four reads as follows:—

The Bible, referred to by Freemasons as the Volume of the Sacred Law, is always open in the Lodges. Every candidate is required to take his Obligations on that book or on the Volume which is held by his particular creed to impart sanctity to an oath or promise taken upon it.

This statement was again reiterated in 1949 when there arose, as I have already indicated in the opening words of this paper, the sad necessity of withdrawing recognition from the Grand Lodge of Uruguay.

Unbelievable as it may seem to many Brethren here to-day, it is, unfortunately, a very real fact that a small and vociferous body of Masons on the Continent of Europe and also in South America, have been endeavouring to instil into the other Brethren of their various Lodges, the suggestion that the presence of the Volume of the Sacred Law in our Lodges is of comparatively recent date and bears no relation to the very ancient history of the Craft in general. This pernicious and, I am glad to say, infinitesimal but most dangerous minority, base their authority for this wild statement on the undisputed fact that we have no evidence that the Volume of the Sacred Law was specifically referred to as one of the Great Lights of Freemasonry, prior to approximately the year 1760, before which, although the Bible had undoubtedly, as I propose to show by appropriate evidence, its great important and vital place in our Ceremonies, it was not, so far as we can ascertain from the evidence we have, actually referred to as one of the Great Lights of Freemasonry.

In consequence of this, the minority of Continental and South American Brethren with atheistic tendencies, to which I have just referred, have recently seen fit to carry their pernicious argument still further, and to assert that, by reason of the fact that there appears no available evidence that the Bible was specifically referred to as one of the Great Lights in Freemasonry prior to 1760, it cannot have had any part in our ceremonies prior to this date. Our immediate reaction to such a wild statement is obvious, but unfortunately it is not sufficient to say that such arguments are ridiculous and leave it at that; we must not only show these Brethren that their arguments are against all established Masonic principles, but also that they are completely unfounded in fact. It is for this purpose that the present essay has been written in a humble endeavour to bring home to all Brethren the true history of the Bible in relation to Freemasonry and its place and use in our Lodges as shown by the evidence available; also to make it clear that, far from being an innovation, the Bible or, as we Masons term it, the Volume of the Sacred Law, was in use in operative Lodges from earliest recorded times, being thence handed down to their speculative successors.

As we all know, our earliest Masonic manuscripts are those fascinating documents which are known as "the Old Charges" or manuscript Constitutions. The main theme of these documents is somewhat similar, although they have certain distinctive variations which form a fascinating field of study, but which are not material to this paper. Suffice it to say that almost every known copy of the Old Charges includes detailed instructions for the taking of a solemn oath by the newly-admitted Brother, and I do not think I can do better than quote three separate instances from different copies of the Old Charges in support of the statement which I have just made:—

1. The *Grand Lodge* MS. No. 1. This document bears the date 1583, which occurs at the end of the text, and it seems that there is no reason to doubt its correctness. In consequence, the contents of this MS. can be regarded as of very early origin, and the words at the conclusion of the parchment roll which comprises the MS. have, therefore, a considerable bearing on our present enquiry. These concluding words are as follows:—

THESE CHARGES THAT WEE HAVE

nowe rehearsed unto yow all and all others that belong to Masons yee shall keepe, so healpe you god and your hallydome, and by this booke in yor hande unto yor power. AMEN, SOBEIT.

SCRIPTUM ANNO DOMINI, 1583.

DIE DECEMBRIS, 25o.

2. The *William Watson* MS. This document, which is also dated, concludes as follows:—

These charges that we have declared & recorded unto yu ye shall well and truely keep to yor power, Soe helpe yu God & Holidome & by ye holy contents of this booke,

EDWARD THOMPSON,

ANNO

DOMI:

1687.

It is also interesting to note that earlier in the *William Watson* MS. the following passage occurs:—

Right worshipfull masters & fellowes yt been of divers Semblies and congregations with ye consent of ye Lords of this Realme hath ordained & made charges by their best advice yt all manner of men yt shall be made & allowed Mason, must be sworne upon a booke to keepe the same in all yt they may to ye uttermost of their power, & alsoe they haue ordained yt when any fellow shall be received & allowed yt these charges might be read unto him, & he to take his charges.

Can any right-thinking person have any doubt whatever that the "booke" referred to in the MS. just cited can be any other than the Bible? I think not.

3. The *Colne* MS. No. 1. This manuscript, which is in the usual form of a parchment roll and has been given a date of *circa* 1685 by the late Bro. Poole, contains the following passage:—

Heare followeth the worthy and godly Oath of Masones. One of the eldest taking the Bible shall hould it forth that hee or the (they) which are to bee maid Masones, may Impoase and lay thear Right hand upon it and then the Charge shall bee read.

This direction as to the taking of the oath would seem to provide the clearest possible evidence of the active use of the Bible in the ceremonies practised by the old operative Lodges

prior to the transitional and Grand Lodge era, and I cannot see how there can be any doubt whatever that wherever a copy of the Old Charges was to be found there would also be a Bible.

So much for early operative days. Those Brethren who have atheistic tendencies, as I have already explained, may still, after admitting the validity of the evidence contained in the Old Charges as already cited, assert that the use of the Bible in Lodge ceremonies ceased when the speculative element began to appear early in the eighteenth century. It must, therefore, now be my task to prove to you the fallacious nature of any such argument, and for this purpose I do not think I can do better than turn to the so-called "exposures" which were, in 1943, so admirably collected together and reproduced in book form by our late Bro. Douglas Knoop in his *Early Masonic Catechisms*. These so-called "exposures" were at one time disregarded by Masonic students as being of no particular account, but of latter years it has, I think, been generally accepted that they do, in fact, form a valuable asset to a student's library, and, in view of their undisputed contemporary circulation, which could not have been entirely based on curiosity since they may well have been purchased as *aides-mémoires*, it is now accepted that the evidence provided by them is most valuable to us in visualising the ritual practised by our late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century Brethren during the period of transition from operative to speculative Masonry and the first few years after the formation of the Premier Grand Lodge.

I, therefore, propose to make use of the valuable evidence contained in these so-called "exposures", and, in furtherance of my theme, would draw attention to the wording of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, which bears the date 1696—a date which, I feel, is now generally accepted amongst those who make a specialised study of this fascinating subject.

This MS. is of great assistance to me in presenting my view to you on the important subject of the Bible and its use in our early Lodges, inasmuch as the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* contains the following passage:—

#### THE FORME OF GIVEING THE MASON WORD

Imprimis you are to take the person to take the word upon his knees and after a great many ceremonies to frighten him you make him take up the bible and laying his right hand on it you are to conjure him, to sec(r)ecie, By threatning that if (he) shall break his oath the sun in the firmament will be a witness agst him and all the company then present, which will be an occasion of his damnation and that likewise the masons will be sure to murder him, Then after he hes promised secrecie They give him the oath a(s) follows.

It may well be said, and correctly said, that the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* is an example of operative working and has no application to eighteenth century speculative Masonry, but surely this early evidence must give us further proof that on the eve of the transitional period the Bible was in very active use in Lodges, and, far from being discarded, was that Book on which every newcomer into a Masonic Lodge invariably took his oath.

The next so-called "exposure" to which I should like to make reference is a very well-known one indeed, namely, Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, which appeared in the year 1730 and is believed to have caused such a disturbance amongst the members of the Premier Grand Lodge as to result in the "new regulations", making certain changes in the ritual, promulgated by Dr. Desaguliers. The following are the three particular portions of *Masonry Dissected* which I should quote:—

- Q. What did the Master do with you ?  
 A. He made me a Mason.  
 Q. How did he make you a Mason ?  
 A. With my bare-bended Knee and Body within the Square, the Compass extended to my naked Left Breast, my naked Right Hand on the Holy Bible ; there I took the Obligation (or Oath) of a Mason.
- Q. Have you any Furniture in your Lodge ?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. What is it ?  
 A. Mosaick Pavement, Blazing Star and Indented Tarsel.  
 Q. What are they ?  
 A. Mosaick Pavement, the Ground Floor of the Lodge, Blazing Star the Centre, and Indented Tarsel the Border round about it.  
 Q. What is the other Furniture of a Lodge ?  
 A. Bible, Compass and Square.  
 Q. Who do they properly belong to ?  
 A. Bible to God, Compass to the Master, and Square to the Fellow-Craft.

Q. Have you any Lights in your Lodge ?

A. Yes, Three.

Q. What do they represent ?

A. Sun, Moon and Master-Mason.

N.B.—These Lights are three large Candles placed on high Candlesticks.

Q. Why so ?

A. Sun to rule the Day, Moon the Night and Master-Mason his Lodge.

Surely this evidence must show continuity of use of the Bible from the early operative, through the transitional to the speculative period of Masonry ? Incidentally, it is of interest to note the reference in *Masonry Dissected* to the Lights in the Lodge as showing that what we now know as the Lesser Lights were, in 1730 or earlier, regarded as the only Lights in the Lodge, the Bible, Square and Compasses being classed as Furniture. However, it must be borne in mind that in the so-called "exposure" with which we are at the moment concerned, the Lodge Furniture is mentioned before the Lights, and in consequence it is not unreasonable to assume that in those far-off days the Lodge Furniture was held in higher esteem than the Lights, and it was not until later in the eighteenth century that the word "Furniture" assumed a more subordinate place in our ritual and the Bible, or Volume of the Sacred Law, assumed its rightful place in the Lodge as not only the principal Light in the Lodge, but also one of the great Lights of Freemasonry in general.

My final reference to the "exposures" must be to the *Dialogue between Simon and Philip*. At the conclusion of this document there appears a small plan which purports to show the orientation of a Lodge of Masons at the time when the "Dialogue" was written. I do not think I can do better than reproduce a copy of this plan, from which the position of the Bible in the Lodge in those early days will be clearly seen.

It will, therefore, be appreciated from the summarised evidence which I have been able to bring forward that the Bible has from earliest times been in constant use in Masonic Lodges and has always been the object of veneration. At this stage of my essay I, therefore, feel it appropriate to draw attention to the history of Dumfries Kilwinning Lodge No. 53 in the Scottish Constitution, which states that:—

On 20th December 1720 George Dalrymple complimented the members with a fine new Bible for their use, which was, with the papers Belonging to the Lodge delivered in ye box to the Warden.

Also, we find two Lodge minutes well prior to the year 1760 which are worthy of mention. The first of these is an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Lodge of Antiquity (now No. 2) held at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Church Yard, on December 7th, 1736, which reads:—

Resolved that the Master take the Usual Oaths on taking the Chair and that the same never be omitted in this Lodge and that every new Member be also obligated.

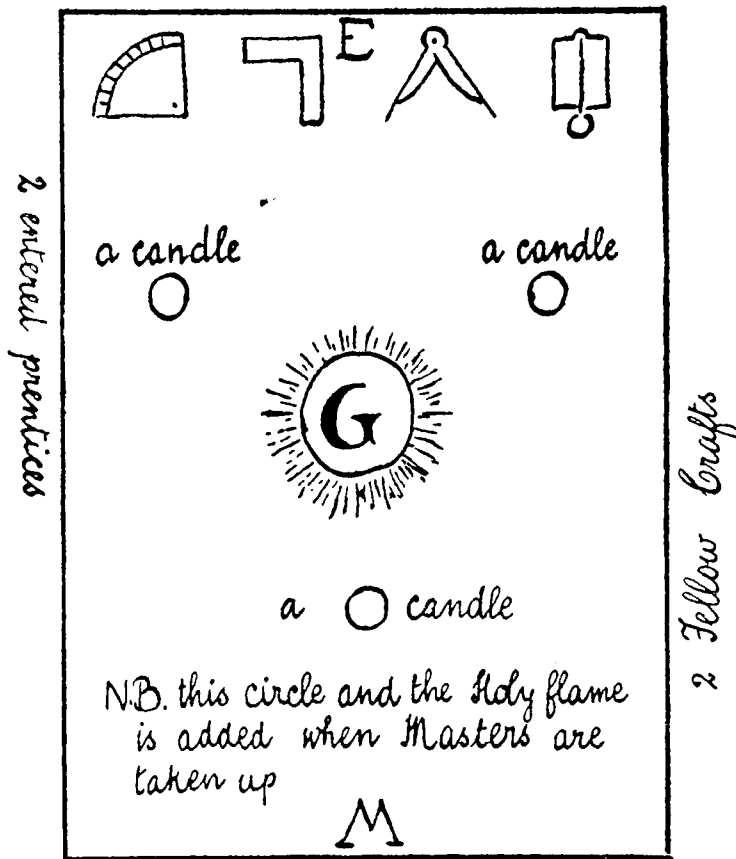
This minute is of particular interest as regards the origin of the Installation Ceremony, which is not within the purview of this paper, but I feel that it cannot but have a bearing on the present subject, since surely no one can suggest that the expression "Usual Oaths" can have reference to any obligation other than one taken on the Bible. It would be interesting to hear of any alternative suggestion, so that this may be investigated.

The other minute of an early Lodge which I wish to quote is that of a meeting of a Lodge at the Bear Inn, Bath, held on June 6th, 1748, which has the significant passage: "Paid Bro. Leake for a Bible 3s."

If those that support the argument that the Bible was not in use in our Lodges at that time still feel of the same mind after having heard me thus far, it would be interesting to know what interpretation they place on this minute and why they feel that this early Lodge meeting at Bath should go to the trouble and, in those days, not inconsiderable expense of purchasing a Bible, if it was not intended to use it in the Lodge ?

I now come to my concluding remarks, as considerations of space preclude me adding further quotations which can do no more than amplify the evidence I have already put before you. Often we may have heard a Brother, perhaps through thoughtlessness or without realising the significance of what he has said, use the expression, "Masonry is my religion." This cannot be so, as if the expression were true, then it would seem that the obligation taken by everyone on their entry into our great Brotherhood would not be within the recognised "Aims of the Craft", which clearly visualise the fact of every Initiate having his own specific religious creed. It is, therefore, hoped that this essay may assist in some measure in convincing all who hear or read it of the ancient history of the Volume of the Sacred Law in relation to our Craft ceremonies and remind them, if such reminder be necessary, of how

Here the Master sits  
A pedestal ○ with the Bible on



Two wardens

This Lodge is the new lodge under the  
Desaguliers regulation

Plan from the "Dialogue between Simon and Philip."

on the Continent of Europe and in South America", mentioned by Bro. Daynes, will hesitate before severing their connection with our Institution which has stood for centuries, and which has always considered the open V.S.L. an essential feature in our Lodges.

I have much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer for his excellent paper.

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It is, indeed a pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Daynes for his interesting paper on a subject which has particularly needed ventilation, if only on account of the attacks from within—those from without are unenlightened and egotistical, if not mercenary.

Bro. Daynes has proved his case that the V.S.L. was in use in Masonic Lodges long prior to the inception of the craft in foreign countries, particularly South America. The earliest records of Lodges in foreign countries appear to be about 1725, so that any references before that date negative the assertion of those who argue otherwise. The pernicious statement that the V.S.L. was not used before 1760, simply because it was only then referred to as one of the Great Lights in Freemasonry, is refuted by the Old Charges, and by records of the Scottish Lodges. The latter, though operative in character up to the first decade of the eighteenth century, when they became speculative, are the legitimate successors of those erected in the Middle Ages.

There is much evidence in the Old Charges, additional to that quoted by Bro. Daynes, which amply proves the point. The *Regius MS.*, of *circa* 1390, is permeated by the prevailing religion of the day, the first of the craftsman's points being: "Love of God and holy church and love of his master and fellows". Randle Holmes, about 1665, wrote: ". . . y" will ans: before God at the great & terrible day of Judgm' . . .", in referring to the oath of the Masters and Fellows of the Society of Masons, and this oath was undoubtedly administered to the members of the Chester Lodge of 1665-75. Again, the *Roberts MS.* ascribes to 1663 the "New Articles", No. 7 of which states: "That no person hereafter be accepted a free Mason or know the secrets of the said Society until he shall have first taken the Oath of Secrecy hereafter following . . .", and this is borne out by the *Harleian MS.* No. 1742 in the British Museum (*circa* 1670), Clause 31, of which reads:—

That noe p'son shalbee accepted a Freemason or know the secrets of the said Society untill he hath first taken the oath of secrecy hereafter following:

I, A.B., Doe in the presence of Almighty God and my Fellowes and brethren here present, promise and declare that I will not at any time hereafter, by any act or circumstance whatsoever, directly or indirectly publish, discover, reveale, or make knowne any of the secrets, privileges, or Counsells of the Fraternity or Fellowship of Freemasonry, which at this time, or any time hereafter, shalbee made knowne unto me soe helpe mee God and the holy contents of this booke.

The *Dautesey MS.*, of *circa* 1690, which was acquired by Grand Lodge a few years ago, and which came from my part of the country (Lancashire), is unequivocal in its statement that the oath had to be taken on "ye holy Bible".

Scottish Freemasonry is also very revealing, for the Edinburgh Seal of Cause establishing the Incorporation of Masons and Wrights in 1475, gave rise to the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, so-called from the fact that it met in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This Seal of Cause shows how closely the performance of specific religious duties was associated with the burghal privileges of the Scottish craftsman of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In 1556, the oldest minute book of the Ayr Squaremen contains a record of the formal submission of the Brethren, who were solemnly sworn to be loyal to the Queen and authorities under her, and to contribute to one of the eight altars existing in Ayr Parish Church in Queen Mary's time. Similarly, among many other records there are those of the *Kilwinning* and *Atcheson's Haven MSS.*, of 1666, both of which mentioned "the book". The 1598 Schaw Statute mentions "sworne brethren" when, apparently, two oaths were administered, one the "Great Oath" on entry, and the other the "Oath of Fidelity" at intervals of a year. Is it feasible that, in an age when the V.S.L. was read much more frequently than now, this swearing was by any other way than on "the book"?

It is quite beside the point that the Bible was not specifically mentioned as one of the Great Lights in 1760, for all students know that very little about the craft was committed to writing. Fort Newton states: "Almost every name in our ceremonies is a Bible name, and students have traced about seventy-five references to the Bible in the ritual of the Craft". The Grand Lodge of England refused recognition in 1878 to the Grand Orient of France because of the removal by that body from its *Book of Constitutions* of the paragraph affirming the existence of a "Great Architect of the Universe," and every body that does likewise, or removes the Bible from the Lodges, deserves the same fate.



We own a deep sense of gratitude to Bro. Daynes for bringing this, his first essay, before us. It has long needed discussion, which I hope will be profitable not only to the craft, but also to the outside world, as showing our principles. It has been well promulgated in the *Aims and Relationships of the Craft*, and that is why I have particular pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to him.

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Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

The paper to which we have listened this evening, must be one of the shortest ever to have been communicated to this Lodge; but the value of the paper is by no means diminished on that account.

I feel bound to confess that at a first reading I was somewhat startled at the assertion that there is no evidence that the Volume of the Sacred Law was specifically referred to as one of the Three Great Lights in Freemasonry before about 1760; but after several days spent in concentrated search in the Grand Lodge Library and Museum, I have found nothing to justify me in challenging that assertion.

In one portion of this paper, evidence has been given to establish that the Bible, apart from the Square and Compasses, did in fact play an essential part in Masonic ceremonial from the earliest days of Freemasonry. The examples quoted by Bro. Daynes, which range in date from 1583 to 1748, are by no means exhaustive; nor were they intended to be. For this reason I hesitate to quote further examples; but it is perhaps permissible to recall that the Roberts' *Constitutions* of 1722 mention an oath which concludes with the words, "So help me God, and the true and holy Contents of this Book". In this phrase the word "holy" will be noted. It should also be recollected that in the Papal Bull of 1738, the Masonic oath on the Bible was one of the principal features to which exception was so strongly taken.

The author of this paper has himself emphasised that this is his maiden essay as a serious Masonic student. We look forward to further essays from our latest recruit, particularly as in him we hear an echo of his father's voice. I cordially support this vote of thanks.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I am much interested in Bro. Daynes' paper, and congratulate him on his maiden effort. As an item of interest to add to the discussion, I would mention the MS. known under the title, *Rite Ancien de Bouillon*, 1740, as practised by the "Antients" at that time. The Bible readings are in Latin, taken from the Vulgate, in which our Books of Samuel are known as the first and second Books of Kings, our Books of Kings as the third and fourth Books of Kings, and the two Books of Chronicles were known as the first and second Books of Paralipomenon, or things left out. The readings are as follows:—

- Opening, Psalm 132, *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum*; Behold how good and pleasant it is.
- Psalm 25 (Vulg. 24), *Ad te Domine levavi*; unto Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.
- Psalm 15 (Vulg. 14), *Domine, quis habitabit in Tabernaculo tuo*; Lord, who shall dwell in Thy Tabernacle?  
(read during perambulation).
- Ecclesiasticus 4, *Fili, eleemosynam pauperis ne defraudes*; Verses 1 to 8.
- Closing, Psalm 134 (Vulg. 133), *Ecce nunc Benedicite Dominum*; Behold, bless ye the Lord.
- 2nd Degree, on admission, Psalm 122 (Vulg. 121), *Laetatus sum in his quae dicta*:  
I was glad when they said.
- Reading, Paralipomenon II, 2 and 3 to v. 2.  
Kings III, 6, v. 7 to 10.  
Paralipomenon II, 3, v. 15 to 17.
- Closing, Psalm 67 (Vulg. 66), *Deus misereatur nostri, et benedicat nobis*; God be merciful unto us, and bless us.
- 3rd Degree, (after the discovery of H.A.B.), Psalm 142 (Vulg. 141), *Voce me ad Dominum clamavi*; I cried unto the Lord with my voice.

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Bro. DRAFFEN said:—

It is well that we should be reminded, from time to time, of our inheritances from the past in order that we may safeguard them for the future. There is much truth in the proverb, "Familiarity breeds contempt". While there is little likelihood that our Brethren who live in these Islands will ever be tempted to abandon the use of the Volume of the Sacred Law

in their Lodges, one must not overlook the fact that our Brethren overseas are much more close to temptation in this matter than we are. Anything, therefore, that we can do—and this paper is just such a thing—to strengthen their stand on so important a matter is well worth doing.

A paper of this kind is likely to be read with very great interest by the adherents of the Grand Orient of France and those other bodies which hold similar views. I have little doubt that we shall see a riposte in due course. For that reason I should like to point out that, in the second paragraph, Bro. Daynes makes a statement which is liable to misinterpretation. He says, "In conjunction with other Grand Lodges in communication with them". This is not strictly true. When the Grand Lodge of England issued its basic principles of recognition, it did so alone. Grand Lodge recognises over a hundred sister Grand Lodges, and only a comparatively small number of these have adopted the basic principles of recognition. Bro. Daynes is, of course, perfectly correct when he refers to the later Declaration made in 1938 and 1949. This was, indeed, a conjoint statement by the three British Grand Lodges.

I think Bro. Daynes has successfully proved that the Bible was in use as a regular and essential piece of Lodge equipment from the very earliest times, but we should remind ourselves that not all of our Brethren regard the *Bible* as the Volume of the Sacred Law. In this country (and I include Scotland) there are numerous Lodges in which only the Old Testament appears on the Master's Pedestal. Overseas, both under the English and the Scottish Constitution, other volumes of the Sacred Law will be found in regular use. The District Grand Lodge of Scottish Freemasonry in India and Pakistan has among its regular office-bearers the following: Grand Bible-Bearer, Grand Zend-Avesta Bearer, Grand Koran Bearer and Grand Gita Bearer. I think this fact is sufficient to refute the arguments, so frequently used by adherents of the Grand Orient of France, that the British Grand Lodges, or shall I say the Anglo-Saxon-Germanic-Scandinavian-American-Commonwealth Grand Lodges, are dogmatic in matters of religion. Indeed, as we know, we are in some quarters regarded as insufficiently dogmatic!

While the title of this paper is "The Bible—Its Place and Use in Lodges", Bro. Daynes does not make any mention of its place in the Lodge from a purely physical angle. In England the Volume of the Sacred Law is placed on the Master's Pedestal, but, under the Scottish and Irish Constitutions, the Volume of the Sacred Law is placed upon an altar in the centre of the Lodge. I have also seen it so placed in at least one English Lodge in the northern counties. In this position it is at all times visible to all present.

Bro. Daynes does not explore the reasons why the Grand Orient of France removed the Volume of the Sacred Law from its Lodges in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Believe it or not, the reason given to-day by the Grand Orient is that its presence is contrary to the spirit of Anderson's *Constitutions*! I need not recall to your memories the wording of Anderson's original charge "concerning God and Religion". In this charge he mentions that if a Brother "rightly understand the Art, he will never be a stupid atheist". It has been said the adjective is the enemy of the noun, and how true it is, for the Grand Orient of France reads into the phrase which I have just quoted the fact that there is nothing to prevent a man being an atheist as long as he is not a stupid one!! My hearers and readers may find this difficult to believe, but I can assure them that, from personal conversations and correspondence with adherents of the Grand Orient of France, this is indeed exactly the view which they take up. Presumably, on similar grounds, they would have no objection to admitting a Libertine, provided he was not an irreligious one!

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Bro. C. MARSHALL ROSE said:—

Many of the references quoted by Bro. Daynes of the use of the V.S.L. prior to *circa* 1760 may be amplified. Then Bibles were not readily obtainable. In a schedule of Furniture and Effects of Old Dundee Lodge No. 18, there is mention, under date of December, 1744, of a Bible costing 15s., and of a Bible being presented to the Lodge in 1749. A Lancashire Lodge, the Lodge of Light No. 148, in 1765, had among its effects a Geneva copy of the Breeches Bible dated 1599. The date when the Lodge obtained the Bible is not on record. Antiquity Lodge No. 2, in 1759, purchased "a proper Bible for the use of the Lodge with a case". In a "Letter from the Grand Mistress", 1724, is this record: "For the Free-masons' Oath being much older Date than the New Testament . . . candidates are sworn on the Old Testament."

References from Irish sources confirm the use of the Bible prior to 1760. On 5th February, 1752, the Secretary of Cork Lodge was "ordered to make an Inventory", which Inventory makes mention of "one small old Bible".

From Scottish records, on 14th November, 1735, Canongate Kilwinning had a Black Letter Breeches Bible dated 1589 presented to it. There is a further record of Canongate obtaining in 1737 a Black Letter Folio Bible dated 1642. Kelso Lodge, in 1741, instructed

its Treasurer to "provide and furnish a good quarto Bible for the use of the Lodge". Inverary Lodge, which received its Charter in 1747, purchased a Bible in 1749.

It must be remembered that both in Ireland and Scotland many Lodges were held in remote districts and villages, and that transport in the eighteenth century was almost non-existent, so that the obtaining of Bibles, among other things, depended on someone going to the larger towns to make purchases. The furnishing of local Lodges was often made by the Brethren themselves.

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Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER said:—

I cannot agree that, before the Bible was printed and became easily accessible, our ancient Brethren took their oath on a Roll of the Masons' Charges.

E. A. Westermarck (the *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*) says that an oath may be regarded as "essentially a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true".

The New English Dictionary defines "Oath" as a "solemn and formal appeal to God (or a deity or something held in reverence or regard) in witness of the binding character of a promise or undertaking".

Quite early in the Middle Ages the oath was sealed by kissing the Sacred Writings, but earlier still a sacred stone was used—as by the Latins, Athenians, Danes, etc.

The use of the sacred stone persisted into late mediæval times: in the records of my own small provincial town—Barnstaple—there are a number of instances of undertakings being sealed on the high altar of the Church of St. Peter.

After the Reformation, a "Tomb Stone" was set up on Barnstaple Quay (it still stands there) where the merchants transacted their business, and seems to have had much the same purpose as the high altar in pre-Reformation days.

It is difficult to believe that the Roll of Charges would be held in sufficient veneration for the purpose of an oath, but a dedicated stone is surely appropriate to the Freemason.

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Bro. A. J. B. MILBOURNE writes:—

I congratulate Bro. Daynes on the presentation and timeliness of his contribution to our *Transactions*. The subject has attracted my attention in recent years because of the many repetitions of the assertion in the Masonic Press on this side of the Atlantic that the Bible was made a Great Light by motion introduced into Grand Lodge in 1760 by William Preston, and that previous to this official adoption of the Bible by the Grand Lodge, apprentices took their oath on a copy of the Constitutions. William Preston, the author of *The Illustrations of Masonry*, was not a Mason in 1760. He was the second person to be initiated in a Lodge under dispensation granted by the "Ancient" Grand Lodge of England on 2nd March, 1763, and which was only constituted as Lodge No. 111 on 20th April of that year. I do not know when this misleading and inaccurate statement first appeared in print, but I have traced it back to an article on "Internationalism and Freemasonry", published in *The Builder* in 1918 (Vol. iv, p. 74), written by Bro. Percy E. Kellett (Grand Master of Manitoba in 1917). The question of the recognition of the Grand Orient of France was at the time a matter of debate in the Grand Lodge of Manitoba, and in 1920 the Grand Lodge threw out a majority report of a special committee appointed to consider the question which had asked for time for further consideration, and adopted a minority report recommending recognition. Bro. Kellett, after sketching the events which led to the withdrawal of recognition of the Grand Orient of France by the United Grand Lodge of England in 1878, wrote:—

"Many have imagined . . . the presence of the Bible is in some way a landmark. Surprising it may be but the Bible was not even mentioned in Masonic Rituals until 1724, and it was in 1760 that Preston moved that it be made one of the Great Lights of Masonry . . ."

To what ritual Bro. Kellett referred, cannot be ascertained, but it is incomprehensible why he should have chosen to ignore the evidence of the earlier and more authoritative documents known as the Old Charges or MS. *Constitutions*, or even the evidence of contemporary gild regulations.

Bro. Daynes has adequately supported his claim for the immemorial usage of the Bible in our Lodges, by reference to our early sources, but to those mentioned, I would add the Inventory of the goods of the Masons' Company of the City of London, dated 14th June, 1665, in which is listed not only a Bible and a Prayer Book, but two copies of the Constitutions or Old Charges, the *Dauntsey MS.* (circa 1691), where, in the form of the oath, will be found, "Soo help you God and this booke (meaning ye Holy Bible)", and the letter from the Grand Mistress, published in Dublin in 1724, the writer of which was in no doubt that Irish Masons were obligated on the Bible, or at least on the Old Testament.

Bro. E. WARD writes:—

It seems to me desirable to point out that one of the most convincing arguments emanates from the Continent. In the Leonard Gabanon prints, made in 1745, the second of the series shows the E.A. making his obligation, the caption reading:—

Assemblée de Francs-Maçons pour la Reception des Apprentifs. Le Recipiendaire fait serment, avec imprecation la main sur l'Evangile . . .

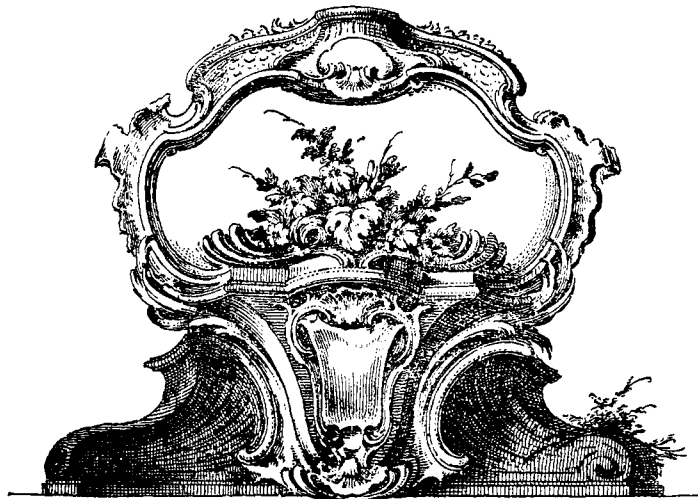
As if to clinch the matter, the same scene is described in *Solomon in all his Glory*, of French origin:—

He took my right hand, and placed it upon two swords, which lay crosswise, under which were the books of the holy scriptures, opened at the part of the Gospel according to St. John.

Bro. A. I. SHARP writes:—

The formation of the Grande Loge Nationale de France was due to the fact that the Lodge "Centre des Amis", which was then under the Grand Orient, had always worked with the Bible on the altar. One evening one of the high officers of the Grand Orient attended the Lodge and demanded to know what that book was on the altar. The W.M. told him it was the Holy Bible. He was ordered to remove it at once by this Grand Orient officer, but he refused to do so. This led to the leaving by this Lodge of Grand Orient of France. It then got in touch with another Lodge of the Grand Orient in Bordeaux—Loge Anglaise No. 204 (became our No. 2)—which also worked with the Bible, and they decided to approach the Grand Lodge of England, which they did. Lord Amphill was Provincial Grand Master of the G.L. of England at the time and he eventually formed those two Lodges into the present Grande Loge Nationale with No. 3, the St. Georges joining as soon as the Grand Lodge was formed.

The Grande Loge de France has, within the last twelve months, decided to put the Bible back in all the Lodges under their jurisdiction, as they wish to become *Regular*.





in its records; and this interest being shared by the late Bro. Alfred Morris, Provincial Grand Master of W. Perthshire, the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and the Librarian of Grand Lodge, it was considered time for a more exhaustive study to make them available to more students, and the book was brought to London, where a photographic copy was made under the supervision of Bro. Wallace Heaton.

The 1695 volume consists of 103 leaves, of rather coarse paper, size 11½ in. by 7½ in. Two leaves were added by the Public Record Office, at the same time as they restored the original vellum binding, when the book was in London for photographing. From the water-marks, the paper would seem to be of London manufacture. The vellum cover has no inscription on it—merely two sets of dates on the back; the first

1867		1931
1696	and the second, very faint,	1695
<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> 171		<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> 236

obviously two different people calculating the age of the Lodge. The pages are not numbered, though there is a figure 1 at the head of the first minute. The writing for the first twenty years is very difficult for modern readers. To help in getting an accurate transcript, the assistance of a lady skilled in the reading of seventeenth-century manuscripts, and recommended by the Public Record Office, was obtained, and she transcribed the pages up to 1723. Even she was led astray by some of the writing; and by patient comparison of the photographs, viewed through a glass, with her transcription, I have been able to overtake a few errors. After that date the writing becomes much easier, and the transcriptions were all made by the late Bro. James Johnstone; I took them over from him in the summer of 1952, and have checked them in the same way. The quality of the ink varies as much as the handwriting, some entries being very faint, while others are bold and very legible. The entries follow one another very closely, even to the extent of beginning a new minute quite close to the bottom of the page—no space is wasted—and sometimes there is hardly room for the signatures of the Officers. There are few entries that extend over more than one page; the fact that the Clerk had to write the minutes while the meeting was in progress, in order that they might be signed by the Master before the members separated, evidently conduced to brevity, though it did not cause the Clerks, who up to 1753 were all Writers, to forego their legal jargon; but if they omitted every little occurrence not considered important, as well as all such secret matters not fit to be written, it is too much to expect that they recorded everything that was really significant and which would have made our interpretation of them less of guesswork.

The custom was to begin the minute with a list of all present, and this held good until 1760 or later, when occasional minutes start with the names of the principal officers, followed by "and a competent number of the brethren as in roll of this date", or similar phrase. The minutes are invariably signed by the Master: there are several cases where there are obviously two or three breaks during a meeting, after each of which the Master signs. If there is a candidate, he signs too, in witness of his undertaking to observe the laws and statutes of the Lodge. From 1719 the majority of the minutes are signed by all present, until 1731, after which they may be signed by the Master and Wardens, by all the officers, and sometimes by a considerable number of the Brethren as well—there seems to be no consistency.

From 1762, in which year there were eight meetings, when the average number of meetings in the year increased sharply, many of them appear to have been very brief, and the minutes were written up in a very perfunctory manner; the Clerks during these years were both merchants, and not "Writers".

#### THE JOTTED NOTES

There are seven pages of jottings before the actual minutes begin:—

Page 1 is blank.

Page 2.—27th Dec., 1755. Acknowledgment that Robert Keltie (a Hammerman in Dunblane, initiated 7th January, 1755) had borrowed the Book of Constitutions; this entry has been crossed out, presumably to show that he had returned it. A copy of Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 was presented to the Lodge in the year of publication and ordained to be kept by the Treasurer for the use of the members in time coming.

Page 3 is blank.

Page 4 is badly tattered at both edges, and the first entry is the date from which Grand Lodge computed the antiquity of the Lodge. All that can be read of it is, "Aprill 1695"—there was probably the day of the month, but that has disappeared with the margin. It will be observed that Charles Horn, who was credited with 2 pounds 8 sh., cannot be traced as a member of the Lodge.

The sd day recd from Charles Horn	02. 8
To the sd day recd from Wm. bairdie	02. 8
July 1696	
The sd day Given in be the Viscount Strathallan heis Cobs and ane 44 B peice all is	13.10
To the sd day recd from Lochiell yr	02.18
To the sd recd from Allan Camrone his broyer	02.18
3 August 1696	
Item be the viscount of Strathalane a rix dollar	02.18.00
And be George Robertson in Dunblane of entry money half a cob	02.08.00
	<hr/>
	29.08.00
19 January 1698	
be the Viscount of Strathalane	14.02
be Alexr. Drummond of Balhadie a rix dollar	02.18
(. . . A large piece torn out here . . .)	
Dunblane 27th Dec 1697	
The thesaurer has payed out of the above writen some to Robert Duthie for the box By the allowance of the heall members present thre fourtein shilling therein being 2 lb. 3s. 6d	
M.E.     ////	46. 4
W.C.     ////	2. 3. 6
	<hr/>
	44. 0. 6

Page 5 is as follows:—

28 Decr. 1698  
William Bairdie was entered and the 27 Decr. 1700 William Caddell  
27 Decr 1701  
William Wright was entred and payed 40s. Rests over 40s.  
4 Janry 1703  
Charles Stirling of Kippendavie who gave 43s 6d scots to Box  
29 May 1704  
William Wright payed in the fourtie shilling which was resting by him  
The sd day Thomas Muschet paid in eleven shilling scots ane years rent of his ten  
punds scots resting by him conforme to the book preceeding this date  
Dunblane 29 Decr 1704  
There is left in the box three pundis scots Besydes eleven shilling given out for a book  
Dunblane 27 Decer 1709  
The sd day Wm Muschet gave in for entering & passing money Three pundis Scots  
which was put into the box  
27 Decer. 1710  
James ffinlaysone gave in fourtie shilling scots of entry money and was past  
John Stirling gave in 40s of entry money  
Alex Moir the Lyke  
Wm Lintone was entered & past gratis  
John Duthie payed for Wm Drysdale his prentice 20s.

Page 6:—

21 ffebry Given out of the Box for Archibald Crumbe sustentation & releife out  
1713 of prisone By order of the Deacone and other Members yr of 03.00.00  
24 Janry Borrowed by me James Grahame Lorimer in Dunblane out of the  
Meassones box ffourtie two shillings Scots which I obldige me To pay  
in thereto upon Demand As witness my hand  
(sgd) Ja. Grahame

Page 7 has a statement of William Baxter's fines. Baxter appears in the first minute—he was a Mason at Kilbryde. The fines are for non-attendance at 14 meetings, and amount to 42 pounds 10sh. scots—a large sum for those days; but he appears to have paid up.

#### THE FIRST MINUTE

On the next page the first minute begins, extending to a page and three-quarters; it will be seen that the margin is badly tattered, but there is no difficulty in supplying nearly all the missing words and letters; these are shown in brackets:—

Dunblane 28th Meassones Court holden att Dunblane the [twenty] January 1696 eighth day of January jMvjc ninetiesix years the Societe of the Meassones after named and conveyned To the effect after speed viz  
 William Viscount of Strathalane Johne Camerone of [Lochyeill] younger Johne Pearstone of Kippenross Alexander Drum[mond] of balhadies Allane Camerone brother german to the sd La[jird of] Lochyeill Johne Grahame younger in Dunblane William Cad[dell] of fossoquhey James Grahame lorimer in Dunblane Tho[mas] Musshett & Robert Duthie meassones in Dunblane John Duthie meassone in ~~Kilbr~~ Kippenross William Baxter meassone in Kilbr[yde] and James Turner writer in Dunblane  
 The sd day The sd persones all in one voice have elected and chosen the persones afternamed To be members of the sd Court [?] Societie of the Lodge of Meassones in Dunblane for this presen[t] year 1696 years as after follows viz the sd Viscount of Strathal[ane] Master measson, and in his absence the sd Alexr Drummond of Balhadie who is appoynted warden and in case of Balhadie[’s] absence and the sd Viscount being pñt Johne Pearstone of Kippenr[oss] is to officiat as warden. The sd Thomas Mushett eldest fellow of craft and in event of his absence Johne Duthie is to officiate for him

The said  
 [J.] Grahame  
 [d]eput

The sd James Turner Clerk, William Caddell Thesaurer  
 The sd Robert Duthie officer and William Baxter in his absence and the sd Johne Grahame profiscall And in case it shall happen the first thrie members to be absent all at one tyme and there be a necessitie for holding of a Court The fourth member is heirby impoured to keep court and nominat members in ye roame of those that shall be absent  
 The forenamed members of Court do heirby appoynt all meassones who are members legall off this lodge Court To meitt and conveyne at Dunblane

the first laull day of ~~each~~ the beginning of each quarter of ane year under the penaltie of ffour punds scots, or els instruct ane reasonable cause why And that all meassones & members of this Lodge meitt and conveyne upon St. Johns day being ye twentie seventh day of December 1696 att this place under ye penaltie of Twelve punds scots for each absent persone, or els give ane laull excuse It being a laull day and fealyng thereof the next laull day thereafter  
 The sd members doe heirby ordaine that each workman who shall heirafter be entered pay at their entry Six punds and att their passing Thrie punds scots with ye ordinar dues  
 And further they ordaine that aney meassone who shall be desyrous To enter themselves with this lodge The samen shall be referred to ye modificatiōne of aney one of ye members of this court as to their entrey money

And sicklyke the sd members with consent of ye remanent persones befor named doe heirby statute & ordaine That no meassone heir present or aney other persones who shall be heirafter admitted to this Lodge shall divulge or make knowne aney of the acts past in this court, or of ye acts heirafter to be past during this year To aney meassone qtsom [ever] who is not entered to this Lodge Excepting only those two acts made in relation to entry and passing and of meassones already past & entred and desyrous to joyne in this lodge and that under the breach of breaking of their oath and former engadgements and being thereafter declared incapable In testimony whereof the sd members and former persones Measonnes abovenamed have Subt. these pnts att Dunblane ye sd twentie eight day of Jany 1696 years forsd



J. Cameron	Johne Grahame	Strathalan
Allan Cameron	Wm. Caddell	A. Drummond
Ja Grahame	Robert Duthie	J. Pearson
	William Baxter	Thomas Mushieth
		John Duthie
		Ja Turner

Of the thirteen present, six were lairds, one not described, four masons, one tradesman and a writer. Of the lairds, Lord Strathallan was the most important man in the neighbourhood, and lived in the best house in the city: the other lairds, with the exception of the two Locheils, lived within two or three miles. Of the masons, two were in Dunblane itself, and the other two just outside.

Though it may safely be said that the wording of the minute does nothing to suggest that it was a new Lodge, I cannot assert that it proves that it was an old one: but if a new one, what were the qualifications of its members? There were four working masons among them and nine non-operatives. Though we have only a local tradition for the existence of the Lodge in 1687 and twenty years earlier, it would then have been an Operative Lodge with a possible one or two "gentlemen masons". But we are on firmer ground in referring to the Incorporation of Masons in Dunblane. This is actually identified with the Lodge in the minute of 27th December, 1722, the whole of which is quoted on page 90.

In that year there were six trades incorporated by Letter of Grant from the Lordship and Regality of Dunblane, and I have seen the actual Grant to the Hammermen, dated 20th January, 1649. I have not succeeded in finding the grant to the Masons, though I had hopes of tracing it in the Register House in Edinburgh; but one would normally expect it to be earlier than that to the Hammermen, and to contain the regulations for controlling apprenticeship, hours of work and rates of pay, such as usually came under an Operative Lodge. Whether there was an Operative Lodge of Dunblane as well as a Trade Incorporation in the middle of the seventeenth century cannot now be determined.

#### A NEW LODGE, A CONTINUATION, OR A REVIVAL ?

Leaving the six pages of jotted notes, the earliest of which is dated April, 1695, and the local tradition referred to, the first minute in this book, of 28th January, 1696, has to be critically examined to find an answer to this problem. The wording of this minute does nothing to suggest that it was a new Lodge. Of the thirteen Brethren named, ten were elected officers or deputies, and all these lived locally. Of the three not elected to office, two were Camerons of Locheil, who were related to Alexander Drummond, and apparently came over only for this one meeting, as they did not re-appear; but in the jotted notes, under the date of July, 1696, they are each credited with having paid fines of the equivalent of a rix dollar (= £2 18s. scots, or 4/10 sterling). From the way in which the first business was the election of officers, and the fact that no previous meeting is referred to, it would seem to point to a reorganisation of some kind, rather than a normal sequence of meetings. The next business was to fix the meetings, the fees and the fines.

At the second meeting on 14th May, 1696, no business beyond fining the absent is recorded. The minute of the third meeting is as follows:—

Dunblane the third day of August 1696 years at Wm Caddells. The whilk day mett and conveyed the Viscount of Strahalane master meassone Alexr Drummond of Balhadie warden Johne Pearstone of Kippenross Wm Caddell Johne Duthie James Turner and Robert Duthie and James Graham.

The sd day George Robertstone in Dunblane was entered to this Lodge who gave in to the box twentie-eight shilling scots. The master meassone and remanent members assolzies Balhadie frae the four punds of fyne which he was unlawed in at the last Court in respect he has given ane laull excuse of his absence that day.

The members of court with consent of the master meassone having taken into consideration that the fyne imposed upon tradesmen for yr absence at ye Court the beginning of each quarter being four punds Scots is over much for them to pay Therefor they doe statute and ordaine that in all tyme coming the sd fyne shall be restricted to therettie shilling Scots to be punctualie payed in to the box be each tradesman who shall not convey the first laull day of each quarter conform to the former act made thereanent, and those who are not tradesmen their fyne to continue as formerlie, And lykewise the absents are to be lyable in the lyke fynes if they doe not appeare when they are laullie warned to any court, or els give in ane relevant excuse therefor.

The sd day John Grahame, Thomas Muschett and Wm Baxter are fyned and unlaued conforme to the former act In respect of yr absence, and not giving in ane laull excuse.

The sd day the sd Master Meassone & remanent members appoynts the second Munday of November next being the nynt day To be the next Court day In respect the fair of Dunblane holds the first week of Nover. and ordains the officer to summond all persones concerned (who are not here present) again that day.

Strathalane

Observe in this minute the distinction between "tradesmen" and "those that are not tradesmen" when it is a question of fines: can it be that the word means "operative Mason"? And, therefore, those who are not tradesmen are the honorary or gentlemen Masons, who were beginning to be elected to many Scottish Lodges by this time—or, in other words, non-operative Masons?

There is nothing whatever in the following minutes that can be attributed to an operative Lodge until 27th December, 1703, when, after fining the absent and continuing all the officers in their places for another year, the following appears:—

The sd day It is statute & ordained that each meassone of this court who takes ane prentice to the Meassones trade shall be oblidge to pay in Twentieshilling scots money for each prentices entry booking money to the sd trade [?] box thereafter And that they shall be oblidge to cause the clerk of this court to write their Indentures And pay him therfor under the penaltie of ffourty shilling scots for ilk transaccion payment In witness yrof the sd M Meassone and Warden have subd. these prts day year & place forsd.

John Grahame  
J. Pearson

This is, without doubt, the statute of an Operative Lodge, though if it came from a Trade Incorporation it might conceivably be expressed in this way, except for the designation of the officers as M. Meassone and Warden. There is a note on page 4 of the jottings on 27th December, 1710, "John Duthie payed for Wm Drysdale his prentice 20s." This is evidently booking-money under this statute, as Drysdale was never a member of the Lodge. There is also a note at the end of the minute of 27th December, 1714, "and the treasurer has payed in Twenty shilling money forsd formerly resting by him for James Anderson as booking moy". It does not say whose apprentice Anderson was, and he was not then a member of the Lodge; but a James Anderson, Mason in Dunblane, was a joining member from the Lodge of Dumfermline in 1744, and it is probable that this was the same man, and it was his youngest son, George, who was initiated in the Lodge in the same year.

This is the last reference in the Minute Book to anything that concerns the regulation of the Mason's trade; and the puzzle remains as to the respective functions of the Lodge and the Incorporation. Though these minutes record resolutions which are distinctly operative, yet the fact remains that the first of them, giving the membership as consisting of six lairds (of whom two were only temporary), two professional men, one tradesman and four working masons, would hardly support a contention that this was a continuation of an operative Lodge. I do not know what importance we ought to attach to the local tradition referred to earlier, but I should think enough, at any rate, to dispose of any idea that this could be a new Lodge. A suggestion has been advanced that the predecessor of the Lodge of 1696 was not an operative Lodge, but the Incorporation of Masons established by Grant from the Lordship and Regality of Dunblane, which is discussed later in this paper. An objection to this is that such an origin would hardly account for the procedure of entering and passing, or the knowledge of the "secrets of the Mason Word" (v. page 97), which would argue that three at least of the four working Masons had been members of an operative Lodge. If the Lodge was functioning as the guardian and regulator of the Masons' trade, what was the position of the Incorporation? Undoubtedly the statute of 27th December, 1703 (booking of apprentices), and the payments made thereunder on 27th December, 1710, and 27th December, 1714, are definitely operative, but they are the last examples. Nowhere is there anything about conditions of work or wages; and though the minute of 27th December, 1722, quoted on page 90, seems to identify the Lodge and the Incorporation for certain purposes, yet, if there remained by this time any regulation of the mason's trade, one would expect it to be done by the Incorporation rather than the Lodge. I do not see how the problem can be solved beyond doubt, but I venture to suggest a course of events that might have produced the position as we know it in 1722:—

1. The existence of an operative Lodge, not under the control of, but influenced by, the Lodge of Stirling, which was the third named in the Schaw Statutes.
2. With the reduction of building work in Dunblane, the Lodge decayed, and the regulation of the trade that remained became the function of the Trade Incorporation.

3. Such masons as remained in the Lodge at the end of the seventeenth century obtained the help of the leading lairds in and near the city, particularly Lord Strathalan, by becoming Masons, to assist in the re-establishment of the Lodge.

4. The operative statutes would be survivals from the original Lodge, introduced by the mason members; but as the Lodge became increasingly non-operative would tend gradually to be abandoned, and such matters left to the Incorporation.

#### THE TRADE INCORPORATIONS, AND THE INCORPORATION OF MASONS IN DUNBLANE

Here is the evidence that as late as 1722 the Lodge definitely identified itself with the Incorporation of the Masons of Dunblane:—

DUNBLANE DECEMBER 27th 1722

Sederunt

Robert Duthie Deacon William Muschet Warden James Muschet Alexr Moir William Ker Robert ffinlayson John Duthie younger in Kippenross & Alexr Brown thereafter John Gillespie.

They fyne the whole absent Members of this Lodge Conforme to former Acts except James Easone who is not in health, John Duthie son to Robert Duthie Deacon & William Eatone & John Gillespie having produced excuses, and also Considering that William Mushet who was absent from the Last Court has this day given a reasonable excuse is absolved from his fine yr after compeared William Duthie sone to Robert Duthie present Deacon who was formerly Entered prentice and desired to be past, the which desire the above Members granted And accordingly he is past from the Square to the Compass And from a prentice to a fellow of Craft. The Deacon and Company approve of the method used by this society in Contributing for the Mortcloathes to be generally applyed for the use of this and the other Corporated trades in this City And appoint William and James Mushet with the Deacon betwixt and this day eight days to see and examine the Theaser. Accompts thereanent and their finding the samen And subscribing & returning the samen to the Theaser. shall be a sufficient obligatione upon the Company for payt thereof and for relief of any engagements he has become under thereanent And for the moe satisfacione of the Company ordains the Theasr. to procure an full duplicate of the articles and oblidgments concerted and entred into by the other incorporated trades above mentd. for the common use of the whole And to produce the samen to the forsd. Committies to be lodged in the box for the use of this honourable Company.

Note that in the above minute, which seems to identify the Lodge with the Incorporation, the title given to the chief officer, who was Robert Duthie, a mason member at the first meeting, is "Deacon", not Master Mason; and the "Deacon and *Company* approve of the method used by this *Society* in contributing for the mortcloathes to be generally applied for the use of this and the *other Corporated Trades*". Yet at the same time the Deacon's son, William, is "past from the Square to the Compass And from a prentice to a fellow of Craft".

The only source of evidence beside the Minute Book being the records of the Kirk Session, now to be quoted, it might be argued that the Lodge and the Incorporation were identical, or, at any rate, had the same officers and "court"; but against this must be set the record here of what seems to be a distinct ceremony; and when we come to consider the admission and passing procedure and the instance on 27th December, 1729 (*v.* page 97), where two prentices joining from the Lodge of Kilwinning, who are examined and reported to have "competent knowledge of the secrets of the Mason Word", this would seem to settle that it was the Lodge they were joining, and not the Incorporation. However closely the Lodge and the Incorporation were connected, so that the members hardly realised in which capacity they were acting, from this time forward there is nothing whatever in the minutes that refers to the regulation of the masons' trade.

That there were no less than six Incorporated Trades of Dunblane functioning at this time is proved by the record among the papers of the Kirk Session, quoted by Barty, page 161. These were the Masons, Hammermen, Tailors, Skinners, Cordiners (shoemakers) and Weavers, and it was over this very question of Mortcloths that the incident arose. The Kirk Session claimed the monopoly of hiring out Mortcloths, and obtained a decree or injunction dated 15th December, 1728, complaining that these six Incorporations had purchased three Mortcloths, two of fine velvet and the third of plush, not only for the use of their members, but for letting them to all and sundry at a much cheaper rate than the Session could afford to do, whereby the Session of Dunblane and the poor were "damnified" in the sum of £400 Scots and upwards.

The Trades came to an amicable settlement with the Session, and surrendered the Mortcloths for 40 merks Scots money (about £22 10s. sterling). We can definitely identify

the Incorporation of Masons with the Lodge, because the chief officers of the former are named—William Muschett, Deacon, and Christopher Finlayson, Boxmaster, the same as the Master and Treasurer of the latter.

### THE LODGE AND THE COURT

Reading these early minutes in which sometimes the word "Lodge" is used, and as often "Court", the distinction between the two is certainly a matter for argument. I think, on the analogy of the usages of other Scottish Lodges about this date, it may be accepted that the "Court" consisted of the principal officers, in whose power would be the making of statutes, the admission of candidates, and the settling of differences, as it were an Executive Committee.

On 30th May, 1715, the minute runs:—

In presence of James Turner, Master Measson, John Pearson of Kippenross, Patrick Lintone of Pendreich, Alex Moir Clerk Thomas Mushet Warden John Duthey Thesaurer, Wm. Wright and Wm Mushet members of this Lodge in Court assembled with James Grahame anoyr, member.

In the "Mortcloathes" minute of 27th December, 1722, already transcribed, possibly because the Lodge is on that occasion regarding itself as one of the "Corporated Trades", the wording is "The Deacon and Company approve of the method used by this society"; and later in the same minute, "The Deacon and Company ordain the Theasr. forthwith to put the acts and statutes of this Court in execution", and again, "the Company voted . . . William Muschet . . . to be Deacon & Master of this Lodge." Though it is not quite invariable, in nearly all cases up to the middle of the century, if the two steps, entry and passing, are separate, the first obligation is taken to the Court and the second to the Lodge.

By 1759, E.A.s are beginning to take their obligations to the Lodge as often as to the Court. When the Charter had at length been granted by Grand Lodge in 1760, the use of the word "Court" practically ceases, though in 1766 two E.A.s "oblige themselves to obtemper and fulfill the whole statutes of (Court) or Lodge". It has been seen that the heading of the first minute is "Meassones Court . . . the Societie of the Meassones after named and conveined": in the following minutes the heading is simply "Dunblane", followed by the names of those present and the words "met and conveined", and either "according to the last act of Court", or "conforme to the first act of Sederunt". A few of the meetings after 1717 are called "Sederunt" in the minutes, but there seems to be no consistency about the use of the word.

The last paragraph of the minute of 30th December, 1699, runs as follows:—

The sd day the sd members pnt. all in one voyce Elect and choose John Grahame to be Master Meassone Johne Pearson of Kippenross warden Thomas Muschet eldest fellow of craft (and) continues the rest of the members as formerly. To proceed and keep court till St. John's day att times and courts mentioned in the last act made yranent and ordains the court book . . .

and then the Clerk most vexingly lets his pen run right over the margin of the paper so that the words are practically indecipherable. My guess is "to be lodged in ye box".

### THE QUORUM

This is first mentioned in the minute of the eleventh meeting on 19th January, 1698, as follows:—

DUNBLANE 19th January 1698 yeares

The sd day the Viscount of Strathalane & Alexander Drummond of Balhadies James Pearson of Kippenross Johne Grahame, William Caddell, James Graham, James Turner, William Bairdie and Robert Duthie, Haveing mett and conveined In order for choysing and Electing of new members And haveing votted thereanent They be a pluralitie of voyces Elect and choyce the said Alexr Drummond of Balhadies master meassone and Johne Pearson of Kippenross warden, John Duthie eldest fellow of craft and In case of any of their absences The rest who are prt. To succeed conforme to their offices And continues the rest of the members as formerlie untill the next electione And ordaines aney five of the members of this court To be ane quorum and to sitt and determine in any contraversie which may arryse amongst meassons, perteing to this Court And ordaines the heall members to meitt and conveine att this place only twyse in the year hereafter viz. upon the twentie nynth day of May and St. John's day being the twentie

seventh day of December yearlie. They being laull dayes and fealing thereof the next laull day thereafter under the penaltie of ffortie shilling scots for each absence the twentie nynt day of May And ffour punds money forsd for each absence the sd St. John's Day Except their be ane relevant and laull. excuse produced and proven for the absent persone And sicklyke the sd heall members haveing considered upon the former fynes They ordaine the sd. Viscount of Strathalane and Balhadies Each of them to pay in a dollar to the box and John Grahame in fourtein shillin scots And that in full satisfacione of their heall former fynes and assolzies William Bairdie In respect of ane laull. excuse given and admitted Thereafter the sd Viscount of Strathlane gave in ffourtein punds two shilling scots of his oune free will for payment his fynes which is putt into the box, and the sd Balhadie gave in his dollar which was also put into the box

John Grahame	A. Drummond
Wm. Caddell	Strathalan
Ja. Turner	Ja. Pearson
Wm. Bairdie	Ja. Grahame
Robert Duthie	

This quorum of five here refers to determining any controversy which may arise among masons, but there are grounds for believing that the Lodge took five as the proper number in all cases, for at the meeting on 5th November, 1765, there were only four present, "but there not being a quorum delayed business till next meeting", while there were several meetings with no more than five, and the ordinary business carried out. In the case of Commissions, it is ordered that there be a quorum of Masons present, but the actual number is not stated.

Here follow transcriptions of a selection of minutes from 1697 up to the end of the book. Some of these are given in full, in order to convey, if possible, the flavour of the contruction, spelling and punctuation used by the clerks:—

DUNBLANE the third day of May 1697.

The sd day John Pearsons of Kippenross Mr. Meassone William Caddell, James Grahame, James Turner, William Bairdie and Robert Duthie Haveing mett and convened conforme to the last act of Court they all in one voyce unlaues The Viscount of Strathallane—Balhadie John Grahame Thomas Muschet John Duthie & William Baxter In respect of yr absence and no excuse given in therefor. Thereafter compeared the sd Thomas Muschet who was assolved.

This Day Kippenross gave in ane reasonable excuse that he was at Ed. necessilie the last court day so that he could not attend that day which the Members pnt found not to be sufficient whereupon he submitted himself to ye modificature which they modified to be the pnt treat And thereupon they assolzied him from the former fyne whereupon he took instruts by payeing yrof.

Adjournes the Court till the first Munday of August next.

J. Pearson

DUNBLANE THE 27th DECEMBER 1710 years

Being St. John's day

Sederunt.

John Pearsons of Kippenross Mr. Meassone  
[and nine members]

The sd day James finlaysone was past as a fellow of craft in this Lodge And hes payed in ffourtie shilling scots to the box as his entrey money And is to pay in other ffortie shilling for his passing again the twentie nynt day of May next.

[James Finlayson was late prentice to John Duthie, one of the original Mason members].

DUNBLANE THE TWENTY AND EIGHT DECEMBER, 1719

Sederunt

[John Duthie, S.W., and seven members]

Thereafter Compeired John florrester officer of excise the Cytie of Dunblane and supplicat to enter and it was unanimously voted he should be entered as a prentisse and accordingly he was. after Compeiring William Easone, sone to John Easone Maltman in Dunblane and supplicating as above, and being voted it was unanimously determined that he should be voted in the society as prentisse and accordingly was and has accordingly payed in to the box three pound scots each of them: and enacts themselves to stand by all the Laws statutes . . . &c.

Court of the Mason Lodge of Dunblane holden at Dunblane the second of February Jajbye and twenty six years [1726] in presence of William Mushet Master Mason and seven members.

Compeared George Garnoch beltmaker in Dunblane And James Gillespie, Wright there and after having applyed to several members of ye Court gave in a Application craving that they might be received Admitted and entered apprentices to the sd Lodge Promising to stand to and abide at the Laws and statutes of the Court And the forenamed members of Court seriously Deliberate thereupon Doe hereby Receive Enter and Admit the sd George Garnoch and James Gillespie to be apprentices to the sd Lodge They always obliging themselves to abide at the laws of the sd Mason Court in all points which they hereby engage to Doe Like as they have given their bills of this date to the Thesaurer for three pounds scots each.

DUNBLANE 27th Decr. 1726 years

William Mushet Master Mason

[and 14 members]

[After fining the absent]

Thereafter compeared Robert Mushet George Garnoch and James Gillespie who were formerly entered Prentices and after due examination were formally passed from the Square to the Compass and from Entered Prentices to Fellows of Craft of this Lodge, and they hereby enact & oblige themselves to obtemper & obey the Act and ordinances of this Court and Company In Testimony yrof they have Subt. these presents.

[signed by all present]

St. John's day Meeting 1727

William Mushet Master Mason [and 13 members]

The Deacon and heall above named members of Court unanimously ordain and appoint That any person who shall at any time hereafter presume or take upon them to write any act in this Courtbook except the Clerk or one Deputed under him shall be lyable to a fyne of Fourty shillings Scots for each transgression.

At this meeting, Thomas Duthie, a writer, and the seventh of that name in the Lodge, was appointed Clerk, and named George Garnoch, a beltmaker, as his deputy. Thomas Duthie remained Clerk for 27 years, but he did not have a deputy after four years.

Dunblane 28th Decr. 1730

Sederunt

John Duthie Master [and 20 members]

. . . The same day compeared Lieutenant Alexander Lessly of Quaiter, Mr. Robert Pearson advocate, Mr. Thomas Moncrieff writer in Edinburgh, James Russell Commissary Clerk and Bailey of the Regality of Dunblane and William Beatt writing Master and craved they might be orderly Admitted Apprentices of this Lodge which the Master and other members Grant and formally admit them to be Apprentices of this Lodge. Thereafter they having been examined and found duly qualified were past from Apprentices to be Fellows Craft<sup>1</sup> and promise and oblige themselves to obtemper and fulfill the heall acts and ordinances of Court.

Dunblane 27th January 1731

Sederunt

John Duthie Master Mason [and 11 members]

Which Day compeared James McCulloch Mason in Dear and earnestly Desired to be Entered Apprentice and past therefrom to a Fellow of Craft of the said Lodge which having been considered by the above members They after full enquiries into his qualifications admit and receive him an Apprentice of this Lodge and pass him therefrom to a fellow of Craft. And he the said James McCulloch promises and obliges himself to obtemper and fulfill the heall Acts of this Lodge made and to be made.

[signed by 12 of the 13 present]

Dunblane 27th December 1735

Sederunt

Hugh Pearson of Kippenross Master [and 23 members]

[First business, fines; second, to pass two apprentices]

The same day there was a Petition given in to the Lodge by John Raitt writer in Edinburgh James Urquhart Coppersmith in Stirling and Alexander Dalmahoy

<sup>1</sup> This being the Scottish plural form of Fellow-craft would seem to be its first use in place of "Fellow-of-Craft", and does not reappear until the "Thistle Lodge" minute 26 years later. This form is not used again until 1762, after which, where the degree is mentioned at all, either form may appear.

officer of the Customs craving to be admitted Members of this Lodge which being considered by the Master and the rest of the Fraternity they admit and receive them to be apprentices of this Lodge and the said Apprentices having received several Instructions were found duly qualified to be Fellows of Craft and promise and oblige themselves to obtemper and fulfill the whole acts and Statutes of Court made and to be made And each of them have Received an Apron and a pair of Gloves and each of them has paid to Thomas Duthie Treasurer three pounds scots as the dues of their entry.

[signed by the three candidates, the Master and the Treasurer]

Dunblane 27th Decer. 1737

Patrick Stirling Esq. of Kippendavie Master

The same day the said Master with consent of such of the members that were present Fines each of the absent members so marked in a Roll of this date in one shilling sterling which the Treasurer is appointed to uplift and to pursue for if refused.

[5 members excused their fines for absence last St. John's day. A resolution that fines are not to be excused for the future without relevant excuse. Two apprentices passed. Commission granted to James and Robert Mushet to admit two apprentices and report next St. John's day—this was not executed.]

Thereafter Robert Flemming apprentice of William Duthie, John Miller apprentice to John Duthie and William Gillespie apprentice to James McLiester<sup>1</sup> were at their earnest desires admitted Apprentices of this Lodge and faithfully promise and oblige themselves to obtemper the whole Acts of Court and each of them has received an apron and a pair of gloves from the Treasurer and each of them has also given to the said Treasurer an Accepted Bill for six shillings sterling.

Examination of the Treasurer's accounts shows a balance in his hand of £39 12s. 6d. (scots). Next follows the election of Master for the next two years; the retiring Master, Patrick Stirling, gave in a leet of three persons from which James Russell was unanimously chosen; he nominated a Deputy Master and two Wardens, re-appointed the Treasurer and Clerk, "who all accepted of the foresaid respective offices and made oath De Fidele, etc.". This minute is signed by the new officers, the retiring Master and by the three Masons' Apprentices who were entered. Later the Lodge resolved on an annual subscription of 6d., sterling, and 29 members paid. The Treasurer was directed to demand from those that were absent their sixpences; but after that date there is nothing to indicate that it was either demanded or paid.

Dunblane 27 December 1740 years

Sederunt

John Stirling of Kier Master [and 22 members]

[This is the Minute when it is admitted that they ought to have sent deputies to the formation of Grand Lodge, and an "Act and Commission" for sending deputies in the future is engrossed in the Minute Book; the last paragraph runs as follows:—]

Thereafter the Master with consent of the Lodge hereby ordains and requires William Stirling Treasurer immediately without further delay to uplift the several sums of money due to the trade and particularly to the prin<sup>o</sup> sum and rents due by Robert Taylor of Mansfield<sup>2</sup> and upon refusal to do all necessary diligence and execution for recovery of the same several sums.

(signed) John Stirling.

Dunblane 27 Decr. 1744

Sederunt

Henry Christie Deputy Master

[Complete list of members present not given]

The which day Alexander McGrouther Jnr. of Megor John Strathie James Christie William Paterson haveing been examined and found sufficiently qualified were past from Apprentices to Fellows of Craft all the Solemnities usual in such cases being adhibited & done as also George Anderson at the same time.

Dunblane 30th of Novr. 1756

Thomas Duthie Master [and 16 members]

William Burn Mason in Dunblane ane Apprentice of Kilwinning Lodge craved he might be admitted a Fellow of Craft of this Lodge, which being considered by

<sup>1</sup> Note that these three were apprentices to working masons.

<sup>2</sup> This Robert Taylor was not a member of the Lodge, and is described as "Commissary Taylor" in the Treasurer's account.

the Master and Members present They after Examination find him duly qualified and accordingly admit and receive him a Fellow of Craft of this Lodge, with all the Honours and Privileges thereunto belonging And the said William Burn Hereby obligeth himself to obtemper all the Lawful ordinances of this Court, and he having paid three shillings sterling to the Treasurer received ane Apron and one pair Gloves.

Dunblane Janry. 7th 1758

Henry Stirling Master [and 18 members]

[After inspection of the Treasurer's accounts]

Thereafter William McArthur present Lord Depute to the Incorporation of Chapmen Perthshire gave in a Petition craving he might be admitted a Brother which was thought proper and accordingly he was admitted ane apprentice of said Lodge he having given bill for dues of entry but afterwards payed six shillings to the Treasurer received a pair of gloves and apron and obliges myself to fullfill the whole acts of Court made and to be made

[and signs]

The date of the Charter from Grand Lodge is 1761. There were four meetings in that year and eight in the following year. The earliest minutes recording the conferring of the degree of Master Mason, five in number, range from 1762 to 1768, and are transcribed on page 104-5.

Dunblane 27 Decr. 1762. This Meeting also present as in the last Page were advanced from Apprentices to Fellow Crafts Mr. James Steel Apprentice in the Lodge of St. Giles Edinburgh Colin Sharp John Graham in Wester Cambuskerry Duncan Morison John McFarlane Robert Chryster & George Miller Apprentices of this Lodge when they came under the Engagements by their Oath to obey all the Regulations of this Lodge.

[Signed by the Master and seven candidates]

Dunblane 26 December 1772

[Mr. John Steven Depute Master, four named Officers and "a number of the Lodge being met"]

Patrick Stirling writer in Dunblane James Stirling Wright there James Blackwood Mercht. there & Robert Duncanson Mason Wt. John Steven Mason there gave in a Petition craving they might be admitted members, which being considered by the Lodge they were admitted accordingly—they having paid the Dues of the Lodge.

[Signed by the Deputy Master, four officers & the four candidates]

Dunblane 20th December 1773

This day James Mathie Surgeon in Dunblane a member of the Kilwinning Lodge in Stirling craved he might be matriculated a member of this Lodge which being considered by a good number of the members of the Lodge here mett they have received him as such, he paying the ordinary dues thereof.

[Signed by the Candidate, two Wardens & seven other members]

And the last minute in this book, the new book having been started on 27th December, 1773:

Dunblane 27th Decr. 1775

This day John Kemp in Doune (a member of the free Operative Lodge of Glasgow) craved that he might be matriculated a member of this Lodge, when being examined he was accordingly enrolled a Brother here and paid the dues of same.

## ENTRY AND PASSING

There were only thirteen recorded as present at the first meeting of the Lodge, and the numbers increased very slowly, only fifteen being admitted in the first fifteen years, and an uncertain number dropped out in the same period; the number of attendances at meetings remained small—an average of eight. In 1711 the total membership appears to have been fourteen, and, of these, five were working Masons, two of the admissions having been Masons and one Mason had left the Lodge. With this proportion of non-operatives, one might surmise that it was already not the main function of the Court or Lodge to regulate the conditions of the Masons' trade. What was the attraction which, in eighty years, drew in nearly 250 men of all ranks of life, of whom less than ten per cent. were Masons? Was the reorganisation of the Lodge at this date primarily for social or "speculative" purposes? If so, why the indiscriminate use of the words "Lodge" and "Court"? There is no evidence that they were in any way bound by the Schaw Statutes, even if they knew of them: nor is there any evidence of their knowledge of any "ritual directions", such as those in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696, which were transcribed into the Minute Book of the



Haughfoot Lodge in 1702. Yet, in spite of the entirely colourless form in which the entry of apprentices and passing of fellow-crafts is recorded until 1729, is it too much to assume that there must have been *something* more which the Clerk did not see fit to record in the book?

The first admission recorded in this book is on 3rd August, 1696, when the entry runs:—

The sd day George Robertstone in Dunblane was entered to this lodge who gave in to the box twentie eight shilling scots.

And the first passing, on 28th December, 1696:—

The sd day William Bairdie (being entered before as a prentice) was past as a fellow of craft and oblidges himself to abyde and stand to the former acts and Lawes to be made anent this lodge In the same forme & maner as the remanent members thereof stands oblidged thereby under the penalties & certifications therein mentioned. In testimony whereof he has subd. this pnt act day & date forsd.

W. Bairdie

There is not another one until 27th December, 1699, when there was such a small attendance that they adjourned till 30th December, and this very brief entry was written by someone, not the Clerk, after the Master's signature:—

The sd day Mr. David Pattonne was Entred and past by this court gratis Being governor Balhadies childe.

On 27th December, 1700, William Caddell the younger was entered and passed, after the Master had left the Lodge. On 27th December, 1701, William Wright, junr., who had been entered three years earlier and had not been marked in the books until he had paid his dues, was passed by Thomas Mushet, the Eldest Fellow of Craft, who was one of the Mason members, and, having taken the obligation to the acts of the Lodge under the paines and penalties contained therein, was appointed Officer. The next one was on 4th January, 1703: Charles Stirling, of Kippendavie, was entered and passed "as a Meassone member of this Lodge & court In the usual form", and took a similar obligation. There were no others for six years, and then, on 27th December, 1709, three were entered and passed, taking the same obligation. On 29th May, 1710, James Finlayson "was entered as a Member of this Lodge who hereby oblidges himself to stand and abyde to the whole Laws made anent the keeping of this Lodge under the penalties contened therein". On 27th December, 1710, Finlayson was passed, two candidates were entered, and a third entered and passed.

On 1st September, 1716, the members reported that since the last sederunt they had entered and passed three candidates, who attended and took the obligation; and this incident leads to the following enactment:—

It is enacted that in tyme comeing there be noe meassons or oysr Entered and past by the Members of this Lodge at one and the same tyme (Except such Gentlemen who cannot be pnt. at a second dyet) But that they be first reported prentises and their passing ordered by the Lodge yrafter according to qualificationes And in case of contraventione The members accessory to such unlawll. passing shall be lyable to a fyne to be modified by the Court as they shall see fitt.

This enactment, on the face of it, applies only to Masons made outside the Lodge, but it seems to have been carefully observed in the Lodge too, except that it was relaxed for candidates other than gentlemen who came from a distance, but in those cases the two steps were separated by instructions given and trials made of their qualifications. So by this time the two steps were well differentiated. An interesting minute may well find a place here:—

Dunblane the sixth day of September jMvjc and twenty-three years Sederunt. Alexr Moir Master Mason protempore Charles Stirling of Kippendavie and Patk. Linton of Pendreich Wardens William Caddell of flostochy Wm. Ker Robt. ffinlaystone Alexr Brown fellows of craft.

The same day compeired Collonell James Ruthven of Braitney Hugh Pearson of Kippenross Peter Stirling yor of Kippendavey and James Longlands of Mountfoy and at their earnest desire were duely and orderly admitted as Entered prentices of this Lodge being orderly and decently Introduced yrto as use is And who by their presents become Entered & prentices bound oblidged and enacted to all the Laws Acts and Statutes of this Lodge accordingly As also They haveing in a short time yrafter applyed to be past and given satisfieing answers of their knowledge as entered prentices were accordingly past from prentices to fellows of craft in due forme And have all subt. thes pnts. thereafter the sd Mr. Caddell made a present to this Lodge of a Book Intituled The Constitutions of the fireMasons containing the History Charges Regulations &c: which was gratefully received from him and ordained to be kept by the Thesaurer for the use of the Members of this Lodge in

Patt. Lintone

time coming, which constitutions are written for the use of the Lodges by Mr. James Andersone Miner of the Gospell and printed at London in the year of Masonry Mvijcxxij Anno Domini 1723.

Patt. Stirling	Ja. Ruthven	Wm Caddell
James Langland	Hugh Pearson	
Alex. Moir		
Alex. Brown		

In this there are one or two points specially to be noted:—

1. The first mention of “ being orderly & decently introduced as use is ”.
2. Passing after having given satisfying answers of their knowledge as entered prentices.
3. The presentation of Anderson’s *Constitutions* within six months of its publication.

It shows that the Lodge was not indifferent to what was happening in England, though if they hoped to have guidance as to how to conduct their own Lodge, I fear they were disappointed. There is one place in the later minutes with reference to it, on 27th December, 1753, when James Russell, Depute Master, acts for the Master, John Stirling, “ conform to the regulations specified in the Book of Constitutions ”. That they kept the Book in mind is proved by a sentence in the Minute of 27th December, 1736, where, on a new Treasurer taking office, it says “ the Treasurer has the book of Constitutions ”. On the first page of the jottings there is a note that Robert Keltie had the book on loan on 27th December, 1755.

The minute of 27th December, 1729, being particularly important, has already been referred to. From the way the minutes are written up, it would appear that the meeting was broken up into three or more parts, after two of which all the 18 members present signed. The part bearing on the argument as to the respective functions of the Lodge and the Incorporation is here quoted in full ; it shows that when it came to this distinctive test of an Operative Lodge, the non-operative members entrusted the examination of the candidate to one of the Mason family of Mushet—James:—

William Danskine Jr. Merchant, in Dunblane and Andrew Buchanan Wright at Miln of Fintray who declared that they were entered Apprentices to the Lodge of Kilwinning compeared desiring this Lodge to enter and pass them therefrom to be fellows of Craft which being considered by the members of Court they ordain James Mushet to examine them as to their Qualifications and knowledge who having reported to the Lodge that they had competent knowledge of the Secrets of the Mason Word They the said Lodge after entering them apprentices pass them to be Fellows of Craft of this Lodge And the said William Danskine and Andrew Buchanan promise faithfully to submit to the said ordinances and constitutions of this Court made and to be made.

It is from this minute, and from one from Haughfoot in 1707, that Murray Lyon (p. 23) deduces that this talisman was more than just a “ word ” and included a grip. We can assume, I think, that the candidate was sworn to secrecy ; but of hints as to what more there might have been they are few and difficult to interpret. On 12th October, 1719, there was an emergency meeting of six members, with the Warden in the Chair—

petitioned by Mr. Robert Renton, Supervisor of the Excise to receive him into this Lodge Did admitt him entered prentice And after Instructions given him and tryals made of his knowledge Did also pass him from an entered prentice to ane ffellow of Crafte wt. all the usual Solemnites And who accordingly does hereby become prentice and ffellow of Craft and one of the members of this Lodge and Society of Meassons And obliges and enacts himself to stand to abide by obtemper & fulfill all the Acts and statutes of this Court under the sevell. penulties yr anent And in testimony yrof has subt. this pnts.

There is a hint of something that might have been a formal ceremony in several cases, beginning in 1720, where an apprentice is passed “ from the Square to the Compass and from entered prentice to a Fellow of Craft ”, and this form is used generally until 1726, after which it does not re-appear. In 1730, apprentices are “ passed according to the usual solemnities ”. The obligations all new members take “ to obtemper and fulfil all the acts and statutes of the Lodge ”—or Court—cannot refer to any ritual, but merely to what we would now call the Bylaws of the Lodge and the Rules and Regulations of the Trade Association, with the latter of which the members of the Lodge probably by this time had little to do. But right up to 1758 we find new members admitted to the *Lodge* taking their obligation to the *Court*. The minute of 27th December, 1731, provides another puzzle in interpretation. It runs:—

The same day also compeared John Stirling of Keir John Carnegg Merchant in New Port Glasgow Archd. Douglas of Garwald and Peter Murray Goldsmith in Stirling and craved They might be Entered Apprentices and Freemen of the Lodge

Which being considered by the Members abovenamed they admit and Enter the sd persons Apprentices, and the said John Stirling of Keir, and John Carnagg having been found duly qualified Apprentices were afterward admitted Freemasons and Fellows of Craft and all of them promises to fulfill and obey the whole Acts and Ordinances of the Lodge, As also the sd Archd. Douglas and Peter Murray were formally admitted Freemasons and Fellows of Craft.

It will be observed that from the first the two steps were called entered prentice (later apprentice) and fellow of craft: on 21st August, 1756, the three apprentices who came from the Thistle Lodge of Edinburgh were passed from the *Degree* of Apprentice to that of Fellow Craft.<sup>1</sup> The form "Fellow Craft" is used in two other places in this minute, which we have reason to believe was written by one of the Brethren from the Thistle Lodge; this is significant, for nowhere else does this form appear, nor the word "Degree". I cannot find any use of the term "Freemason" other than in the minutes of 27th December, 1731, and 1732, in which latter case an apprentice "craved to be admitted a Freemason and fellow of craft, which was accordingly done". In both cases the word is restricted to the second step. It has been shown that where the two steps were given at the same meeting, they were separated by examination as to the candidate's knowledge of the first, by instructions given, and by trials made; but there is no evidence, beyond the minute of 1729 already quoted, on which we can hazard a guess as to what secrets were communicated in this Lodge, or as to the nature of the trials made between the steps, or of the "usual solemnities". There is one recorded instance of the appointment of an "Intender", whose function in an Operative Lodge was so important: on St. John's Day, 1725, John Duthie, one of the original Mason members of the first minute, is given a Commission to enter an apprentice outside the Lodge and is appointed "Intender for perfecting him so that he may be fitt for his furder tryalls"; but the man in question was not a working Mason at all—he was a Bailie; so the only thing in which he could perfect him must have been the secrets of the first step. Haughfoot Lodge, though non-operative from the beginning, made a regular practice, from 1717 to 1722 and from 1746 to 1754, of appointing "instructors" for all new entrants—the period between 1722 and 1746 being that during which entrants were admitted "in Common Form"—the term being changed to "Intenders" in the period from 1755 to 1762. Bro. Carr notes that this latter period coincides closely with an influx of operative members.

### COMMISSIONS AND OUT ENTRIES

The practice of making Masons outside the Lodge by a quorum of members was widely known throughout Scotland from the middle of the seventeenth century right through the eighteenth, and did not die out until the early years of the nineteenth (Murray Lyon, pp. 100-5); and the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane provide many instances of it. This was generally done by Commission, but the first one reported was before the procedure had been made uniform. On 1st September, 1716:—

The said day also the Members reported that they had since the last Sederunt entered and past as Prentices and fellows of Craft the forenamed Wm. Ker James Muschet & Robt finlaysone who all compearing were admitted and received.

The curious thing about this incident is that Robert Finlayson was elected Treasurer at the earlier part of the meeting, before he had been formally "entered and received".

This entry is followed by the resolution, already quoted, enacting that Masons are not to be entered and passed by the members of this Lodge at one and the same time (except such gentlemen who cannot be present at a second diet), but be first reported prentices and their passing be ordered by the Lodge. On 10th November, 1719, Robert Duthie, one of the Mason members of the first recorded minute, declared that on the 8th October last he had entered Major Gordon, an apprentice, at Inversnait; he attended the Lodge, was received and passed, and took the obligation. On 27th December, 1721, there is a warning about making Masons outside the Lodge:—

They Discharge the whole members and each of them to enter or pass any persones or persone yrafter in time coming without present payment of the ordinary dues with certification those that are present at such a deed shall be liable for the sd dues.

On 27th December, 1725, John Duthie (son of the original Mason member, Robert Duthie, and himself a working Mason) asks for authority to enter Evan Cameron, Bailie, of Morving, and to be appointed Intender for perfecting him. The authority is granted, subject to

<sup>1</sup> See also footnote to the minutes of 28th December, 1730, quoted on page 93.

he still having with him such members of this Lodge as can be conveniently gott or in case of necessity to borrow from another Lodge as many as shall make a quorum without any more.

On 27th December, 1729,

James Mushet gave in a Commission directed to him subscribed by several members of the Lodge for admitting of Archibald Leckie of Ardenmuir an apprentice to the sd Lodge dated the twelfth of April last with a deliverance thereon Bearing that on the twentieth sixth of the month of June the sd Archibald Leckie was admitted an apprentice in terms of the sd Commission.

But he could not attend that day, as he was abroad.

On 17th February, 1730, William Duthie reported to the Lodge that he and his brother James, in the presence of several other witnesses—Masons—had entered two men from Argyleshire, one of them a drover. The Lodge approved and granted Commission to the two Duthies to pass them and report; but they would not accept bills for the entry money. As a matter of fact, these two men from Argyleshire were never passed, and, of course, their entry money was not recovered.

On 9th January, 1736, James Mushet represented that several gentlemen and others had been applying to him to be admitted to the Lodge, and, as they live at a considerable distance, cannot conveniently come to Dunblane for the purpose, and he asked for a Commission to enter them, which was granted "to enter as apprentices any gentlemen or other persons of entire credit and reputation as shall apply: there being always present at any such entry a competent number of Masons: this Commission is only to be in force till next St. John's Day. And James Mushet is to be answerable for the dues of entry".

On 27th December, 1737, a Commission was granted to James and Robert Mushet, Masons in Dunblane, to admit William Menteith, of Kape, and Alexander Wright, of [illegible], apprentices of this Lodge, which Commission is to be reported next St. John's Day; but this Commission was not executed, though the Mushets took advantage of it to enter Archibald Buchanan and bring him to the Lodge on St. John's Day, where he was passed.

There were no more Commissions for three years, but on 6th January, 1742, John Duthie asked for one to enter John McFarlane, a miller, of Keir, and it was granted, subject to there being always present at the admission a competent number of Masons. This was another Commission which was never executed, but John Duthie does not seem to have been discouraged, for at the St. John's Day meeting, 1743, in a minute headed with the name of Patrick Lintone, of Pendreich, Master, and no list of members, he represents that in virtue of a Commission from the Master, he had admitted and received James Fogo, David, his son, David Mushet and James Don the younger; whereof the Master and the whole other members approved. All but the first of these appeared in the Lodge, paid their dues and were passed; but James Fogo did not ever appear in the Lodge, and there is a note that the Treasurer did not get his entry money.

With regard to the minute of 10th November, 1719, when Robert Duthie reported the "out" entry of Major Gordon, there is no mention of a quorum of Masons present, and it is not until 1725 that the grant of a Commission is subject to that condition. The three Commissions reported in 1729, 1737 and 1743 do not mention a quorum, but we cannot assert definitely that the requirement had been neglected. There is no record of any further Commission in this book, but there is a somewhat laconic minute of 27th December, 1771, when Will Duthie was chosen Master in place of John Pearson, who had recently died: Malcolm Gillespie was appointed Senior Warden and John Rob, Jnr., Junior Warden; the minute goes on:—

Thereafter the two Wardens represented that they had admitted as Brethren George Henderson, Jnr., Robert Gentle both in Dunblane and Robert Paterson in Doune who obliges themselves to fulfill their obligations to the Lodge.

The minute is signed by these three and by the Master, Deputy Master, two Wardens and Clerk. I presume that this action by the Wardens was taken while the Lodge was without a Master.

It will be observed that all these commissions were granted to members of either the Duthie or the Mushet family, Mason members from the beginning and men whom one may assume to have been well versed in the working of an operative Lodge, and as in course of time they filled all the offices, to have helped to guide the development of the Lodge towards its speculative future.

When a Lodge depends for its funds so largely on fines and entry fees, there must be a tendency to use all legitimate means to recruit new entrants, even if some of them come from rather far afield; and the case of the two men from Argyle mentioned above, may be

of doubtful propriety. Poaching on another Lodge's territory seems to have been rather rife among Scottish Lodges, and in 1794, Lodge St. Mungo laid a complaint with Grand Lodge against the Lodges of Dunblane and Lesmahago for making Masons in Glasgow, and obtained a restraining order (Murray Lyon, p. 105).

#### OFFICERS

The officer at the head is called Master Meassone in the first minute: the term used in an Operative Lodge at that date would be Deacon, or perhaps Warden. The head of a Trade Incorporation would be Deacon. Master Meassone is used for 17 years, when James Turner, who had been Clerk all that time, was elected Deacon; he is, however, named in the next minute as Master Meassone; and, indeed, the two terms seem interchangeable, as in the minute of 30th May, 1715, he is called Master Measson in the heading and Deacon in the first paragraph: while on 1st September, 1716, the members "Unanimously Elected and Choised Thomas Muschet to be their Deacon and Master Meassone". By 1727, the use of the word "Master" appears to be stabilised; and this seems to correspond with the clerkship of Thomas Duthie, the writer, who served in that office for no less than 27 years, and was then elected Master.

At the first meeting, the other officers elected were Warden, Eldest Fellow of Craft, Thesaurer (occasionally called "Boxmaster"), Clerk and "Officer". The youngest member was generally appointed to this post, which was more or less equivalent to that of Tyler, when that term came to be used 70 years later. On the occasion of this first recorded meeting it will be observed that deputies were arranged for all officers except the Treasurer and Clerk. In 1731, on the election of Master, a Deputy Master, a Warden and a Deputy Warden were appointed, but no Eldest Fellow of Craft: in 1735, two Wardens are appointed and the office of Eldest Fellow of Craft disappears until 1748, when there are two Wardens as well as an Eldest Fellow of Craft, in 1750, two Wardens and a Senior Fellow of Craft, in 1752, two Wardens and two Fellows of Craft, and again in 1754, 1756 and 1759. In 1759, Captain George Middleton joined the Lodge from the Lodge of Linlithgow, and a year later his name appears in the list of those present as "Steward", and at that meeting he is elected Master and appoints a Deputy Master, two Wardens, a Secretary, a Steward, a Treasurer and a Clerk. His successor in the Chair, James Wright, in 1762 appoints the same officers, with the addition of a second Steward. From here on, it seems that there was both a Secretary and a Clerk, but which of them wrote up any particular minutes I am unable to judge from a scrutiny of the handwriting. In the heading of the minute of 27th December, 1765, Wm. Coldstream appears as Chaplain, but there is no record of his appointment. There was also John Campbell, who appears in the list of 28th December, 1730, as "Violer", and is still called Violer as late as 1759, when he received a small grant on account of his low circumstances.

The members present at the first meeting recorded 28th January, 1696, "all in one voice have elected and chosen" all the officers for a period of one year: they stayed in office, however, for two years: and on 19th January, 1698, "by a pluralitie of voyces Elect and choise" the Master Meassone, Warden and Eldest Fellow of Craft, but the term is not stated. It was just under two years before the next election, when John Graham was chosen as Master Meassone, John Pearson Warden, Thos. Mushet, E.F.C., and the rest of the officers were continued; there was no further election for eight years. The title of Master Meassone is used from 1696 to 1717, after which Deacon is used until 1723: then Master Mason is generally used, but occasionally still Deacon, until 1730, after which the title is stabilised as "Master". At the same time the two-year period of office is established, to be interrupted only in 1756 when Henry Stirling served for four years, and in 1764, when John Pearson was Master for seven.

On 27th December, 1729,

by unanimous consent of the whole Lodge John Duthie formerly Warden is nominated and constituted Master Mason, James Mushet last Eldest Fellow of Craft, is appointed and elected Warden and Robert Mushet chosen Eldest Fellow of Craft who having accepted of the said offices were congratulated and saluted after the ordinar form.

This is the nearest approach to any ceremony in the change of Officers, and after this date the new Master is simply "congratulated". In 1735, Hugh Pearson, having demitted his office, nominated the two Wardens and craved that one of them might be admitted to be Master of the Lodge; and Patrick Stirling was unanimously chosen to be Master, who accepted the office and appointed a Deputy and two Wardens; "And they having accepted of that office the same was approved by the whole fraternity". In 1737, the Master demitted and gave in a leet of three names, from which John Stirling was unanimously nominated

and chosen Master. This method of giving in a leet of three is continued every two years until 1760, after which the retiring Master again nominates his successor.

There remain the offices of Treasurer and Clerk. The Treasurer (at first Thesaurer) is sometimes called "Boxmaster", which is the corresponding office in a Trade Incorporation. The first mention of his duties is in the minute of 27th December, 1698, when he reports having lent John Pearson, the Warden, 40 pounds scots out of the box, and the sum remaining for which he is responsible is four pounds sixpennies (scots), in which sum are included two light half-cobbs. A half-cobb was a Spanish coin, worth, I believe, about 4/- sterling. There is evidence that all sorts of foreign coins were to be found in the currency, which was in very short supply. The shortage of cash affected not only the tradesmen, but also the lairds, for in 1712 John Pearson was still explaining why he had not been able to repay the £40 = £3 6s. 8d. sterling, borrowed 14 years earlier. The Lodge did not at first arrange for a regular audit, but the Treasurer made statements of the position from time to time: I can find no trace of a formal audit until 28th December, 1724, when on the change of Treasurer, the outgoing one is called "to ane accompt of his intromissions" and the position is set out in full in the minute book. There is no account of expenditure, but he reports a balance of £8 15s. in cash, and £206 0s. 6d. in bills—total £214 15s. 6d. scots, say 17 guineas sterling. From now, audits became more regular, first at the St. John's Day meeting, and afterwards at a special Audit Meeting appointed early in the New Year. The last one recorded in this book is 7th January, 1772, when the balance reported is three shillings sterling in cash and £35 17s. 10d. in bills. The income of the Lodge was derived solely from entry fees, fines for absence and interest on bills, and though there was one year when a subscription of 6d. a head was collected, and another where a levy of 1/- produced a pound or two, the annual sum collected must have been small, and we have no account of the expenses.

The Treasurer was instructed to lend the moneys of the Lodge at interest; and the later minutes have record of many cases where there is difficulty in obtaining repayment; also the Treasurer, having taken bills at six or twelve months for payment of entry fees, had occasionally to write them off as "desperate". The Treasurer had a great responsibility in selecting the persons to whom the funds were to be entrusted, as it was left entirely to his discretion, though he was directed to do it "with certification", and is allowed to take sufficient security therefor in his own name.

The Clerk, in the Operative Lodges, under the direction of the Schaw Statutes, was invariably a lawyer; and in this Lodge it was not until 1754 that anyone not a Writer filled the office: the Clerks served for long periods; James Turner, the first 17 years, Alexander Moir 8 years, Thos. Duthie 27 years: and then when William Stirling, a Merchant, was made Clerk, he seems to have served to the end of the book, but had a Secretary to help him. I am unable to tell from the handwriting who was the officer who actually wrote up the minutes: some of these in the later years are done in a very perfunctory manner.

#### FEES AND FINES

The wording of the first minute needs careful study, as its interpretation presents many difficulties.

It would appear that this ordinance required all Operative Masons to attend the *Court* once a quarter, and that all Operative Masons and members of the *Lodge* are to attend the St. John's Day meeting. But this depends on the exact meaning we can attribute to "all meassons who are members of this Court" and "all meassones and Members of this Lodge".

The scale of fees and fines seems preposterously high, taking into account the value of money at the end of the seventeenth century. The fine of £12 scots—£1 sterling—for absence from the St. John's Day meeting might be two months wages from a working Mason, and might seriously embarrass even the lairds who, like nearly everyone in Dunblane, were very short of actual coin. And the entrance fee for "workmen"—presumably working Masons—of 10/-, plus 5/- for passing, "with the ordinar dues" (though we can only guess how much these were or what they were for), would seem to total up to a sum likely to discourage new entrants. The minute of 3rd August, 1696, shows that they realised that the fine on "tradesmen" for absence from the quarterly meetings (£4 scots) was too heavy, and it is reduced to 30/- scots, and for those who are not "tradesmen", it remains at the former figure. On 19th January, 1698, the meetings were reduced to two in the year, 29th May and 27th December, the fine for absence being 40/- scots for the former and four pounds scots for the latter; these sums are specified for fines up to 1702, after which the form in the minutes is "conforme to the acts of sederunt made yranent", and the amount is not stated.

Seeing that the sole income of the Lodge was from fees and fines, the emphasis placed on them at the meetings is readily understood; at 18 meetings out of 32 held in the first 12 years, the fining of the absent was the sole business recorded. There would appear to have been some irregularity in the imposition of fines to need the resolution on 27th December, 1727, which runs as follows:—

It is enacted that no fyne is at any time hereafter to be Quitt by any member of this lodge by vertue of any Deputation from the Deacon or otherways without the Consent of such of the Members of Court as can be conveniently got as also that any person who does not punctuallie attend this Court each Saint John's Day by two of the Clock afternoon shall be holden and repute as absent unless they have relevant excuses to propose.

The beginning of the minute of 27th December, 1731, runs as follows:—

The above named Members fine each absent member in twelve shillings scots money to be collected by the Treasurer for the use of the poor from the persons Deficient wtout defalcation which is to be the fixed rule in all time coming unless there be a sufficient excuses given into the lodge.

In the absence of the Treasurer's books, it is impossible to state whether the fines so collected were really set aside for the poor; the minutes recording charitable payments are so few (these will be referred to later in this paper), and it is not until we come to the second Minute Book that we find references to the annual distribution of charity at the Festival of St. John. The fine for absence remained at 1/- sterling for the remainder of the period covered by this book.

On 27th December, 1737, it was resolved to have an annual subscription of 6d.; elaborate rules were laid down for demanding it, and for a penalty to be inflicted on those who will not pay "as the Fraternity shall think proper"; but after the first year there is nothing in the minutes to suggest that it was either demanded or paid.

On 28th December, 1761, there was a motion to enlarge the funds, and a levy of 1/- a head was made; a year later 35 members paid 6d. each, and five paid 1/-; but two years later they were still trying to collect the balance.

FEES. No consistency is shown in recording the fees paid for entry and passing. The first minute lays down that they are to be (in *sterling*) 10/- for entry and 5/- for passing "with the ordinar dues", but the first instance recorded is in 1704, when W. Wright pays 3/4 resting of his entry and passing; the second is in 1710, when J. Finlayson pays 3/4 for entry and 3/4 for passing. In 1712, Wm. Drummond the younger, of Balhadies, on being passed, is to pay 3 pounds Scots (5/-): nothing for entry. On 28th December, 1713, John Duthie, son of Robert Duthie, mason (stated to have been formerly entered, but not recorded), is passed and promises his dues for 29th May, 1714; but he did not pay until 27th December, 1716, when he redeemed his bill for 3 pounds Scots (5/-). From then until 1760 the fee seems to have been stabilised at 5/-, and this seems to have covered both entry and passing. Many of the members, both tradesmen and gentlemen, were unable to find even this sum in cash, and gave a bill at six or twelve months to the Treasurer, some of which had eventually to be written off as "desperate".

The fees were revised when, in 1760, the Lodge at last applied for a Charter. They were raised to 7/6, the additional 2/6 being for the registration fee to Grand Lodge; in 1773 they were raised again to 12/-, plus 2/6.

#### THE THISTLE LODGE INCIDENT, AND THE COMING OF THE THIRD DEGREE

In this Fellow Crafts' Lodge the date of its knowledge of the Master Masons' Degree is of great importance; and I think that the minute recounting the issue of a Charter to set up a Branch Lodge of the Lodge of Dunblane supplies it.

This Charter is unprecedented in Scottish Masonry, for it far exceeds in its scope the somewhat similar exploit of the Lodge of Kilwinning (Murray Lyon, pp. 100-2). The five Writers who came from the Thistle Lodge of Edinburgh knew of the Master's Degree by name at least, though as two of the five were Fellow Crafts and the other three Apprentices, they could hardly know more of it than that. One of these five (judging from the hand-writing) engrossed this Warrant in the Minute Book, and it included terms which must have been quite strange to Dunblane. It is interesting to note that this Thistle Lodge was formed by disjunction from the Lodge of Canongate and Leith only five years earlier, and that the majority of its founders were Writers; further, that for years great jealousy and disputes existed between the Thistle and its parent (Murray Lyon, p. 129).

The transcript of the complete minute follows:—

Dunblane 21st August Mvije and fifty-six years

Sederunt

Thomas Duthie Master — Patrick Henderson Senr. Warden — John Anderson Junr. Warden — John Rob Treasurer — Hary and John Stirling Henry Christy James Mushet, George Anderson George Henderson, William Duthie Junr.

James Wright of Loss Esqr gave in a Petition craving he might be admitted ane Apprentice of this Lodge which was accordingly granted and he admitted And

after being examined and found duely qualified was Past from ane apprentice to fellow Craft, and obliges himself to obtemper and fulfill the whole acts and Regulations of this Lodge made or to be made having paid to the Treasurer half a guinea.

Thereafter Colin McKenzie Peter Low and Robert Auld fellow crafts and William Stewart Samuel Falconer and Patrick Gall apprentices All from the Thistle Lodge in Edinburgh and writers there having intended to visit this Lodge, were, after due Examination and being found duly qualified in their Respective degrees, admitted to the Lodge. And the Lodge willing to confer all the respect they can upon these Brethren Do hereby Assume them as Brethren of the Lodge of Dunblane and they oblige themselves to obtemper and fulfil the whole Regulations and Laws of the Lodge made and to be made.

(sgd) Thos Duthie

Thereafter the said Brethren Stewart Falconer and Gali were past from the Degree of Apprentice to that of Fellow Craft and obliged themselves as above

	Thos Duthie
James Wright	Colin Mackenzie
William Stewart	Petr Low
Pat: Gall	Robert Auld
Sam: Falconer	Patrick Henderson
	John Anderson

Thereafter the Lodge unanimously resolved to grant to the forenamed Colin Mackenzie Peter Low Robert Auld William Stewart Samuel Falconer and Patrick Gall Commission signed by the Master and Wardens of which the exact copy follows vizt. We Thomas Duthie Master and Patrick Henderson and John Anderson Wardens of the ancient Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Dunblane Considering that the Following Brethren of this Lodge vizt Colin Mackenzie Peter Low and Robert Auld, Fellows of Craft and William Stewart Samuel Falconer & Patrick Gall apprentices, all from the Thistle Lodge of Edinburgh & writers there Do for the most part Reside at Edinburgh so that they have no opportunity of meeting with us at Dunblane at our stated Meetings and at the same time are Desirous to meet together frequently as Brethren of this Lodge in order to cultivate among one another that Friendship and Harmony which becometh Masons and particularly the brethren of one Lodge. And by repeated expressions of their Regard and Benevolence toward this Lodge and its other Brethren, to keep alive that Sense of Subjection Reverence & goodwill which the Lodge Expects from all its Brethren. Therefore we the said Master and Wardens with the unanimous advise and approbation and in the presence of the whole met in due form Do by these presents Authorise and empower our said Brethren abovenamed to meet together at Edinburgh in what place and at what time they shall think proper as members and a part of our said Lodge of Dunblane With power to them for preserving order and answering the other good purposes of their meeting to elect from among their number persons properly qualified to act as Depute Master — Wardens Treasurer and other officers of our Lodge of Dunblane And to agree to such regulations and Byelaws as they shall see convenient but consistent allways with the Regulations of our said Lodge As also with Power to them to admit and enter Prentices such persons as shall be properly Qualified and Recommended and who shall be held and are hereby Declared to be Members and Brethren of the Lodge of Dunblane and intitled to all the privileges thereof — to pass Fellow Crafts and raise Masters, the Brethren so entered passed and raised being always duely Reported to us in order to be Recorded in our books, for which recording the following fees shall be paid to our treasurer for the time being Viz. for Recording the said entered Prentices a fee of five shilling stg. and our said Lodge oblige themselves to cause the said member so entered and Reported to us to be duly recorded in the Books of the Grand Lodge of Scotland and to pay the fees for such Recording, and for Recording the Brethren past Fellow Crafts and raised Masters a fee of one shilling each As also with Power to them to collect and raise among themselves in such manner as they shall see fit, a Fund for defraying the Necessary charges of their meetings and for answering as a fund of Charity for relief of poor and distressed Brethren, the Brethren of the Lodge of Dunblane being always according to their circumstances to be first preferred. And we hereby Recommend and give Charge to our said Brethren to observe and keep up the Antient usages and Doctrine of Masons and to cultivate among themselves and among the Brethren of other Lodges that



Harmony friendship and Brotherly Love which are the Distinguishing Characteristics of Masons and Masonry. Given at our said Lodge of Dunblane the twenty first day of August One thousand seven hundred and fifty six yeares And of the 5756 year of Masonry

James Mushet

Henry Christy

Tho. Duthie  
Patrick Henderson

John Anderson  
John Rob

To complete the story of this incident, it will be seen how little Dunblane knew of the Third Degree, that they should set their signatures to a warrant to perform the ceremony in a Fellow Crafts' Lodge. After all the trouble taken, and the fine sentiments expressed, the Branch Lodge seems never to have been established: the Grand Librarian tells me there is no trace of it in the records of Grand Lodge, and there is no mention of it, or of new members reported for registration, or of fees paid, in subsequent minutes: and on 24th November, 1768, "Mr. Hugh Forbes, writer in Edinburgh, a member of the Thistle Lodge there, paid a visit to the Lodge, and having craved to be made a member was accordingly received, having undergone the usual trials".

Five years later, on 19th July, 1761, three gentlemen members of the Lodge at Alloa, together with Mr. George Beam, Grand Clerk of the Grand Lodge, attended and desired to be admitted members of the Lodge of Dunblane—they were unanimously admitted and received, and were congratulated accordingly. They obliged themselves to obey the whole Statutes of the Lodge. My own submission is that news of the Master Masons' Degree came to Dunblane from Alloa, or that possibly the Grand Clerk told them something of it, for although three of these new members are not mentioned again, the fourth, Mr. James Laurie, Comptroller of Alloa, was present on 18th November, 1762, when in a quorum of five the names of the Master, two Wardens and of this Mr. Laurie and John Graham, here described as Master Masons, are given. This John Graham was a Merchant in Dunblane, and was entered and passed at the meeting on 28th December, 1761—how he acquired the qualification of Master Mason is a matter of conjecture. At the meeting I am describing on 18th November, 1762, John Pearson, of Kippenross, entered on 24th May, 1762, Malcolm Gillespie, writer, of Dunblane, entered 20th March, 1762, and William Russell, innkeeper in Dunblane, entered 27th December, 1759, were examined and passed to Fellow-craft.

Thereafter the same Mr. Pearson and Malcolm Gillespie crave they might be made Master Masons of the Lodge which being considered by the Master and Brethren being Master Masons they unanimously agreed and were accordingly admitted.

At the following meeting, on 11th December, 1762, the heading of the minute is:—

George Middleton Master, John Graham & Malcolm Gillespie Master Masons and others.

James Wright of Loss and Henry Stirling at Park of Keir craved they might be made Master Masons of this Lodge which being considered by the Master and Brethren being Master Masons they unanimously agreed and were accordingly admitted after taking the usual obligations.

There is no further mention of Master Masons for eighteen months, when the following extremely curt minute appears:—

Dunblane 18th May 1764 This day  
compeared John Wright of Keir and craved to be raised to be a Master Mason  
which being considered by the Master Masons then present was raised accordingly

John Wright

Henry Stirling D.M.  
John Pearson S.W.  
Malcolm Gillespie

Again, a very short minute of 13th May, 1766, squeezed in at the bottom of a page:—

John Pearson of Kippenross Master, the proper officers and a Quorum of Master Masons present.

The above John Kennedy Joseph Thackburn & Willm, Steven craved to be raised Masters which was done accordingly.

John Pearson Mr.

The next relevant minute is 11th November, 1768, which runs:—

John Pearson of Kippenross Mr. John Steven & John Graeme p.t. wardens a quorum of Master Masons and the Lodge duly constitute the above John Graeme and George Henderson Mason in Dunblane craved to be passed Fellows of Craft and raised Masters which was done accordingly.

Perhaps the brevity of these minutes is due to the Clerk, Wm. Stirling, not being a Master Mason. This is the last reference to the Master Masons' Degree in the book, and from now on the minutes are written up in an increasingly perfunctory manner. After 1768 they do not even specify whether candidates are entered or passed—they are simply "admitted Members of the Lodge and paid the dues accordingly". There seems to have been some slackness occasionally in conducting their business, or in recording it; and that not only in these later years. For instance, John Fisher was entered on 28th November, 1720, when John Gillespie was passed. He did not sign the Minute, though, so perhaps he withdrew before anything was done that he ought not to see—if there was anything. In 1717, Alexander Brown was entered, and, though he is a fairly regular attendant, there is no record of his passing; he is, however, referred to as a F.C. on 6th September, 1723. George Musket was passed on 27th December, 1742, but there is no note of his entry; and there is the case of John Rob Junior, who is named for the first time on St. John's Day, 1771, and appointed Junior Warden, though his entry and passing are nowhere recorded.

Right up to the time of the granting of the Charter, most of the new members admitted to the Lodge took their obligation to the Court, but perhaps on instructions from Grand Lodge, after that date, if they took an obligation at all, it was to the Lodge.

#### CHARITABLE PAYMENTS

The earliest minute referring to this subject is that of 4th January, 1703, when "Charles Stirling of Kippendavie at his desire was By order of the Master and Wardens and remanent members Entered and past as a Meassone member of this Lodge and Court in the usual form", and gave into the box "ffourtie shillings six pennies scots for the use of the poor of the sd Lodge". This is unusual, for entry fees as a rule were expressly intended for the Lodge fund, to meet expenses and to lend out at interest. Whether any payments were made or not out of the box for the poor in the early years, the minutes do not say.

On St. John's Day, 1731, the 22 members present

fine each absent Member twelve shillings scots money to be collected by the Treasurer for the use of the poor from the persons deficient without defalcation which is appointed to be the fixed rule in all time coming.

The fine in future is certainly 12/- Scots, but whether this minute means that they are all to be for the use of the poor is very doubtful, as the Lodge fund depended so much on them. The Treasurer's books not having survived, and the state of the fund reported at the audit meetings showing only the cash less expenses, without details, one cannot tell how many of these fines were ever collected. When charitable payments begin to be reported in the Minutes, they are very small by present-day standards, but they may have seemed lavish to the recipients. In the earlier years the Treasurer may not have reported them separately for inclusion in the minutes, but included them in his disbursements in the Treasurer's account book, subsequently audited. Of those specially referred to the Lodge, the first is on St. John's Day, 1736, when it is reported that Christopher Finlayson, who a few years before had been Treasurer, was dead, and his widow and family in necessitous circumstances, and it was agreed that anything recovered on a bill in the box payable to him should be used for their relief.

On 21st November, 1739, the Master and 17 other members held what appears to have been an informal committee meeting, as its resolution was confirmed by the whole Lodge at the St. John's Day meeting—this was, to contribute five guineas to the building fund of the Edinburgh Infirmary.

At the meeting on 13th March, 1740, the minute reads:—

The same day Master and other Members of the foresaid Lodge considering that the Infirmary at Edinburgh which is a building that will be of considerable use and advantage to many infirm sickly and diseased persons in this Kingdom, who, by reason of their indigent Circumstances are destituted of proper medicine and that due care is adhibited upon the poor distressed creatures in the said Infirmary without any charge to the Parishes or Incorporations to which the belong and in regard the said building is not near finished nor funds sufficient for defraying the Expense thereof and of the maintenance of the poor people who have occasion to go there Therefore the said Lodge being very willing and desirous to contribute to so good and pious a designe . . .

so the Lodge voted a further five guineas "out of the first readiest of the money belonging to the Lodge". It is a suggestion that this project may have brought the Lodge in.o correspondence and perhaps contact with the Edinburgh Lodges, who might have asked Dunblane why they had taken no part in the formation of the Grand Lodge three years earlier, and so led the Lodge to discuss the subject at the following St. John's Day meeting, the minutes of which are quoted on page 108. Nothing further of a charitable nature is mentioned in the minutes for eight years, when, in the entry of St. John's Day, 1748, the death of John Duthie is reported; this was the son of the original John Duthie, Mason of Kippenross, who was Master from 1729 to 1731. A small committee was instructed to advance the funeral expenses, and to enquire into his contracts, to find what was due to him and who had charge of his tools or plenishing or his household furniture, and generally to settle his estate. There is no mention of a widow or children. It is not for another ten years that the Lodge first considers a list of cases, chiefly of widows of former Brethren, and orders relief in nine of them, in sums of between 6d. and 7/6—amounts still respectable according to the value of money in the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same date, the "state of the fund" of the Lodge was reported as a little under £40 sterling. On St. John's Day, 1759, there was another list, and 13 Brethren or widows received sums of 1/- to as much as 10/-; on 11th December, two cases are important enough to be reported to the Lodge—the widow of deceased member Alexander Brown, in great distress three pounds Scots, and Alexander Thomson (who was not a member of the Lodge and who had been relieved before) 12/- Scots. This is the last record of charitable payments in this book.

### VISITING AND JOINING

There are only two cases of Brethren from other Lodges visiting and *not* being made members—and both occurred after the Lodge had received its Charter.

On St. John's Day, 1760, Mr. Mark Straton, Renter in Edinburgh, Fellow of Craft of Canongate Leith and Leith and Canongate Lodge, favoured the Meeting with a visit and was congratulated as a Brother in due form.

The second one was seven years later:—

Mr. James Campbell a visiting brother from the Lodge of Scone or Old Lodge of Perth favoured this Lodge in a visiting manner and was congratulate in due form.

At various dates between 1756 and 1762, three apprentices of other Lodges were passed—two of them paid a fee of 3/-.

The first mention of a joining member is not until 27th December, 1744, when James Anderson, a Mason in Dunblane, formerly a member of the Lodge of Dunfermline, was examined and found qualified, and admitted. His son was already a member, having been entered in 1739; and he himself was an apprentice to one of the Mason Members in 1714 when his booking money was paid.

The next joining members are the six writers from the Thistle Lodge, who "intended to visit" and were made members. On 27th December, 1759, Captain George Middleton became a joining member from the Lodge of Linlithgow. They do not say whether he was examined, but he took the usual obligation to obey the whole statutes of the Lodge.

On 19th July, 1761, the three members of the Lodge of Alloa, accompanied by Mr. George Beam, the Grand Clerk (and a member of the Thistle Lodge) "desired to be admitted Members of the Lodge. They were admitted and received as Members and congratulated accordingly".

On St. John's Day, 1763,

Mr. Charles Stirling, member of Stirling Kilwinning Lodge favoured this meeting with his presence and was congratulated and graciously received, being also admitted a member.

On 24th November, 1768,

Hugh Forbes writer in Edinburgh a Member of Thistle Lodge there paid a visit to the Lodge and having craved to be made a member was accordingly received having undergone the usual trials.

Then, in 1772, the members of other Lodges who wish to become joining members of the Lodge of Dunblane "crave that they may be matriculated". This is a strange word in this connection; other students may have found it in other Minute Books, and those familiar with Scottish Law may find nothing curious in its use. There are six Masons recorded during the last three years of this book as having matriculated in the Lodge, and they all paid the

ordinary dues. At the end of 1773, when the Clerk had already begun to write up the minutes in the new book, there is a note, "The following few pages of this book to be kept for Matriculation", but on the following page there is a full minute of the date of 6th February, 1775, with a note to say that this minute has been transcribed into the new book.

#### PLACES OF MEETING

The Clerks are very reticent about stating exactly where the meetings were held; except in an extreme minority of cases, the heading is no more than "Dunblane", but the minute of the second meeting, on 14th May, 1696, is more informative. It states that they met at Wm. Caddell's house conform to appointment. The third meeting, on 3rd August, was also held at Wm. Caddell's. I, naturally, at first assumed that this was at the house of Wm. Caddell, the Treasurer, whose house or farm was at Fossoquhey, a mile or two up on Sherriffmuir; but Bro. Gonnella has since provided me with evidence that the minutes of the Logie Kirk Session of 1697 prove that there was a well-known inn in Dunblane called "William Caddell's House". Caddell was a common name in the district during all this period. Bro. Alfred Morris was strongly of the opinion that all the Lodges were accustomed to meet at inns.

On 27th December, 1723, the Court was adjourned till the 4th January, "to meet in Alex Brown's 'couper'", and Alexander Brown, a member, was an innkeeper.

From the way in which the various pieces of business were severally recorded in the minutes, sometimes separated by the Master's signature, intervals for refreshment or conviviality are suggested, especially if the meeting was at an inn.

The audit meeting on 4th January, 1732, was held at the house of Robert Duthie; he was not a member of the Lodge, and may have been an innkeeper. On 8th January, 1753, the audit meeting was in John Christie's house; he was a baker.

On 25th September, 1762, the meeting was held at Kinbuck, a village about four miles north of Dunblane. On St. John's Day, 1763, an audit meeting was appointed to meet "on Saturday Sennight being Old St. John's Day at the house of Wm. Russell" (an innkeeper); but the next minute is dated 7th January and says nothing about the Treasurer's accounts. Again, on St. John's Day, 1767, an audit meeting was appointed for 7th January, to be held at Wm. Russell's Inn; but there are no minutes of the meeting.

On 26th February, 1768, the minute records the entry of an apprentice, and is duly signed by him, by the Master and by the two Wardens; then on the next page, without a heading, it is recorded that William Pearson was admitted a member of the Lodge by the Master and a quorum of the Lodge "after being duly constitute at Edinburgh" the 26th February, 1768. It does not state where the first part of the meeting was held, and this is very exceptional.

#### REFRESHMENT

The feast or banquet being such a notable feature in a Scottish Operative Lodge and in most Trade Incorporations, it is curious how few are the hints of anything of the kind in this Minute Book. In the very few instances where the place of meeting is specified, it is, in all but one, an inn. There are quite a number of minutes where there is evidence of intervals between different pieces of business; perhaps, in those early days, refreshment was taken in the Lodge itself. It is not until the second Minute Book has been in use for some time that the "Annual Festival of St. John" is referred to, and the cost of "links" appears in the Treasurer's accounts for the torch-light procession that took place on that evening, and the minute of 14th December, 1778, resolves that the meeting on St. John's Day shall be at Mr. Grant's, the vintner, at one o'clock, followed by the dinner at three.

Of references to refreshment in this Minute Book, the following are all I can find, and there is considerable doubt as to the interpretation of two of them:—

28/1/96 (the first minute)—Workmen pay at their entry £6 Scots, and at their passing £3 "with the ordinar dues".

3/5/97—John Pearson, the Master, having been fined for absence on the last Court-day, the Lodge "modified" his fine to be "the present treat".

28/12/30—John Campbell appears as "Violer".

27/12/60—Captain George Middleton, Steward, was elected Master, and gave three dozen glasses for drinking.

27/12/62—Two Stewards are appointed.

#### CLOTHING, FURNISHING AND JEWELS

The first mention of Aprons and Gloves is on 4th January, 1724, when the Treasurer is authorised to pay out six shillings sterling for aprons and gloves supplied to four non-operative apprentices entered on the preceding 6th September. Murray Lyon does not record

any earlier mention of aprons among Scottish Lodges than this, though gloves appear in the Lodge of Kilwinning at the middle of the sixteenth century (p. 186). There is nothing further said in the Dunblane minutes for six years about aprons, though they must have been in use, for at an audit meeting on 5th January, 1730, it is reported that the Treasurer has six aprons undisposed of in his hands; but on 1st December, 1730, when 17 members are recorded as present, appears the following minute:—

Which Day the above members taking into their consideration that it were very decent the Lodge were suitably clothed every St. John's Day and did frankly wear the badges of a free and accepted Mason conform to the order observed in many rightly constituted Lodges in Scotland and England Do therefore enact and Ordain that each member of the Lodge shall on every St. John's Day following put on and wear an white apron and a pair of white gloves as the badge And appoint Christopher Finlayson Treasurer to furnish provide and have in readiness agst St. John's Day next by ten of the clock forenoon a sufficient number of aprons and gloves the price whereof is to be allowed to him as compting for his intromissions the money belonging to the Lodge and which Gloves and Aprons are to be kept by the Treasurer in a chest to be made for the purpose to be given out to each member in due time each St. John's Day or any other time which shall be thought necessary to put on the same.

This is important, and shows plainly that the Lodge had been having advice from other Lodges, as some of the expressions used, though very familiar to us, are quite new to Dunblane, and do not recur.

The minute of St. John's Day, 1733, records the first instance of an entered apprentice being given an apron and gloves, and this becomes the rule. The cost to the Lodge was only of the order of 1/3 sterling, but with the current value of money it was serious enough to cause the Lodge, in 1736, to increase the entry fee from 5/- to 6/- sterling, "the candidate to have an apron and a pair of gloves as formerly". In January, 1758, the admission of six apprentices at one time found the stock of aprons exhausted, and the Treasurer explained that he would provide them as soon as he could, but at the moment none were to be had in town. In 1760, when at last the Lodge applied for a Charter from the Grand Lodge, the entry money was raised to 7/6, to allow for the registration fee of 2/6 to Grand Lodge, and each entrant was required to furnish himself with apron and gloves. The entry money was further raised to 14/6 in 1773. The rule that the aprons were not to be taken away from the Lodge was evidently observed consistently, as towards the end of this book, on 7th January, 1773, it is reported that a new box is to be made to contain the aprons, of the best mahogany, and the price is agreed upon to be 15/- stg., to be made by James Stirling, Wright here. James Stirling was one of ten candidates who were admitted at five meetings during 1772.

It would appear that there was no special dress or badge for the Master or Officers earlier than 1744. On St. John's Day in that year, Henry Christie, Deputy Master, told the Lodge that he had provided for himself some yards of ribbon for a sash, and said he was agreeable to pay for it out of his own pocket, unless the Lodge preferred to do so. After deliberation, the Lodge decided not only to meet the cost of this one sash, but to authorise the Treasurer "likewise to furnish Livery of some kind to the rest of the officebearers of the Lodge, that they may be cloathed therewith next St. John's Day". On arranging for a meeting on 16th January for revising the Treasurer's accounts, they were also "to condescend on the quantity of cloathing to be provided as aforesaid".

There is no mention of Jewels until the Lodge got its Charter in 1760. At the audit meeting in February, 1761, the Treasurer presented his account for what he had expended in connection with the Charter, the Grand Lodge fees being £2 5s. 3d. stg. This is followed by:—

To the price of Aprons Ribbons Jewels & others		
paid to Isaac Solomon	...	£4.13.10
48 Common St. Andrew's Crosses	...	0.16. 0
3 larger do.	...	0. 6. 0
2 Battons & 4 officers rods	...	0. 2. 6
To painting the said Battons & Rods	...	0.14. 0
Paid for Aprons six in number	...	0. 5. 0

The Lodge still possesses four very old brass jewels, photographs of which were submitted to the late Bro. Poole in 1946, and in his opinion, almost without doubt, they are the ones referred to in 1761. None of the St. Andrew's Crosses remain. I have searched in the Museum at Grand Lodge in Edinburgh, but there is nothing there to put me on the track of what these were; for one thing, the Dunblane jewels must have been of base metal, as they cost no more than 4d. for the small ones and 1/6 for the larger. Bro. Johnstone advanced a suggestion that because of the well-known Jacobite sympathies of many of the

earlier members, they might have a political signification ; but as late as 1761 they are as likely to be national patriotic emblems. This device was adopted as a commemorative jewel for the first centenary of the Grand Lodge. In 1733, the Treasurer was directed to provide a pair of large compasses for the use of the Lodge, and he produced them at the St. John's Day meeting, and recovered the cost of 7/6. A pair of old wooden compasses is still in the possession of the Lodge, but it is impossible to identify it positively. The Square and Compasses still used with the Bible are almost certainly the ones referred to in this Minute Book, and if the expression "passed from the square to the compass and from an entered apprentice to a fellow of craft" denotes a piece of ritual, these were the tools that were used. They are made of brass, and the compass has engraved on it "DUMBLAIN LOODG". The Square and Compass, on the change of Officers on St. John's Day, 1736, were handed over, together with the chest box and the bills and cash, to the new Treasurer. "The Treasurer has the book of Constitutions". The Bible, still in use, is dated 1770, and is the one referred to in the minute of 7th January, 1773, which reads: "They have also ordered a new Bible to be provided with on inscription For the Lodge of Dunblane".

THE CHARTER AND GRAND LODGE

The full story, which is not without its humourous side, is best presented in the actual words of the minutes, beginning with the latter half of the entry of St. John's Day, 1740, three years after the formation of Grand Lodge.

Thereafter the sd Lodge of ffreemasons in Dunblane being convened and taking to their serious consideration that a considerable time ago Remonstrances were made by the Four Lodges at Edinburgh to this Lodge and the other Lodges in this Kingdom for the further utility of the several Lodges therein and the fullest Improvement of Masonry and that notwithstanding of these Remonstrances and the evident advantages that necessarily accrue to Masonry thereby Yet this Lodge, on account of the letter from these four Lodges not coming to hand till after the day assigned for giving an answer and of the Indisposition of Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie then Master of this Lodge, did not only then omitt to send in their Deputy or Deputies to so good and grand a purpose But likewise have ever since neglected to send in their Deputies to the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge Wherefore this sd Lodge of Dunblane for cultivating that Harmony and good understanding for the future which ought to be much at heart amongst all true Brethren Nominate & Appoint

On the day of Election to vote or Ballote for ..... to be Grand Master and in case the Grand Wardens Treasurer and Secretary then nominated by the said Grand Master be not unanimously approven of by the Electors Then to proceed to choise by Ballot

Senior Warden  
Junior Warden  
Treasurer and  
as Secretary And the

Lodge appointed the Clerk to extract this Act and Commission.

(signed) John Sterling

and they never did anything with this Commission, nor does it appear that they took any steps to get a Charter from Grand Lodge for nearly twenty years! As to the negotiations for the eventual grant of a Charter, the minutes are entirely silent, so perhaps they never came before a Lodge meeting at all. The first intimation in the book is in the minute of 24th December, 1760, quoted above, saying that

by reason of a Charter they are to receive from Grand Lodge involving a registration fee of 2/6d. for each entrant, the entry money to the Lodge is to be raised to 7/6d.

The date of the Charter was 4th February, 1760, and the Lodge's original number was 12. Nothing further is mentioned about Grand Lodge until 7th January, 1772, when the entry would suggest that they had not been very diligent in keeping touch, for it says:—

And as the Lodge at present cannot say how their affairs stand with Grand Lodge they have ordered Mr. John Rob, Senr. to inquire into their case by a line signed by the Master and some others of this date.

As to what happened when the letter was sent was not reported to the Lodge: and Grand Lodge is not mentioned again in this book.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Practically all the lairds who were members of the Lodge in 1695, or became so later, were strong supporters of the Jacobite cause: of these, the one who headed the revival or reorganisation of the Lodge was

*William Drummond*, second Viscount Strathallan, the son of a distinguished soldier, Lt.-Gen. William Drummond, who served in the Royal Armies in the reigns of Charles I, Charles II and James II, and who was created Viscount Strathallan in 1684, and died in 1688, the same year as the deposition of James II. His son enjoyed the title for only 14 years, dying in 1702, the same year as William II, so he could not have been involved in any Jacobite conspiracy. I have not been able to find out much about him, but there are details of the estates in and about Dunblane that he inherited from his father in Chapter 16 of Barty's History. He owned and probably lived in, the best house remaining in the town, and though his estates were fairly extensive, from hints I have picked up in the minute book, I judge that, like his tenants and the tradesmen, he was not infrequently short of ready cash. Coinage was scarce, and was of all kinds of denominations: Scots pounds and shillings, rix-dollars, half-cobbs, and Scots merks were all to be found in the box. His Lordship was anything but a good writer, and seemed to have difficulty even in signing his name, which he spelled Strathalane.

*Alexander Drummond*, of Balhadie, was descended from the chief of the MacGregors—the family taking the name of Drummond when the name of MacGregor was proscribed; they were all strong partisans of the Stuarts, and in 1689 Claverhouse, in his march northward, stopped at Dunblane to confer with Alexander. In Monteath's *Traditions of Dunblane*. Alexander Drummond is described as “a massybuilt athletic man of extraordinary agility for his weight, and a most expert broadsword player, brave but of a hasty temper”. He is credited with great bravery at the battles of Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir, at the latter having the misfortune to be in the left wing which was driven back by the Royal forces, and having to take refuge in his own kailyard. He was chosen Warden of the Lodge at the meeting of January, 1696, and though he missed three out of the six meetings up to January, 1698, was chosen Master on the latter date; but he served for only one year, missing the last three of the six meetings. After 1699 he attended only one meeting, but is duly fined for absence until 1706, after which his name does not appear. He died in 1749, by which year he must have been well over 80.

*William Drummond*, of Balhadies, the younger, was entered as a prentice on St. John's Day, 1711, but whether this was a nephew or a grandson of Alexander, I cannot find.

*John Pearson*, of Kippenross, who was appointed Deputy Warden at the January, 1696, meeting, came of ancient lineage. He was the second son of James Pearson, Dean of the Cathedral in 1624, and inherited considerable estates. He is described as being distinguished for immense stature and unbounded hospitality. He was Master of the Lodge from 1708 to 1713, and died in 1722, leaving his estates to his second son, Hugh Pearson, who was entered prentice in the Lodge in the next year, and was Master in 1734 and 1735. Hugh Pearson was the laird who planted the famous beech walk along the banks of Allan Water in 1742; his son, John Pearson, was entered apprentice on 24th May, 1762, and on 18th November was the first member to receive the degree of Master Mason. He, in his turn, was elected Master in December, 1764, and presided regularly until December, 1769; a year later his illness was reported, and he died some time before the next meeting on St. John's Day, 1771.

*John Graham*. In the list of members present at the meeting of January, 1696, the sixth name is “John Grahame younger in Dunblane”; in the list of appointments to office, after the “Officer” and his deputy, comes “the sd Johne Grahame proffiscall”. I have had the help of two experts in reading this phrase, and they agree that it is “Procurator Fiscal”. Search on the Dunblane Regality Court and Sheriff Court records in Edinburgh Register House supplies evidence—negative, it is true—that John Graham was *not* Procurator Fiscal; and, even if he had been, he would not be likely to be so described among the officers of a Lodge. The alternative would be to disregard the first four letters, and to take the rest as the same as the “Fisckell” who appears at Kilwinning in 1724. Though listed after the “Officer”, the word would surely be used only of a post connected with the Treasurer's duties. The word does not occur again in the Minute Book.

He was the son of the John Graham who was Commissary Clerk of Dunblane, and Clerk to the Chancery Chamber at Edinburgh, who was so much concerned in the Cathedral in Bishop Leighton's time, and helped largely in establishing the Bishop's library. He was chosen Master on 30th December, 1699. At the meeting of 16th June, 1705, he is first called “of Gendoig”, and on 27th December, 1706, arrived after the Lodge had been adjourned, because he had to come all the way from his house 24 miles away. He did not attend the next meeting, and on St. John's Day, 1707, John Pearson was chosen Master in his place. John Graham's name does not appear again, not even as having been fined, so I infer that he left the Lodge. He died about 1739, and was succeeded in 1740 by his son, who was Secretary to the Royal Bank of Scotland.

*James Russell*, Commissary Clerk and Bailie of the Regality of Dunblane, was entered and passed on 31st December, 1730, and was Master for 1738 and 1739. He was a steady supporter of the Government during the troubles of 1745, but his wife was a strong adherent of the Stuarts, as were Alexander Drummond and most of the other lairds in the Lodge. The townspeople, for the most part, had no love for a Catholic Pretender and dreaded the coming of his unruly highlanders. Charles Edward, on his march to the south, arrived at Dunblane on 11th September, 1745, and spent the night with Alexander Drummond, and Monteath, in his *Traditions*, relates that among the many people who pressed to wish him well was Mrs. Russell, who gave him a purse of gold. Within a few months Prince Charles was returning with the remnants of his army, dispirited and beaten, and passed through Dunblane, with Cumberland close behind. Bailie Russell advised the townspeople to receive the Royal Army in a friendly manner, and he himself entertained Cumberland in his house. Cumberland stayed in Dunblane for a few days to dispense justice, while he sent his army on. When he started to rejoin his troops he had to pass Lord Strathallan's house, where one of Alexander Drummond's servant-maids tried to pour a bucket of boiling water or oil over him from a second-floor window: she missed the Duke, but hit the haunches of his horse, which bounded forward and gave his rider a heavy fall. The Bailie was afraid that harm would fall on the town for this attempt, but he managed to pacify the Duke and his staff sufficiently for them to take no reprisals.

*The families of Duthie and Mushet.* I have referred to the record of members of these operative masons in the section on Commissions. These two families, in two, if not three, generations, provided nine Masters in the 76 years covered by this book. One of the Duthies, William, I suspect of the third generation, was entered apprentice on St. John's Day, 1747; he went out to Jamaica and returned to be elected Master for the year 1772. I cannot tell how many of the later generation were working masons—the Minute Book omits this information in the later years. Thomas Duthie, who was Master in 1755 and 1756, was a Writer and became Sheriff Substitute of West Perth at Dunblane: he had combined the offices of Treasurer and Clerk for some years.

*John Drummond.* "On 13th March, 1740, the Right Honourable Lord John Drummond, Brother of his Grace the Duke of Perth, gave in a petition to be admitted a member of the Mason Lodge of Dunblane." He was entered apprentice, and thereafter, having been found qualified, was passed and gave a guinea for the dues of entry, and took the usual obligation to the Court. He did not attend the Lodge again until St. John's Day, 1743, when he was elected Master for the next two years. There is little doubt that before the next meeting he had gone over to France to join Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, for whom he raised a troop of cavalry. After Prince Charles had landed in 1745, Lord John arrived from France with 800 men, and joined the Prince on 11th November, before Glasgow, which encouraged him to march to besiege Stirling. At the battle of Falkirk on 18th January, 1746, Lord John was in command of the cavalry, and his part in the action had a great share in the victory of the Jacobite Army. He further distinguished himself by his attack on the Government Post at Keigh on 27th February, where he killed or took prisoner the whole of the garrison. After the rout at Culloden, the Duke of Perth took refuge in the Highlands, whence, after three weeks as a fugitive, he got a ship to France, but died on the voyage. Lord John escaped in the same vessel, and died next year in the French service at Bergen op Zoom.

## CONCLUSIONS

After study of this Minute Book, extending over many months, assisted by the voluminous notes made by the late Bro. Johnstone over as many years, I am still diffident in assigning such a word as "conclusions" to what I have been able to extract from the hints supplied by these records, particularly as regards the relations between the Lodge and the Court or Trade Incorporation, and the evidence for ceremonies, ritual or obligations.

The writing up of the minutes in a hurry, so that they might be signed before the members separated, must have led the Clerks to make the record as short as possible and omit anything they thought unessential—the little details which would have revealed so much to us.

As to the relation between the "tradesmen" and the Mason members of the Lodge, I should like once again to draw special attention to a paragraph a few lines before the end of the first minute, following the regulation about not divulging any acts passed in the Court. It concludes:—

"excepting those two acts made in relation to entry and passing and of masons already passed and entered and desirous to join in the Lodge".

Does this mean operative Masons apprenticed and passed in the *trade*, now wanting to join the Lodge, which, presumably, no longer interests itself in trade affairs? Then there is the minute of 3rd August, 1696, the third of the quarterly meetings appointed, when it is decided



that the fine imposed on *tradesmen* for absence (£4 Scots=6/8 stg.) is too much for them to pay, and it is reduced to 30/- Scots or 2/6 stg.; even that must have been a big sum for a tradesman; while for those who are not tradesmen the fine is to continue at £4 Scots for a quarterly meeting, and £12 Scots (an enormous sum for those days) for St. John's Day.

Did the "Corporated Trade" of the Masons keep its identity and its functions apart from the Lodge, though having the same officers, and have separate meetings for transacting its business? If there was any considerable business as to relations between employers and workmen, or disputes as to wages, I can hardly see how they could have been adequately covered at two meetings in a year, to which the five meetings of the Lodge were reduced in 1698 (at the same meeting as the last recorded statute concerning the Masons' trade, the one ordering the booking of apprentices). From the absence of any record in the minutes, it seems as if all such business was kept distinct from the Lodge, though, to argue on the other side, the Lodge still considered itself one of the "Corporated Trades" in 1722, when it joined the other trades in buying Mortcloths.

As to what Ritual was used, except for the hint afforded by the minute of 27th December, 1729, when the two apprentices from the Lodge of Kilwinning were examined previous to passing and were found to have competent knowledge of the secrets of the Mason Word, are we justified in assuming that those secrets were communicated to apprentices in the Lodge of Dunblane? For passing, we read that it was done "with the usual solemnities". The information we glean about Master Masons is so very meagre that we cannot infer that there was any ceremony at all, and the word "raised" is used in only two of the five cases.

The whole subject bristles with ambiguities, and my best hope is that some Brother, more expert in the study of early Scottish Masonry, will be able to make use of the evidence I have extracted to show a clearer picture of the development of this most interesting Lodge.

I have already mentioned that the project of the re-examination of this book was begun in 1945 by the late Bro. James Johnstone: he worked at it for some years and accumulated a mass of notes, which, unfortunately, serious illness prevented him from assembling in order. On his recovery he found himself unable to complete the task of writing a paper, and called me in, a very old friend, but quite unversed in Masonic research, to relieve him of the duty. In doing my best to present the material in such a way as to make the evidence available for future students, without obtruding my own opinions or conclusions, I have had the invaluable advice and help of Bro. Harry Carr. Bro. Albert Gonnella, a Past Master of the Lodge of Dunblane, who has been a furtherer of the project from the start, has given me great assistance in many local researches, and by his kindness I have also been enabled to have the actual book for a time, so that I might make a closer examination than the photographs enabled me to do.

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At the conclusion of the paper, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Hatten, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. Comments were offered by, or on behalf of, Bros. J. R. Rylands, H. Carr, Bernard E. Jones, W. Waples and F. L. Pick.

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The W.M. said:—

As Bro. Hatten has told us the *Early Minute Book of Dunblane* was studied for several years by our late Bro. James Johnstone. At the time of his passing, our W. Master, Bro. Rylands, in his tribute, spoke of the enthusiasm displayed by Bro. Johnstone, who paid him a visit when returning from one of several visits made to Scotland to gather data for this paper. Age and infirmity, however, prevented Bro. Johnstone from completing his work, and he would be the last to wish our gratitude to him to make us overlook what we owe to Bro. Hatten for the preparation of this paper and for making it possible to have the substance of Bro. Johnstone's notes printed. In addition, Bro. Hatten has undertaken to present all his material, including photographs of the original Minute Book, to our Lodge; these will be of great assistance to those who take up the study of these fascinating Early Scotch Records.

Bro. Hatten mentions that as late as 1722 the Lodge of Dunblane identified itself with the Incorporation of the Masons of Dunblane.

Murray Lyon's *History*, p. 201, records that "with the exception of a few instances in which both offices were united in the one individual, the Deacon of the Incorporated Masons during the whole of the seventeenth and the first and second decades of the eighteenth century usurped the directorate of the Lodge of Edinburgh. This assumed ex-officio presidency—under the name, first of Deacon, after of Preses, and subsequently of Master—was at length abolished . . . and the annual election of president became the rule of the Lodge".

Bro. Hatten tells us that the fact that the Lodge of Dunblane should have received Anderson's *Constitutions* within six months shows that the Lodge was in close contact with what was going on in English Masonry.

In 1760, "Captain George Middleton, Steward, was elected Master and gave three dozen glasses for drinking".

The charges that were made in respect of broken glasses was one of the curiosities of Lodge disbursement a century [or now rather a century and three-quarters ago], "as it was also in those of Mason Incorporations at and long prior to that period". Murray Lyon also mentions that "drinking to the health of 'Visiting Brethren' was and still is accompanied with much ceremony".

It is generally considered that our firing customs came from France, where they are thought to have originated in the Army. It is to be noted that the donor of the Dunblane glasses was a "Captain", and as there was at this period a close connection between Scotland and France, it would appear possible that these customs of the festive board may have come direct from France, and not via England.

The Crowe Collection of Masonic Regalia—now in the Museum of the Province of Kent at Canterbury—includes a number of old Scotch Aprons and Sashes.

In his second paper on the subject, Crowe mentions that he cannot help thinking from various materials he has collected that linen was used almost as frequently as leather. Perhaps the durability of leather accounts for the fact that most of the old Scotch Aprons in this collection are of leather, which would reach below the knees of the wearer. There are also a number of Sashes which, as Bro. Hatten tells, were adopted as part of the officers' livery in 1744.

I have much pleasure in proposing that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded Bro. Hatten, and that it be recorded in the minutes.

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Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Hatten for his excellent paper on the early Minute Book of the Lodge of Dunblane, firstly, because of the methodical way in which he has presented his matter, and secondly, because of the interesting facts now divulged—facts which support those which emerged from the paper on the Edinburgh Records, by Bro. H. Carr, at the March meeting.

It was then apparent that the Lodge of Edinburgh had emerged as an internal association within the larger Incorporation of Masons and Wrights, authorised by the 1475 Seal of Cause issued by the Burgh of Edinburgh, which was itself acting by authority of an Act of 1425, passed by the Scottish Parliament at Perth. The Lodge of Dunblane also, apparently, was an internal association or society of both Operatives and Speculatives within the Trade Incorporation of Operative Masons; but it would be folly to be dogmatic regarding their relations until more light is thrown on them by records similar to those before us. These show that, at the first meeting in 1696, for instance, there were thirteen present, namely, six lairds, one not described, four masons, one tradesman and one writer, *i.e.*, four working masons and nine non-operatives. Bro. Hatten also shows that, in the first 80 years, nearly 250 men of all ranks of life entered the Lodge, of whom less than 10 per cent. were masons.

The Incorporation appears to have been presided over by a Deacon and Warden, whereas the Lodge had a Master Mason and Warden. In December, 1728, Bro. Hatten definitely identifies the same persons as acting in dual capacities in both Incorporation and Lodge; he also shows that the first obligation was taken to the Court of the Incorporation, whereas the second was taken to the Lodge, a significant statement which explains why many who were registered with the Incorporation never did, in fact, enter the Lodge. The title of Master Mason indicates some divergence from the procedure at Edinburgh, where the Deacon appears as the principal officer in both Incorporation and Lodge. This title of Master Mason is most probably the precursor of the title of the principal officer of the Grand Lodge of Scotland who, to-day, is designated "Grand Master Mason", and not "Grand Master", as in England.

The presentation of Anderson's 1723 *Book of Constitutions* to the Lodge so soon after it was published is not surprising, in view of the fact that Dr. Desaguliers, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, visited the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721; he is considered by Murray Lyon to be the "learned Brother who instructed the Lodge in the secret ceremonial of English Freemasonry" (p. 423). Similarly, the procedure on Election of Officers in the first half of the eighteenth century is paralleled by that in England, where, particularly in "Antient" Lodges, it was customary for the R.W.M. to propose a candidate for each office from the Chair, while a rival was proposed from the body of the Lodge, thus ensuring that the successful candidate had the support of a majority of the Lodge. Indeed, much of the good Scottish practice of the eighteenth century was also good English practice,

particularly in the Northern part of the country (which was subject to Scottish influence—or was it that Scotland was subject to North of England influence?)

Bro. Hatten may congratulate himself on being one of a small band now engaged in bringing forward Scottish information of a realistic character, which, it is to be hoped, will ultimately settle that debatable problem as to whether Speculative Freemasonry emerged from the Egyptian Mysteries or from the Trade Incorporations—or did someone mention “the hen or the egg”? We, in our turn, do heartily congratulate Bro. Hatten, and hope that he will, on some future occasion, present us with more evidence of his undoubted skill.

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Bro. J. R. RYLANDS said:—

I knew that my old friend, Dr. Johnstone, had spent much time on these records, and that he hoped that some light on the Transition might come from them. He used to describe with much enthusiasm the avenues he still hoped to explore, but his zealous efforts were frustrated by the inevitable call.

Bro. Hatten has done excellent work in presenting to us the material so carefully collected and annotated by himself and Bro. Johnstone. We can now study attentively the records which still remain of this old Scottish Lodge. Bro. Hatten is rightly diffident in attempting to draw anything in the nature of definite conclusions from this mass of material. We read the details with keen interest, hopeful, as Bro. Johnstone was hopeful, to find something which might at last lead us in the direction of a more plausible theory of the Transition, but we must confess, alas, that once again the mystery eludes us.

If only those early Brethren had felt justified in putting into writing just that little more. As Bro. Hatten realises, there is so much we want to know, and so much that is tantalisingly vague or unrecorded. Yet much the same is true of our records to-day. We know that our minutes and cash accounts cannot fully portray the Masonic life of our Brethren; so much is said and done of which we keep no records. Admittedly, there is a great deal which never could be of interest, and no doubt one could put the majority of Masonic after-dinner speeches into this category. But there can be little doubt that the faithful observance of the injunction to commit to writing only that which may be properly recorded has deprived the later fraternity of a great deal of historical information which might, not without propriety, have been handed on.

Dunblane could, I imagine, have told us a great deal more. But, on a first reading of the extracts now presented to us, it is clear that Dunblane has kept secret those things we should most like to know. In all probability there was little in the Dunblane Masonry, from the ritual standpoint, like our Masonry of to-day. We know from experience that a phrase such as “. . . with the usual solemnities . . .” can mean much or little or nothing. It can mean an elaborate ceremonial based on tradition, or it can mean the merest of formalities. I am reminded of early nineteenth-century references to the ceremony of installation of a Master, reported to have been done “according to ancient tradition and with the usual solemnities”. As the ceremony was, in fact, quite new and of recent introduction, the description is merely a literary ornament.

It has to be admitted, with regret, that although the Dunblane ground has been thoroughly explored, no diamonds have been found. It may be, as I have said on other occasions, that they do not exist, and that the secrets of the Transition may have to be classed with the Philosopher’s Stone.

But this does not in any way detract from the meritorious efforts of Bro. Hatten and, before him, of Bro. Johnstone. Bro. Hatten has most painstakingly examined the material he and his friend collected, and if the analysis produces, on the Transition problem, only negative results, he may rest well content in the knowledge that negative evidence often has positive value, and that he has performed a difficult task with enviable powers of application. In any event, it is important to emphasise, for the benefit of the newer generation of Masonic students, that there is a distinction between the non-operative and the speculative masons of the Transition period.

In adding my thanks to those which Bro. Hatten has already deservedly received, may I congratulate him on the faithful discharge of a fraternal duty to his old friend.

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Bro. H. CARR writes:—

The first problem posed by Bro. Hatten, and perhaps one of the most important in relation to this particular Lodge, is whether it was a newly-formed Lodge, or a continuation, or a revival.

The date of the first minute is 28th January, 1696, but one of the jotted notes refers to April, 1695—and there is nothing in the later minutes to suggest that the 1695 is an error. The “local tradition” as to the existence of a Lodge at Dunblane in 1687 and earlier is, unfortunately, without any confirmation, and we lack the minutes of the Mason’s Incorporation which might have yielded valuable information.

The “jotted notes” and the earliest surviving minute afford a few clues:—

- (1) There were 13 present at the first meeting, and there is no hint that any of them had been invited to come in and assist in the formation of a new Lodge. Nor is there any evidence (such as we often find in the early Lodges) to suggest that this Lodge was newly formed. In the circumstances, it is fair to assume that the 13 were already members of the “. . . Societie of Meassones . . . conveined” for that meeting, and this implies that the Lodge existed *as a Lodge* certainly before 1696, and probably before 1695.
- (2) The election of officers, *with a whole series of deputies* (an unusual practice at this date), suggests that the Lodge had suffered through the absence of officers on former occasions and was making provision against a fairly common occurrence.
- (3) The £4 penalty for absence is exceedingly high, especially for operatives. It implies that the Lodge was now dominated by men of substance, and had practically lost whatever operative character it had originally possessed.
- (4) The importance attached to the St. John’s Day meeting (with a £12 penalty for absence) is a truly operative survival. The penalty is very high and may indicate a new firm hand in the management of the Lodge; but penalties were modified considerably in due course.
- (5) Entry monies were fixed at £6 and £3, “with ye ordinar dues”. The exact amounts of these dues are nowhere specified. Clearly they were commonly known and accepted by all present as having been in force before that first-recorded meeting, and this confirms the theory that the Lodge had been in existence for some time before 1695-6.

A few months later, in August, 1696, George Robertson was admitted, paying only 28s. or £2 8s. 0d.,<sup>1</sup> and the “jotted notes” for April, 1695, show another two payments of £2 8s. 0d., presumably both entry-monies. This would suggest that the £6, plus £3, fixed on January 28th, 1696, were a *new scale of fees*, and we may, perhaps, infer that the Lodge had been running *for some time* on the lesser fees before it was decided to increase them.

- (6) The jotted note for July, 1696, shows that Strathalane paid £13 10s. 0d., a substantial sum, which implies that he had been absent from a number of meetings prior to the first-recorded one in January, 1696.

From some of the later minutes we draw faint evidence that the Lodge retained some of the old operative traditions:—

- (7) The statute of December, 1703, which required mason members to pay a booking fee of 20s. for each prentice who was booked by them, with two examples of such payments in 1710 and 1714.
- (8) The reference to the *Secrets of the Mason Word* (December, 1729).
- (9) The appointment of an “Intender” (December, 1725).

From all the foregoing, I am of the opinion that the “jotted note” of April, 1695, is probably a carry-over from an earlier minute book. Indeed, there may be a number of pages missing at the beginning of the book, for it was rebound only recently.

The absence of any kind of reference to reconstruction or revival of a dormant Lodge suggests that this was not a revival; and the carefully-detailed records of the January, 1696, meeting may well indicate a regularly established tradition as to the proper and normal procedure of meetings.

To sum up, the April, 1695, entry shows that the Lodge existed before the date of its earliest recorded meeting, and, generally, the evidence would seem to point to the January, 1696, record being a normal continuation of the Lodge minutes, possibly from an earlier minute book.

#### DUNBLANE, A LODGE IN THE TRANSITION STAGE

There were at this period (*i.e.*, before the end of the seventeenth century) a substantial number of Lodges in existence in Scotland, and, so far as our records go, they were all purely operative Lodges.

<sup>1</sup> There is a discrepancy in the two records of this entry. The Lodge minute says 28s., and the jotted note says £2 8s. 0d.—H.C.

Some of them, *e.g.*, Aberdeen, Kilwinning and Mary's Chapel, had long been in the habit of admitting non-operative members; indeed, Aberdeen, in 1670, had a very high proportion of non-operatives on its roll; but in every case where records survive, the by-laws or Lodge minutes indicate that the prime functions of the Lodge were still concerned with operative Masonry.

Here at Dunblane we have only very faint relics of operative tradition, and no evidence at all of any kind of operative trade-control, such as we find in the true operative Lodges, *e.g.*, punishment for working with cowans, or for taking work over the masters' heads. There may have been an earlier code of By-laws or Statutes drawn up before 1696, but within our period, only one By-law survives which had a specifically-operative purpose and origin, *i.e.*, the 1703 statute requiring Masons to pay a booking fee upon taking apprentices.

If we are right in assuming that Dunblane had existed as an operative Lodge for some time before 1696—and I see no reason to doubt it, for there was much local building in stone—then we have here in 1696 the rather extraordinary case of a Lodge in a *very advanced stage of transition* from operative to non-operative.

### THE COURT

I cannot agree that the "Court" so often mentioned in these minutes consisted of "*the principal officers . . . as it were an Executive Committee*". The word "Court" is used rather indiscriminately in the minutes, and this is very confusing. As a fairly safe general definition, I would say that the "Court" was the Lodge while in session, but one might widen the definition so that Court and Lodge become synonymous; but "Court" always means a specific body of men or members, and it cannot have the sense of "location" which is often implicit in the word Lodge, nor does it apply to the "Commissions" for "out-entries" which admitted and made new members outside, or away from, the Lodge.

The only contemporary use of the word in a Masonic sense that springs quickly to mind is that of Kilwinning, where undoubtedly the Court was the Lodge in session (and it was "fenced" at the beginning of each meeting, *i.e.*, a formal opening with a warning of penalties against disturbers). The haphazard use of the word Court at Dunblane would provide material for all kinds of interpretations, but the minute of December, 1703, seems to place the point beyond doubt:—

" . . . each meassone of this court who takes ane prentice to the meassone trade shall be obliged to pay . . . etc. . . ."

It is immediately clear that Bro. Hatten's argument that the Court meant the "principal officers", cannot be sustained in face of this regulation for at least two good reasons:—

- (1) This was a general regulation, and was not meant to apply only to a few selected members.
- (2) Throughout the periods of this minute book the "principal officers" were almost almost invariably the gentry, *i.e.*, non-operatives who would not have taken apprentices—and the regulation would be quite meaningless if we treat the word Court as representing only the "principal officers".

On the other hand, if we read the word as Lodge, then the regulation is identical with contemporary practice in other Scottish Lodges.

There is much valuable material in the minutes of this old Lodge, valuable, not merely for itself and for our present study, but because the minutes will be important for purposes of comparison with the records of other early Lodges.

Among the many interesting points that emerge from these old minutes, the following are noteworthy:—

- (a) From the very beginning, the Lodge was practising only a bigradal rite, *i.e.*, E.A. and F.C.
- (b) There is considerable evidence of "examination" between degrees with some indications of a qualifying test as a preliminary to promotion, but the test was undoubtedly a verbal one.
- (c) The appointment of "intenders", probably for the purpose of preparing the candidates for their "examinations".
- (d) The Ceremonies, as in the majority of contemporary Lodges (and unlike the early practice at Haughfoot) were conferred separately; but both grades were conferred in single-session whenever that was desirable.
- (e) The 1716 regulation which ordered a delay between the two degrees, except for gentry who could "not be present at a second dyet".
- (f) In 1726 several apprentices were entered and passed in separate sessions, but in 1730 (despite the 1716 regulation) a number of non-operatives were admitted E.A. and F.C. in single session, although at least one of them was resident in Dunblane.

- (g) The Lodge seems to have been very late in acquiring its knowledge of the third degree (1756 ?), and they did not confer it generally until about five years later. Within that period (but perhaps before), several of the members had acquired the degree, although there is no minute of their having been raised. They may have obtained the degree as a result of visits to other Lodges, and this must have been the normal method by which the knowledge of the ceremony was disseminated; there is also the possibility that the Lodge was holding separate unrecorded meetings as "Master's Nights".

Finally, there is one important subject upon which we lack information, that is the relation between the operative Lodge and the Trade Incorporation, and this applies to other Lodges besides Dunblane. Generally, it would appear that the Lodges dealt with internal matters of trade control, *e.g.*, entering and passing, the settlement of internal disputes, and the punishment of offenders.

The Trade Incorporations provided the link between the crafts and the town authorities. They gave the crafts a degree of representation in municipal government; they provided the means for the settlement of disputes between the crafts, and enabled the town to exercise a control over the crafts for the common weal. The Incorporations appointed or nominated the searchers for "false work", and also furnished the two or more "best and worthiest men of the crafts", who determined (presumably upon inspection of the "essays") whether apprentices were ready to be given their freedom. All this may be deduced from the Edinburgh records; but we need more and wider details.

I would like to add my thanks to Bro. Hatten for having helped to make the Dunblane minutes available to students.

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Bro. BERNARD JONES said:—

I agree with all who have spoken that Bro. Hatten has earned our thanks and warm congratulations. When, about seven or eight years ago, the late Dr. Johnstone showed me photographs of pages of the Dunblane minutes—not particularly good photographs, but of course the photographer had to cope with the problem of badly-faded ink and paper—I felt that the job he had undertaken was one of extreme, almost appalling, difficulty; and it is therefore with pleased surprise that I see both in the preliminary work of interpretation, Dr. Johnstone, and in the arduous task of the final interpretation and actual writing of the paper, Bro. Hatten, have succeeded in conveying so much information, and in affording such a valuable insight into the nature of the Dunblane minutes. I share Bro. Hatten's disappointment, to be read between the lines of his concluding paragraphs, that the minutes tell us little or nothing of the purely speculative side of the Lodge in its early days, as the word "speculative" is now understood by us, and I fear there will always remain the doubt whether the Dunblane Lodge can be regarded as a true link between an operative Lodge and a purely speculative one.

While I do indeed congratulate Bro. Hatten on having made the best of an extremely difficult task, I should like to ask him to look once again into the question of the burden on the operative members and others of the system of fines common in the Lodge. He says that the scale seems preposterously high; I quote his words: "The fine of 12 pounds scots = £1 sterling for absence from the St. John's Day meeting might be two months' wages from a working Mason, and might seriously embarrass even the lairds who, like nearly everyone in Dunblane, were very short of actual coin". Now *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word*, by Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones (pp. 36 and 37) says that the Scots mason in the 1600 period earned somewhere about six shillings sterling a week in Ayr; that during the next forty years his wage was much the same in Edinburgh, rising towards the end of the period to 7s. 3d.; the authors indicate that wages in England were approximately the same, or a trifle higher, during this period. It would thus appear that a fine equal to £1 sterling might represent, say, three weeks' (quite enough), but not two *months'* wages.

I am very sure that Bro. Hatten deserves our warm thanks for his skill and assiduity in bringing a digest of the Dunblane minutes into the light of print.

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Bro. W. WAPLES writes:—

May I offer my congratulations to Bro. Hatten upon an excellent and informative paper, which, in my opinion, has added materially to a knowledge of the Transitional period of Masonry. I agree that 1696 may have seen a reorganisation of the old Lodge, and not necessarily the beginning of a new one. Possibly having been reduced to less than a quorum,

the Brethren were obliged to bring in non-working Masons in order to preserve the identity of the Lodge as a "Corporated" body of Dunblane. Alternatively, there is the possibility that the non-working Masons were using the "freedom" of the Lodge to secure social and political prestige. There are many points in the paper of special interest, but, in my view, that of the status of the Entered Apprentice is of first importance. The 1696 and 1703 entries obviously refer to operative tradesmen; after the latter date there appears a form of transition which is confirmed in 1719 and 1726, viz.:—

"28th December, 1719.

George Garnoch, Beltmaker and James Gillespie, Wright, were received admitted and entered apprentices to the said Lodge."

Seven years later, on 27th December, 1726, the normal period of Operative Apprenticeship, a minute reads:—

"Thereafter compeared Robert Mushet, George Garnoch and James Gillespie, who were *formerly entered apprentices* and after due examination were formally passed from the square to the compass and from Entered Apprentice to Fellows of Craft of this Lodge."

Is it reasonable to assume that Garnoch and Gillespie were gentlemen masons, and that they never intended to become working apprentice masons, and that their objective was to secure the "Freedom" of the Lodge in order to qualify themselves for the "Freedom" of Dunblane? Five years later, on 28th December, 1730, a further transition in the functions of the Lodge is shown; the minute reads:—

"The same day compeared Lieutenant Alexander Lessly of Quaiter, Mr. Robert Pearson Advocate, Mr. Thomas Moncrieff Writer in Edinburgh, Mr. James Russel, Commissary Clerk and Bailie of the Regality of Dunblane, and William Beatt Writing Master, and having craved they might be orderly admitted Apprentices of this Lodge—Thereafter having been examined and found duly qualified were past from Apprentices to be Fellows of Craft—etc."

This entry is of special significance, for it shows clearly that the above gentlemen were admitted Apprentices and passed Fellow-Crafts the same day.

Thus the Dunblane Minutes show that

- (1) In 1696 and 1703 the Enter-apprentices were Operative Masons.
- (2) In 1719 two Gentlemen Masons were made Entered Apprentices and passed Fellow-Crafts seven years later.
- (3) Five professional Gentlemen were admitted Apprentices and passed Fellow-Crafts within 24 hours.

Entries after 1732 appear to offer a rapid change-over to Speculative Masonry, probably due to the trend of the times.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK writes:—

It has long been realised that a mine of historical material, largely unpublished, is to be found in Scotland, and Bro. Hatten's study of the early records of the Lodge of Dunblane is of real importance. Our late Bro. Knoop's theory, hotly contested at the time by many of us, that the bridge between operative and speculative Masonry rested mainly on Scotland at the operative end, is now being more and more fully justified.

It is interesting to see how the Scots, recognising a good thing in our own Grand Lodge, rapidly adopted it, though the Brethren of Dunblane had to use Anderson's *Constitutions* about a century before their own was published.

Those who seek Jacobite influence in the Craft will be cheered by the opening paragraphs and a later passage. This was merely a passing phase, but one that might have had serious consequences in the formative years of Grand Lodge Freemasonry.

Dunblane appears to have emerged from the operative stage fairly early; in 1703 we have different scales of "fine" for tradesmen and "not tradesmen". After 1714 the operative element recedes into the background, but for some time the Lodge is identified closely with the Incorporation of Masons. The communal mort-cloth, a common feature of gild life, is in use, and the ceremony of Passing takes one "from the Square to the compass". That awful and blessed expression, *The Mason Word*, receives its due respect, but one wonders why, in 1736, several gentlemen, who were not going to be useful members by reason of their

locality, sought admission. Did they propose to form a Lodge elsewhere, or were they Jacobites seeking cover for their designs—an interesting, though probably unprofitable, speculation?

The “branch Lodge” of 1756 is interesting. The Master Mason degree was now almost universal, but we only find it reaching Dunblane this year. Altogether, Bro. Hatten’s paper enriches our pages and will long be a source of reference for the student of Scottish Freemasonry.

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Bro. HATTEN writes in reply:—

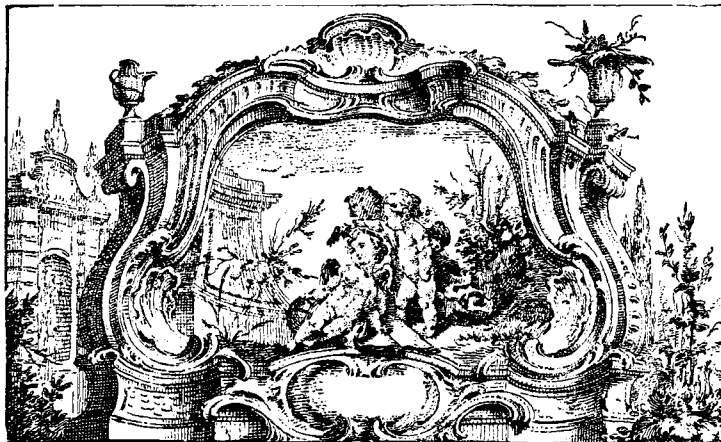
I am much flattered by the kindness of the reception by the members of the Lodge and by the Masters of the Craft of Masonic research of the “essay” of one who is but an apprentice; and the constructive comments they have appended have opened up vistas which I had before failed to perceive.

From Bro. Carr I had much help from the first in constructing the paper, in its arrangement, and in my endeavours to interpret the evidence afforded by the minutes, and his comments here serve further to expand and elucidate many matters where I have been puzzled.

I frankly admit that my definition of that continually recurring word “the Court” as “the principal Officers . . . as it were, an Executive Committee”, is entirely wrong, and I cannot sustain it for a moment against Bro. Carr’s argument. As an expert on Scottish Lodges and Trade Incorporations, Bro. Carr’s opinion on that most confusing matter, the relation between Dunblane Lodge and Incorporation, is most valuable.

I must admit a mistake pointed out by Bro. Bernard Jones concerning the burden of fines imposed on “workmen” in 1696; my over-estimate of this was due to a failure to verify my references.

Bro. Waples has been very acute in noting that two non-operatives were entered Apprentices in 1719 and passed to Fellow-of-Craft exactly seven years later; and his suggestion that they did this in order that their “freedom” of the Lodge might qualify them for the “freedom” of the City is a most ingenious speculation: but on reflection and advice I do not think it can possibly be admitted. Neither man was a mason by trade, and there is nothing in the wording of the minutes to suggest that the “degrees” they took were anything to do with the Incorporation. The possession of the status of Fellow-of-Craft in a Lodge, by itself, would not qualify the holder for that of Burgess of the City.





FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1954

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. S. Pope, P.Pr.G.R. (Kent), W.M.; Norman Rogers, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., J.P., P.Dep.G.Sw.B., P.M., Treasurer; J. R. Dashwood, P.G.D., Secretary; Lewis Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M., D.C.; B. W. Oliver, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; H. Carr, L.G.R., I.G.; H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D., P.M.; and H. C. Booth, B.Sc., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Hughes, H. S. Aberg, W. Taylor, G. W. Watson, R. C. W. Hunter, F. L. Bradshaw, C. T. Brynion, F. Holt, T. W. Marsh, H. W. Piper, N. N. Jovetz-Tereschenko, F. O. Sibley, A. P. Cawadias, T. Odamtten, G. D. Elvidge, W. H. Stanyon, M. R. Wagner, H. S. Buffery, A. Beecher-Stow, R. A. Pratley, T. A. Sanson, G. C. Lockett, Sir George Boag, P. J. Watts, C. Madison Roberts, B. Foskett, R. W. Reynolds Davies, O. J. Hunter, O. Jacobs, A. F. Ford, H. M. Yeatman, S. E. Ward, and A. I. Sharp.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. F. Hall, Lodge 2697; H. W. J. Strickland, Lodge 646; A. C. Gooding, Lodge 2182; M. J. Colorotinis, Lodge 7270; J. N. Diaconis, Lodge 7270; F. Cleonley, Lodge 5673; and L. N. Gierks, Sweden.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were recorded from Bros. Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M., J.W.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, O.B.E., P.Pr.G.Sec. (Armagh); J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby); F. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.G.D., P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, B.Sc., P.G.D. (I.C.); W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., P.M.; J. R. Rylands, M.Sc., J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Waples, P.Pr.G.R. (Durham); A. J. B. Milborne, P.Dist.Dep.G.M. (Montreal); R. J. Meekren, P.G.D. (Quebec); N. B. Spencer, P.G.D., Steward; G. Brett, P.M. Lodge 1494; and G. S. Draffen, M.B.E., Grand Librarian of Scotland.

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One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and fifty-one Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The following EXHIBITS were displayed:—

Lent by the Grand Lodge of England:

Athol Warrant No. 189, dated 1774, and re-issued in 1802 to All Saints' Lodge, Wooler.  
Minute Book (1818-1825) of All Saints' Lodge, Wooler.

Lent by Heart of Glendale Lodge No. 4005, Wooler:

Minute Book (1850-1860) of All Saints' Lodge No. 161, Wooler.

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An interesting paper was read by Bro. H. C. BOOTH, entitled *The All Saints Lodges at Wooler*, as follows:—

## THE "ALL SAINTS LODGES" AT WOOLER

BY BRO. H. C. BOOTH, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.



ACCORDING to John Lane's *Masonic Records*, there were two "All Saints Lodges" at Wooller, each at a different period.

The first was a Lodge under the "Moderns" and I have not been able to find any records beyond that given by Lane on page 124, which is very brief indeed:—

"All Saints Lodge, Wooller, Northumberland, 1762, Date of Warrant 1st Jan. 1762, No. 268 in 1753 registration; and 212 in the 1770 registration", and underneath in small print, "Erased 28 April 1775". So it existed only 13 years.

In John Strachan's *Northumbrian Masonry*, 1898, I find the following note concerning this Lodge:—

"Of the working of this Lodge little is now known: but an old minute book of the Kelso Lodge (Scottish) states that in Dec. 1761 at the request of a number of gentlemen, all Masons, in the town of Wooller, a large deputation of the lodge went to that town to assist in forming a lodge there, and that on 25th July 1765 a deputation went to assist at the laying of the foundation-stone of Wooller Church at the request of the All Saints Lodge there."

Vernon's remarks, in his *History of Freemasonry in Roxburgh*, concerning a visit of the Kelso Masons to chapel in 1777, are interesting:—

The procession to the place of worship must have been very interesting; in fancy we can see those worthy old Brethren with their three-cornered hats, knee-breeches, black silk stockings, white gloves, and aprons, with all the insignia of their office, and green sashes, walking to the chapel, headed by a band consisting of a hautboy, drum, fife, and three fiddles.

The second Lodge was a Lodge under the "Ancients" or Athol Masons, and Lane records, on page 141, as follows:—

All Saints Lodge, Black Bull Inn, Hight St., Wooller, Northumberland, 1802. Date of Warrant 13th Dec. 1802 A. No. 189B. No. at the Union 1814.231; 1832.161; 1863.138.

Blue Bell Inn High St. Wooller	...	1806
Black Bull Inn	... ..	1806
Anchor Inn	... ..	1812
Sun Inn	... ..	1833

Erased 7th May 1866

With regard to the second, "All Saints Lodge, Wooller", I have been able to gather quite a lot of history.

There are in existence three minute books of the Lodge, covering three separate periods as follows:—

A. In Grand Lodge Library	Period March 27th 1818 to Dec. 12th 1820
B. In Prov.Gd. Lodge Northumberland	„ Dec. 27th 1839 to Dec. 1850
C. In Heart of Glendale Lodge Wooller	„ Dec. 27th 1850 to Dec. 27th 1860

From copies of letters and returns in the files in Grand Lodge Library, I have been able to piece together the founding of the Lodge and its early years, practically up to the first date in the minute book A. There is a gap of 19 years between the end of that book and minute book B, but John Strachan gives a short account of a Provincial Visit to the Lodge, which is interesting.

At this period in history, there were a number of Athol Lodges working in the area:—

St. George's, Berwick (A.70)	1758-1827
St. Cuthbert, Tweedmouth (A.133)	1764-1812
Lord Delaval, Ford (A.140)	1766-1827
St. David's, Berwick (A.179)	1772-1828
Athol Lodge, Newcastle (A.131B)	1805-Now No. 24
Percy Lodge, Morpeth (A.145)	1810-1828

The second "All Saints Lodge Wooler" was formed on a re-issued warrant of the Athol Grand Lodge on 13th December, 1802 (189B.).

Re-issue. The reason for this curious practice was that the 1799 Act of Parliament regulating Secret Societies (following on the heels of the French Revolution) was construed to mean that no new lodges were permitted, but that if warranted before the Act they were lawful. Hence arose the practice, when a new lodge was desired, of purchasing an old warrant and so obtaining what was deemed to be lawful authority. That Act still exists to some extent in the required annual return made by lodges to the Clerk of the Peace.

The original Warrant had been issued to a Lodge at the Sign of the Duke of Devonshire, Childers, in Goose Lane, in the town of Macclesfield, 7th June, 1774.

Among the correspondence, I found the following letter about the warrant:—

June 30th 1801 Macclesfield.

I take the Erllist Opportunity of Acquainting you, that we had a Meeting in commemoration of St. Johns only 6 Brothens attended, Peter Johnson Master, Thos. Shufflebotham of Congleton S.W., Peter Swindels of Macclesfield J.W., Tyler & 2 broren.

The reason we have not sent up contributions to our minds to the Grand Fund was owing to being so few Brothen which we hope you'l not take amiss, we at the same time Unanimously agreed to dissolve Lodge 189, Likewise thought we was in Duty Bound to Return your Warrant.

With Master ; S.W. ; J.W. ; Tyler & 2 Brothren Most Respectfull aprobation and Humble thanks.

N.B. the above Brothren all signed their Names in Lodge Book as above.

From Your Well Wisher & Bro.

Peter Johnson  
Union Chestergate.

On the back is written:—

189  
Warr recd 7 July 1801  
Lodge dissolved  
Carriage Pd 2/10  
Macclesfield.

This original Warrant is now in Grand Lodge Library and you will find it simply endorsed on the back:—

1802 Transferred to be held at Wooler or elsewhere in the County of Northumberland upon the Second & Fourth Tuesday of every month and upon all other Lawful Occasions subject nevertheless to the within proviso and all other rules and regulations of the R.W. Grand Lodge. By Order of His Grace John Duke of Athol R. Worshipful Grand Master

Robt. Leslie G.S.

Jno. Gould G.S.W.

Edw. Harper D.G.S.

Thos. Harper D.G.M.

The first letter from Wooler is dated March 11th, 1802, and was sent to the Athol Grand Lodge with a Petition drafted:—

March 11 1802 Wooler  
At a Meeting Held at the House of Mr Nathaniel Duncan Innkeeper, Black Bull,  
All Saints Lodge Wooler.  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Gregson Master  
James Robson Senr. Warden  
George Henderson Jnr. Warden  
Jas. Watt Sect.  
Jas. Middlemess  
Selby Morton visiting Brother  
Francis Bell Ellison visiting Brother  
William Compton St. Georges No. 70 Berwick  
Wm. Donovan St. Georges No. 70

On back:—

William Ramsey Senr Warden St. Cuthberts Lodge 133  
John Johnson Junr. Warden ditto  
Peter Hately  
William Christion  
William Pratt  
Robt. Davidson  
Michael Carens

Wooler

Sir & Brother

The humble Petition of John Gregson, James Robson, George Henderson and other Brethren sheweth.

That some years ago a Lodge of Ancient Masons was held at Wooler in the County of Northumberland by the Name of All Saints Lodge, which owing to the Loss of their Warrant has long been discontinued.

That the remaining Members of the Lodge and some Brethren, Lovers of Masonry, who have fixed their Residence in this Neighbourhood have an earnest Desire for a New Warrant and humbly Petition the Honorable the Grand Lodge to grant them one or to send such Instructions as may enable them to obtain one. And your Petitioners &c. &c. Signed.

Please to direct to John Gregson Esq. Wooler Northumberland.

A small slip of paper was attached to this letter on which someone had written:—

268 All Saints Lodge  
Wooler Jan 1st 1762

I.I.M.            M  
                      —  
                      SI

From this, it is evident that some at least of the Petitioners had been members of the old Lodge under the "Moderns", but as some of the visiting Brethren were Athol Masons, they would no doubt advise writing to the Athol Grand Lodge. The "Moderns" were notoriously slack in looking after their Lodges and attending to correspondence.

The Wooler Brethren evidently got a reply to their letter, for we find a letter and Application for Warrant addressed to Mr. Harper Jewlar, London, dated 27th October, 1802:—

Wooler 27 October 1802

Att A Metting this Day Resolved that the Intended Members Belonging to All Saints Lodge Wooler Requests of you Brother Harper or Brother Lessley to forward the Warrant and other Docuements for Our Use as Bequested Before by us. We would have wrote sooner But the Worshipfull Intended being from Home was the cause of the Delay as such I hope your Goodness Will Excuse youl Plise draw upon John Gregson Esq., the Intended Master for the cash as before Mentioned att Wooler Cottage Northumberland the Names to be Inserted in the Warrant as follows

On back:—

John Gregson Esq.	Master
James Robson Esq.	S. Warden
Mr. George Henderson	J. do.
Mr. James Watt	G. Secretary

Payable att the Berwick Bank  
Ten Days after Date for your Charges &c.

We are yours Sir and Brethren

Mr. Harper Jewlar.	Jno. Gregson
London.	Jams Watt

I can find no letters in 1803, but the return must have been sent, as it is referred to in the next letter of 30th March, 1804, where we find a complete change of officers, for John Gregson, James Robson and James Watt have disappeared. The Secretary is Alexander Dalziel, who was initiated in the Lodge on 31st October, 1803 (from later records).

All Sts. Lodge Wooler 30th March 1804.

Agreeable to the 25th article of our Book of by laws I have returned the Names of the Officers appointed this year. On St. John's day the following Brethren were duly elected

Brother George Henderson, Mason	Wooler	W. Master
Brother William Armstrong, Roper	..	S.W.
Brother John Grey, Sadler	..	J.W.
Brother John Patterson, Tin Smith	..	S.D.
Brother Watson Taylor, BlackSmith	..	J.D.
Brother Alex. Dalziel, Gardener	..	Secty.
Brother Nathaniel Duncan, Innkeeper	..	Trea.
Brothers Richard Elliot		

John Armstrong Stewards

The last Secretary sent a correct list of all the Members in Dec. last, and of course I shall send a list of all that shall be entered while I am in Office. This is not signed agreeable to the forementioned article as the Past Master and past Senior Warden have removed to a considerable distance. We therefore judge that the past officers present would serve to countersign this return.

If there is anything more necessary for us to do please return us directions and we will gladly obey.

George Henderson Ex J.W.

James Watt Ex Secty.

George Henderson Master.

Alex. Dalziel Secty.

Sent to Mr. Leslie Attorney and Notary. No. 28 Tokenhouse Yard London

The next letter is the return for 1806, and again there is a change, for Alex. Dalziel is now Master and the Wardens are Watson Taylor and John Patterson. Some rapid promotion—initiated 1803 and now Master in 1806!

Return sent to Robert Leslie Esq. Attorney &amp; Notary 1806:—

List of the Members of Lodge No. 189 held at the Black Bull in Wooler made since last return and returned to the Grand Lodge the 15th day of March 1806 with their respective payments.

Date when made or joined 1905	Name	Profession	Residence	£. s. d.	Remarks
March 30th	George Pringle	Innkeeper	Beadnell	. 6 .	—
Oct. 9th	Ralph Thompson	Joiner	Coupland	. 6 .	—
.. 18th	John Hopper	Gent.	Wooler	. 6 .	—
.. 25th	James Gardener	Roper	do.	. 6 .	—
.. 30th	Joseph Thompson	Merchant	do.	. 6 .	—
.. 30th	Robert Taylor	Weaver	do.	. 6 .	—
	Edward Turnbull Secretary		Alex. Dalziel	Master	
			Watson Taylor	Senr. Warden	
			John Patterson	Junr. Warden	

Wooler 15th March 1806.

R.W. Sir & Brother,

Inclosed I send you Five pounds in small Bank of England Notes being £1-16-0 for 6 new made Brethren. £1-1-0 for an annual Subscription to the Fund of the Grand Lodge & £2-3-0 for a subscription to the Patriotic Fund att Lloyds Coffee House.

Robert Leslie Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

I am Right Worshipful Sir & Brother  
Your sincere friend & Brother  
Edward Turnbull Secty.

Now we come to the troubles which caused a complete change of the officers in 1804 from the Master down.

Letter to Robert Leslie, Esq.:—

Wooler May 13th 1809

We duly recd. your favour of 20th March stating you had recd. a letter from Jas. Watts Charging the late Officer with squandering the Money belonging to our Lodge, in consequence of such charges we have had several Meetings, & after Investigating the Books it appears to us that Jas. Watts & Geo. Henderson with some others of the officers at the Founding of the Society have been the only persons that are blame worthy especially Jas. Watts & Geo. Henderson. They being the only persons during the Infancy of the Lodge that took an active part for three years & upwards the Greatest part of our Members were made during that time, consequently the greatest part of the Money came through their hands, & Instead of paying the money they Borrowed at the Institution of the Lodge they Spent & Destroyed it & as their money turned less by reason of their extravagance they turned more keen of making Masons & admitted many Members such as themselves Unworthy the Name of a Mason ; in particular Jas. Watts stood Charged to the Lodge a considerable time previous to his writing you for several things of a Curious Nature, also he has been charged with having The Masters Lecture by him with their parts of passing & Raising in his own hand writing ; likewise the year he was Secretary he Stands due the Lodge £11 odd with several things too tedious to mention.

Suffice it to say he has dishonoured 3 Different Summonses from the Lodge to answer for his Misconduct, in consequence of which we have expelled him from the Society, for over two different times there had been Voluntry Subscriptions to defray this trifle of 3£ & at present there is a Subscription equivilent to the debt but in consequence of the House where we hold the Lodge being partly concerned in the Security for the Money has behaved in such an Indecent Manner as to report in Public that they will lay hold of the Jewels & Furniture of the Lodge by the advice of some of the other parties but their Schysms & party Spirited Sycophant have thrown all Subscriptions of that Nature aside by the very Injudicious manner of their behaviour of late.

They have brought the Lodge into complete Ridicule & contempt so that the Sensable Part of the Members will no longer Associate with them. We the present officers and the 3 last past Masters whose Names are Hereunto Subscribed do declare upon the word of a Mason that we cannot in conscience associate any longer with them ; further that we have entered into Voluntry Subscriptions with a Great Majority of the respectable part of the Brethren to purchase new Jewels & Furniture, Humbly hoping you will grant us a Warrant to remove or establish a Lodge at Mr. Robt. Campbells Angel Inn Wooler, trusting with your advice how to proceed that we will be able to form a respectable Society Worthy of your Notice & Patronage—your early Answr. will be deemed a great favour & oblige

Dr. Sir & Brother

Your Obed.

Geo Bolton Master

Alex. Dalziel P.M.

Watson Taylor P.M.

Richard Elliott P.M.

Walter Cuthbertson S.W.

John Cooper S.D.

Jos. Armstrong J.D.

Jn. Patterson

Geo. Mills

Peter Diamond

Geo. Wilkie Secretary

Robt. Taylor Treas.

P.S. Mr. Selby Merton Master of Tweedmouth Lodge Knows every particular matter concerning our Lodge.

18th December, 1815. A very interesting letter from Alex. Dalziel to Mr. Ed. Harper about the state of the Craft in the north. Book J. and B. mentioned, also mention of the R.A.:—

Wooler 18th Dec. 1815.

I had your much esteemed favour of 16th Sept. respecting those brethren who have hitherto resisted the commands of the Grand Lodge in not paying quarterage, a list of whose names shall be subjoined to that of the contributing members when forwarded with their quarterage and I can assure you, Sir I have exerted the utmost of my power on this as well as all other occasions since I joined the society, to promote the interest of this Lodge and the craft in general, by acting in strict conformity to the excellent rules & regulations contained in our books of Constitutions & Byelaws, and other enactments for the Government of the Craft, but I felt great difficulty in Reconciling many of the brethren of our Lodge who have even paid quarterage, on account of the insinuations of others who were impressed with an idea that the Grand Lodge would not extend their Charity to brethren of Country Lodges even in the most pressing emergency. Now if the Grand Lodge will grant any relief to the brother whose case is stated in the enclosed sheet it will immediately remove those doubts which are entertained by many of the brethren of our own and other neighbouring (Lodges) and be the means of bringing many forward to pay quarterage who are at present quite averse to it. We would gladly know if there is yet an edition (printed) of the Union Constitution &c. and whether any other Measures have been adopted to convey instructions to county Lodges than that of sending deputies to the Lodge of Reconciliation, as it is quite out of the power of this and many other county Lodges to send deputies—and after much money expended on my own part and long perseverance in searching after Masonry for the information of this Society, as a matter of great regret I must say I am extremely mortified and disappointed to find, that excepting Brothers Morton & Ramsay of St. Cuthberts, Tweedmouth with whom I have often laboured, I can find little better in general practice in the North of England than what is contained in that called J. & B. and the practice of which can never tend to effect the grand intention of—and so corrupted is the science in many parts, that a brother of ours who now resides in Glasgow, and has visited many Lodges in the North, informed me, that immediately after their initiation in those parts they were advised to purchase J. & B. for their instructions.

I have seen some of Finche's publications in the hands of strange brethren and altho' they certainly excite great curiosity in Masons who are anxious for information and can derive it from no other source, we have determined to adhere strictly to the injunctions of the Grand Lodge not to purchase any of them.

(Signed) Alex. Dalziel

N.B. Is Royal Arch  
Certificate granted  
on the same terms as usual.

13th August, 1816. An interesting letter on the case of a Brother Elliot and the Royal Arch:—

All Saints Lodge No. 231  
Anchor Inn Wooler 13th Aug. 1816.

We were favoured with yours of 2nd inst and we are extremely sorry that Brother Elliot is so unfortunate as not to have been returned to the Grand Lodge for register either by All Saints or Ford Lodge, but it was never considered by our Lodge as necessary to register Sojourners with the fee of 2/6 until the Union of the two fraternities of Ancient and Modern Masons, as we can find no rule to that effect either in the book of Constitutions, Byelaws or any quarterly or other communications from the Grand Lodge prior to that time. Nor can any reasonable person for a moment suppose that by not registering Brother Elliot the Lodge had any intention of defrauding the Grand Lodge as his name has always been regularly returned, with the date when joined, whenever a full list of free members was sent to the Grand Lodge, and if any fraud had been intended we certainly could expect nothing short of being detected, especially as brother Elliots name has been so often returned as an officer of this Lodge, and we cannot help considering it a matter of wonder that their should have been no objections to his being registered as a Royal Arch Mason in the books of the Grand Chapter and also obtaining a

Grand Lodge Royal Arch Certificate which he had from you in 1807 without having been registered in the Grand Lodge as a Master Mason.

We cannot suggest any plan by which means you may represent this matter in a better light, that must rest entirely with yourself, nor have we anything to advance in addition to what we laid before you in our two former letters in behalf of Brother Elliot, only this we can assert he is at present an object perfectly calculated to excite the commiseration of every feeling heart.

We would gladly know from you what we are next to do concerning his register and how it can be dated in the Grand Lodge books. We find it is eight years since any Master was elected at Ford and Mr. Tas, Laidler, Fenton near Ford was the last person who was chosen for that office, but the Warrant, furniture, Books, Jewels &c. are in the possession of a Brother Wm. Burn, Ford, son of the late Wm. Burn who was different Master of the said Lodge.

As to Brother Elliot going to Ford to be initiated in preference to the Lodge in the place where he resided we have had sufficient proofs that it proceeded from no impure motive nor any contempt of this Lodge whatever, but as he carried on the Joiner business in the country line at that time as well as the Cabinet making he had a good deal of employment in the neighbourhood of Ford, and being totally ignorant of the nature or principles of the institution previous to joining it he was influenced by a brother of St. Johns Lodge, a very particular friend of his, but after his initiation he soon saw the propriety of joining All Saints Lodge for the convenience of regular communication &c. The then presiding officers Of All Saints Lodge Knew no rule for insisting upon a certificate from his Mothers Lodge being produced consequently none was required of Brother Elliot, nor did he desire one from Ford Lodge.

(Signed by)	Wm. Dalziel	W. Master
	Alex. Dalziel	P. Master
	Wm. Kay	Senr. Warden

John Gallon Secty.  
To Mr. Edw. Harper,  
207 Fleet Street,  
Temple Bar,  
London.

Now we come to the first existing Minute Book, that in the Library of Grand Lodge. The book begins on 27th March, 1818, with a full description of the laying of a foundation stone.

#### MINUTE BOOK 1818

All Sts. Lodge No. 231 Anchor Inn Wooler 27th March.

The Brethren having been duly summoned and invitations Given to most Lodges in the district a Master Masons Lodge, and Royal Arch Chapter were opened at 8 O'Clock A.M. for the purpose of walking in Procession to lay the foundation Stone of a new Meeting House, for the Congregation of Protestant dissenters at the West Chapel (the Rev. Mr. Mitchele Minister).

At half past 12 o'clock the Lodge All Saints accompanied by Deputations of the Beaumont and Tweed Lodges, with several Visiting Brothers from St. Davids Lodge Berwick, St. Johns Lodge Ford and 7th Veteran Batalian Lodge &c. &c. proceeded in Masonic Procession to a Site fixed for the said building, were joined by a Deputation of the Trustees, Elders and others of the said Congregation and the foundation Stone was (at the request of All Sts. Lodge) laid by Mr. Richd. Jobson Turvelaws (an aged member), underneath the stone were deposited in a sealed bottle various Coins of his present Majesty and a Roll of Parchment containing a list of the presiding Officers of the Society, and the names of the Lodges attending; After which an appropriate Oration was delivered by Brother Joseph Armstrong Senr. to a numerous and respectable Audience; the whole of the Ceremony was performed with the greatest regularity and propriety and gave the utmost satisfaction to the Trustees &c. of the said Congregation.

The day being remarkably fine, the Procession moved off from the Site by the West part of the Town, and entered it again by Church Street which they passed through and retired to their Lodge Room, where they dined, and a handsome subscription was made by the Brethren in aid of the Building. Many Loyal and appropriate toasts were drank, and the remainder of the day was spent with becoming hilarity; and the utmost decorum having characterised the whole proceedings of the day the Lodge was closed at 10 o'clock and the Brethren dismissed highly gratified.



The following Brethren were present on the above occasion viz.

John Young	W.M.	James Short
Geo. Henderson	P.M.	George Henderson Junr.
John Gallon	S.W.	Peter Diamond
Peter Dawson	J.W.	Robt. Smith
Thos. Pringle	S.D.	John Davy
John Armstrong	J.D.	Thos. Dixon
Wm. Kay	Architect of the Building	Francis Mills
Wm. Dalziel	Secretary	Joseph Armstrong Junr.
Geo. Young	Treasurer	David Turnbull
Joseph Armstrong	Senr.	Walter Cuthbertson
Richd. Elliot		Wm. Miller
Watson Taylor		Wm. Turner
Robert Hope		Thos. Cowans
Wm. Young		James Fairbairne
James Hills		Richard Thompson
Andrew Gray		George Beattie
<del>Thos. Pringle</del>		Thomas Douglass
John Cosser		Joseph Hope
Henry Gilroy		George Taylor
John Hume		Thomas Hall
Thos. Archbold		George Watson
George Dixon		George Weston
Robert Simm		John Dixon
Wm. Alexander		George Stephenson
Stephen Rogers		John Young
John Patterson		John Rule
George Pringle		Joseph Thompson
Wm. Reed		George Davison
James Chisholm		Wm. Moore
Robert Watson		James Gray
Henry Dixon		Thomas Watson
George Straughan		Thomas Dixon
John Taylor		Wm. Moffat

Deputation from the Beaumont Lodge

(Met at Yetholm Warranted by Scottish G.L. 1810)

George Henderson	Robert Elliot
Adam Smith	George Waddle

Deputation from Kelso Tweed Lodge (Scottish)

John Anderson	George Curl
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Visiting Brothers

Matthew Robertson	John Mole
Wm. Burn	Henry Young

Thomas Moffat  
Peter Borthwick

Tylers.

Stephen Rogers  
James Short

Entd. Passed & Raised.

The minutes of the meetings are very short and consist of a list of those present, with the names of the candidates, if any. For instance, at the meeting on 13th October, 1818, two candidates are Entered and Passed. At the following meeting, on November 10th, these two are Raised and four more candidates are Entered, Passed and Raised.

The next day, November 11th, an Emergency Meeting is called to walk in procession at the funeral of our late Bro. Robert Watson. All the officers attend, with quite a number of Brethren, making a total of 37 Brethren. At the bottom of the minute is stated: "A Collection amounting to £ -18-10 for the Widow of our deceased Brother Robt. Watson was made and the Lodge Closed."

At the monthly meeting on 9th February, 1819, Bro. Alex Dalziel brought forward his motion and presented a scheme for the establishment of a Benefit Society for Glendale and its vicinity, which was generally approved, and the said Alex Dalziel, Jo. Gallon, Thom. Armstrong, Jo. Armstrong, Geo. Watson, Wm. Dalziel and Jo. Young were appointed to draw up certain Resolutions for further promoting the views of the Institution.

At the meeting on March 9th, "Certain Resolutions drawn up by the Committee appointed at our last monthly meeting for promoting a Benefit Society were read and confirmed and Brother Alex Dalziel, Jo. Gallon, J. Watson Taylor were appointed to draw up a full set of Articles for the Management of the said Institution".

At the meeting on 11th May, "Brother Alex. Dalziel presented a copy of Regulations drawn up for the formation and management of a Friendly or Benefit Society for Glendale Ward and its vicinity which rules were generally confirmed and agreed to be sent to the Clerk of the General Quarter Sessions of the peace for Northumberland for his approbation".

From the minutes of the monthly meeting of July 13th, 1819:—

On a Motion being duly made by Bro. Alex. Dalziel and seconded by the W.Master (John Gallon) it was resolved unanimously, that the Committee that was constituted in the year 1814 to manage the affairs of this Lodge, shall from and after this date cease to exist, the whole of the Members Composing the Benefit Society of this Lodge Established in the year 1804 as well as those who subscribed towards clearing the Lodge Debt, having had the whole of their subscriptions refunded to them and the Lodge being Clear of Debt.

A Proposition being made by Bro. George Watson respecting a new Lodge Room the Brethren named Bros. Alex. Dalziel, John Gallon & Geo. Watson as a committee to hold a conference with Bro. Thos. Dixon the proprietor of the room, on the subject, and to give their report next Lodge night.

From the minutes of the monthly meeting on October 12th, 1819:—

At the above meeting it was resolved unanimously that the Lodge do meet at the Anchor Inn on Monday Nov. 1st being All Saints Day at 12 o'clock at noon and that they remove from thence to their own Hall which they intend to have dedicated to Masonry on the above mentioned day. The Worshipful Master was also Desired to order a Dinner for the society on the above mentioned Day and that the expense of the said Dinner do not exceed 3/6 for each member.

Anchor Inn Nov. 1st 1819 Being All Saints Day.

The Brethren of All Saints Lodge assembled at the Anchor Inn at 12 o'clock at Noon, the officers having taken their proper places the Lodge was opened in ample form; they then proceeded in Masonic Procession from the Anchor Inn to their own Lodge Room in Church Street. On the Brethren arriving at the Room Bro. Geo. Watson Proclaimed the following Brethren Grand Lodge Officers for the time being (he being authorised by dispensation from the Provincial Grand Lodge) viz. Bro. John Gallon M.W.G.M.; Bro. John Young M.W.P.G.M.; Bro. Watson Taylor R.W.S.G.W.; Bro. Thos. Watson R.W.J.G.W.; Bro. Alex Dalziel R.W.G.C.; Bro. John Young R.W.S.G.D.; Bro. John Taylor R.W.J.G.D.; Bro. Geo. Henderson V.W.G.T.; Bro. Geo. Watson V.W.G.Secty.; Bro. Thos. Dixon W.S.G.S.; Bro. John Gragam W.J.G.S.

The Brethren then made a Procession Three Times round the Hall, the Grand Master then Proclaimed duly dedicated to Masonry, The Grand Chaplain Strewed Corn, the Brethren made another Procession round the Hall and the Grand Master Proclaimed the Hall duly dedicated to Virtue the G.C. sprinkled Wine. The Brethren made another Procession round the Hall and the Grand Master Proclaimed the Hall duly dedicated to Universal Benevolence, the Grand Chaplain sprinkled Oil; An Anthem was sung by the Choiristers; An Ode delivered by Bro. Wm. Dalziel, other two Anthems were sung and another Ode delivered by Wm. Dalziel. An Oration was delivered at great length and very appropriate to the occasion by Bro. Alex. Dalziel, Grand Chaplain.

The Procession then moved from the Hall up Church Street, up High Street and along to the Tankerville Arms Inn where it halted a few minutes and partook of some refreshment it then retired by the same way it came and entered its own Hall at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, where the Brethren partook of an excellent Dinner prepared by Mr. Gallon of the Seven Stars Inn; After Dinner many appropriate and Loyal Toasts were drunk accompanied by several songs, and the remainder of the evening was spent with the greatest hilarity and conviviality, and the Lodge was closed in ample form at 7 o'clock in the evening; And the Brethren departed highly gratified.

At the monthly meeting held on December 14th for the purpose of electing the Master for the ensuing year, Bro. Alex. Dalziel was once again elected (34 members present).

A petition was presented from Bro. Lewis Stormont, comedian, soliciting the protection and support of the Brethren. It was agreed unanimously that he should have the Lodge Room gratis to perform in for two nights at least.

At the meeting on December 27th, 1819, Bro. Alex. Dalziel was duly installed as Master and appointed his officers.

At the monthly meeting on January 11th, 1820, the Master, Bro. Alex. Dalziel, appointed Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings in each week for private practice in the Lodge Room, which was unanimously agreed to. In the Minute Book this minute is followed by—

A List of the Members of the Lodge No. 231, All Saints, held at their own hall in Wooler in the County of Northumberland and also of the Masons made since the last Return made to the Grand Lodge.

When made or joined	Surname	Christian Name	Title, Profession or Business	Residence	
1802 Dec. 15th	Henderson	George	Mason	Wooler	
1803 Feb. 9th	Taylor	Watson	Nailor	do.	
.. May 11th	Guy	James	Steward	Doddington	
.. " 18th	Borthwick	Peter	Joiner	Wooler	
.. Aug. 10th	Elliot	Richd.	do.	do.	
.. Oct. 31st	Gilroy	Henry	Blacksmith	Hetton	
.. " "	Dalziel	Alexd.	Nurseryman	Wooler	
1804 Feb. 7th	Armstrong	Joseph	Shoemaker	do.	Dead
.. " "	Cosser	John	Blacksmith	do.	
.. June 25th	Mowat	John	Shepherd	Branden	Dead
.. Oct. 24th	Cuthbertson	Walter	Shoemaker	Wooler	
.. " 29th	Dougllass	Thos.	Earthen Ware Dealer	do.	
1805 Mar. 30th	Pringle	George	Innkeeper	Beadnell	
.. Oct. 25th	Dixon	Thos.	Blacksmith	Wooler	
.. " "	Pringle	Thos.	Taylor	do.	
.. Dec. 1st	Diamond	Peter	Painter	do.	
1806 Oct. 26th	Davison	George	Clockmaker	do.	
1808 Oct. 12th	Dixon	John	Weaver	do.	
.. " 28th	Dixon	Thos.	do.	do.	
1810 Dec. 10th	Kay	Thos.	Mason	do.	Dead
.. " "	Kay	Willm.	do.	do.	
1812 May 9th	Dalziel	Willm.	Gardener	do.	
.. " "	Young	John	Servant	do.	
1814 Jan. 11th	Stephens	Geo.	Grocer	do.	
.. " "	Dawson	Peter	do.	do.	
.. " 22nd	Mills	Francic	Mason	do.	
.. May 2nd	Young	John	Hatmaker	do.	
.. " "	Young	Geo.	Servant	do.	
.. " "	Archbold	Thos.	Shoemaker	Ford	
.. " 16th	Gallon	John	Weaver	Wooler	
.. Nov. 2nd	Watson	Thos.	Joiner	do.	
1817 April 8th	Hope	Robt.	Mason	Chatton	
.. " "	Simm	Robt.	Servant	Lilburn	
.. " "	Brown	Peter	Blacksmith	Wooler	
.. " "	Armstrong	John	Ropemaker	do.	
.. June 10th	Davison	George	Shepherd	Middleton	
.. " "	Beattie	George	Stationer	Bambrugh	
.. Oct. 14th	Young	Thos.	Butcher	Wooler	
.. " "	Alexander	Wm.	Schoolmaster	Fallden	
.. " "	Henderson	Geo.	Baker	Wooler	
1818 Jan. 13th	Moor	Willm.	Husbandman	Doddington	
.. " "	Dixon	Henry	Shoemaker	do.	
.. April 14th	Young	Willm.	Tinsmith	Belford	
.. " "	Straughan	Geo.	Servant	Wooler	
.. " "	Thompson	Richd.	do.	do.	
.. " "	Fairbairn	Jas.	do.	Ewait Park	
.. " "	Dixon	Geo.	Gamekeeper	Wooler	
.. July 14th	Cowan	Thomas	Grocer	do.	
.. " "	Turnbull	David	Butcher	do.	Dead
.. " "	Miller	Wm.	Shoemaker	do.	
.. " "	Armstrong	Joseph	do.	do.	
.. " "	Taylor	John	do.	do.	
.. Oct. 13th	Watson	George	Husbandman	do.	
.. " "	Davy	John	Joiner	do.	

	When made or joined	Surname	Christian Name	Title, Profession or Business	Residence
1818	Oct. 13th	Graham	John	Shoemaker	Wooler
"	" "	Reed	Willm.	do.	do.
"	" "	Hope	Joseph	Mason	do.
"	Dec. 27th	Hume	John	Joiner	do.
1819	Jan. 12th	Morton	Selby	Farmer	do.
"	" "	Rankin	George	Fishmonger	Holy Island
"	" "	Wilson	Willm.	do.	do.
"	" "	Hook	David	Farmer	Howtel
"	" "	Marshal	David	Stationer	Berwick
"	Feb. 9th	Burn	George	Taylor	Wooler
"	" "	Logan	John	do.	do.
1820	Jan. 11th	Robson	John	Plasterer	do.
"	April 11th	Brown	Robt.	Blacksmith	do.
"	Dec. 27th	Allan	Thos.	Shoemaker	do.
1821	Mar. 13th	Scott	Wm.	do.	do.
"	June 12th	Scott	James	Saddler	do.
"	" "	Watson	John	Tinsmith	do.
"	" "	Mills	Joseph	Mason	do.
"	Nov. 13th	Foster	James	do.	Fallowden
"	" "	Weir	Wm.	Joiner	Chillingham
"	" "	Rule	John	Slater	Wooler
"	" "	Kinghorn	Geo.	Nailer	do.
"	" "	Davis	Joseph	Teacher Music	do.
"	" "	Douglass	Robt.	Shoemaker	do.
1822	Oct. 8th	Mills	Saml.	Mason	do.

At the Monthly Meeting Holden at Freemasons Hall Wooler on 8th February 1820 Bro. Alex. Dalziel in the Chair.

The Lodge being opened in the Entered Apprentice Degree in form and with prayer, the W. Master proceeded to introduce a Lecture in the 1st Degree at much greater length than here-to-fore practiced in the said Lodge, and after a few appropriate remarks upon the subject of it from the Chair, the said Lecture together with the forms of Opening and Closing, and the Ceremony of Initiation, as introduced at the preceding monthly meeting, were fully approved by all the Brethren present and agreed to be established as a proper system of working in the first Degree of Masonry. The master proposed, that, on account of the additional subscriptions necessary from the Brethren for Lodge Room rent, and other incidentals; Brethren not paying quarterage to the Grand Lodge, may be admitted free Members of the Lodge All Saints; by paying all contributions due to the same, and in all other points acting in conformity to its General Bye-Laws. He also proposed that to defray the above expenses 6d. per month, for the present and three succeeding months be Collected from each of the Brethren. He further proposed that £10 per cent. be offered to Brother Thomas Dixon upon the value of the ground, and the expense of erecting thereon a Porch over the door of the Lodge, with a preparing room adjoining the same, as annual rent for such additions.

The above propositions were all agreed to, and the 3 keys of the Cash Box were presented to the W. Master, the Past Master & Brother Geo. Watson for the safe keeping of its contents on the Society's behalf.

Business being ended, the Lodge was closed in form and with Solemn Prayer.

Wm. Reed Secretary.

At the Stated Monthly Meeting of the Lodge of All Saints Holden at Freemasons Hall Wooler 14th March 1820. Brother Alex. Dalziel W.M. in the Chair.

The Lodge being opened in the Fellow Craft Degree in form and with prayer. The Master introduced a Lecture in the Second Degree with many additions, viz chiefly illustrations, to what had been formerly practiced in the Lodge when (besides the sanction of the Most Worshipful Grand Master authorising the Master of a Lodge to deliver the lectures in a manner best suited to his own abilities and the capacities of the Brethren of his Lodge) the whole of the Brethren present fully approved of the said lecture and allowed that it should be established as a proper system of working in the Fellow Crafts part in All Saints Lodge.

It was also proposed by the Master that the Committee of Management should be authorised to relieve travelling Brothers applying for aid with the limited sum of one Shilling out of the Lodge, if found worthy, to render unnecessary the un-

pleasant custom of Brethren of the above description collecting from house to house amongst the Brethren, which was unanimously agreed.

A proposal made by Brother Thos. Dixon was also stated from the Chair, viz., that 20 shillings per year be allowed by the Lodge to the said Thos. Dixon for erecting a preparing room on the left hand of the entrance to the Lodge and to be 7 or 8 feet wide by 11 or 12 feet long, with a fire place & 1 window in the same, and to be ceiled and otherwise finished correspondingly with the Lodge Room together with a Porch over the Lodge entrance and attached to the said preparing Room.

Which was unanimously agreed to.

Robt. Brown Junior was proposed to be Initiated and the Lodge agreed to hold the Second Monthly Meeting on the 28th inst. (as allowed by the Constitutions) for said purpose.

Business being ended the Lodge was closed in form and with solemn Prayer.

Wm. Reed Secty.

An Emergency the Second Monthly Meeting for March 1820 was held on the 28th of the said month.

And the Lodge being opened in form and with prayer Robt. Brown was Entered an Apprentice.

Nov. 14th 1820. At the stated Monthly Meeting of the Lodge held this evening. Notice was given by the Master of a Motion which he intended to make at the ensuing Monthly Meeting for appointing regular lecturers for the Lodge.

Robt. Brown Secty.

Dec. 12th 1820. Being the stated monthly meeting of the Lodge of All Saints it was proposed by the Master and unanimously agreed that Brother Wm. Dalziel, Brother Geo. Watson & Brother Francis Mills be appointed Lecturers for the Lodge, the former for the Lectures in the Master Masons Degree, the Second for the Lectures in the Fellow Craft Degree and the latter for the Lectures in the E.A. Prentice Degree. And in order to establish more fully the Lectures & other ceremonies as practiced in the said Lodge during the present Mastership the said Lectures are appointed to continue for the space of three years after Saint Johns Day ensuing.

Brother Thos. Archbold recd. a Donation of £5 from the United Grand Lodge in consequence of a petition for relief having been presented by him on 1st Nov. last.

Robt. Brown Secty.

This brings us to the end of the Minute Book in Grand Lodge Library. There is now a gap of nineteen years in which I can find no records available until 27th December, 1839, when the Minute Book in the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland begins. There is, however, a short record of a Provincial Visit to the Lodge on the 14th July, 1835, which is interesting.

The recording of this visit reads as follows:—

On the 14th of July, 1835, the D.P.G.M. Bro. Wm. Loraine, and Provincial Grand Officers visited All Saints Lodge No. 161 Wooler and marched in procession to the Lodge Room at the Sun Inn, where, after examining the books and records of the lodge, they entered in its minutes an account of their official visit, and that the Warrant of the Lodge, jewels, and other Masonic articles, were clear from any error; also, that "the Lodge was therefore free from payments to Grand Lodge or any local debt.

How different from a Provincial Visit of to-day.

I have been very carefully through the Minute Book in the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland, which covers the period December 27th, 1839, to December, 1850, and have come to the conclusion that the Lodge had practically become a benefit society. The only Initiations during the period I can trace—are six in 1848; two in 1849 and one in 1850. These are taken from a list in the Minute Book in the possession of "the Heart of Glendale Lodge", which covers the period 27th December, 1850, to 27th December, 1860. The Initiations in this period were three in 1851, one in 1852, and two in 1854.

From these records we see the very rapid deterioration of the Lodge. The recorded minutes, of the book held by "the Heart of Glendale Lodge, reveal that the only business referred to in the first five meetings is in connection with the Benevolent Fund, the average attendance being seventeen members.

The following passage is from the minutes of 1st November, 1851:—

The W. Master then produced two letters of the respective dates of Oct. 20th & 29th, which he had received from Bro. Wm. Punshon, of Gateshead; the former stating that as he, Bro. P., purposed attending the P.G. Lodge of Shields on the following Friday, in order to save our Lodge the extra expense of sending direct a representative on that occasion, he would if desired and furnished with the necessary instructions, voluntarily take upon himself, as an old honary member of All Saints Lodge the requisite duties; which of course was gratefully acceded to; the latter being an intimation that these duties had been performed. The members present ordered as a tribute of respect for Bro. Punshons voluntary services, that a minute of the same be entered upon the Book, which has been done accordingly.

In the minutes of meeting, 10th February, 1852:—

The S. Warden then proposed to hold a meeting on the first Tuesday in March to reestablish a Royal Arch Chapter.

In the minutes of meeting of 1st November, 1852, the Jubilee meeting:—

All Saints Lodge. Sun Inn Wooler 1st Nov. 1852.

Being fifty years since the Charter for All Saints Lodge was granted, the Brethren according to previous arrangement met to celebrate their Jubilee by having a Supper and Ball.

The Brethren recorded in the margin having opened the Lodge in the first degree the minutes were read and confirmed, after which it was proposed, seconded and carried that Bro. S. Percy be reelected to the Important Office of Treasurer and that Bro. E. Diamond take the Chair for the year ensuing.

There being no business of importance before the meeting the Lodge was called from labour to refreshment, when an excellent supper was served up by our Worthy Host in his usual good stile, to which ample justice was done by all present (19 Bros).

The Cloth having been removed and glasses charged the W. Master gave the Queen, Prince Albert and Royal family, the Earl of Zetland Grand Master of England &c.

He then in a feeling and impressive manner gave the toast of the evening coupled with the health of the Brethren then initiated, a few of whom he was proud to say were in the Lodge. The toast was responded to in suitable terms by Bros. Taylor, Elliott, & Cosser. After spending the evening in true Masonic harmony the Lodge was called from refreshment to labour and then closed the Lodge in form &c.

The Ball then commenced led off by four of the Brethren whose united ages were 305 and continued till a late hour.

John Dixon W.M.

Edmund Diamond Secty.

Watson Taylor S.W.

James Armstrong J.W.

In the minutes of meeting, January 13th, 1857:—

A letter was read by the W.M. from the Prov. Lodge strictly prohibiting them from Initiating Members into the Lodge for less than £3.13.6. William Winchester proposed in the minutes of meeting 10th March. Proposed and recorded that William Winchester have his proposition money 5/- returned to him he having made up his mind to Emigrate to America.

Sun Inn Wooler. Nov. 12th 1859.

At a meeting of Emergency in the Lodge it was proposed that Bro. Charteris W.M. and Bro. Dixon was proposed and agreed to by the Brethren present, that they were to go to Newcastle to meet a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge, to produce there Books and other matters concerning the Lodge of All Saints on the 26th of Nov. 1859.

(Eight Brethren present at the meeting above.)

Apparently, these Brethren went to Newcastle, for the next minute clears up the whole matter:—

All Saints Lodge No. 161. Sun Inn Wooler Feb. 14th 1860.

This being our regular Monthly Meeting the Brethren were duly summoned and attended the Lodge as recorded in the margin.

The Lodge was opened in form and with Solomn Prayer after a suspension of three months in consequence of some Misrepresentations by Brother Tullick of North Shields.

When all Books, Papers and Warrant was demanded by the Provincial of Newcastle and Berwick-on-Tweed. This summons being attended to by Brother Thomas Charteriss W.M. and Bro. John Dixon from All Saints Lodge when the above Warrant &c were deposited in the hands of the Right W.M. of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Northumberland for a time.

After which Brother Thomas Charteriss W.M. and Bro. John Dixon were again summoned by special command to hear report of P.G.L., which was read by P.G. Secretary Brother Thompson, which appeared more like the Snow flag on the Reaver, a moment white then gone for ever, these Misrepresentations being strongly protested against by the representatives of All Saints and by one Worthy Brother of P.G.L. Our Warrant, Books and Papers were returned to us again.

Our Lodge All Saints on the evening above stated proceeded and Installed the Master and officers as follows:—

Brother Thomas Charteriss W.M. ; Bro. Watson Taylor S.W. ; Bro. James Scott J.W. ; Bro. James Armstrong Treasurer ; Bro. John Dixon Secty. ; Bro. John Farrington S.D. ; Bro. John Elliott J.D. ; and Bro. John Stonehouse I.G. The Books with the Funds were delivered to Brother Armstrong with an additional sum of 10/- from Bro. George Lampton Esq. as Honoury Member of All Saints Lodge. On examining the Book kept by the preceding Treasurer, Robert Brown, his whole years subscription viz. 1859 being scratched out by himself with an additional sum of 2/- Quarterage to the G.L. of England, which he objected to pay, making our funds 8/- minus for that year. It was proposed that if not paid the Secty. would represent such unmasonic treatment to P.G.L. There being no other business of much importance the Lodge was closed in perfect harmony in form and with Solomn Prayer.

John Dixon Sectry.  
Thomas Charteriss W.M.  
Watson Taylor S.W.  
James Scott J.W.

There is a minute recording the annual Festival of St. John on 27th December, 1860, when Bro. James Scott is installed as W. Master, John Rule as S.W. ; Geo. Nichol as J.W. ; John Dixon as Secretary. Twenty members being present. Followed by the usual Supper and Ball. Then we come to the last minute in the book, 12th March, 1861.

*Note at the end of the old minute book at Provincial Grand Lodge.*

Minute Book All Saints Lodge No. 161.

Held at the Sun Inn Wooler. Dec. 27th 1839 to Dec. 1850.  
Wooler 3rd June 1884.

A meeting having been convened for the purpose of disposing, for the purpose of safe keeping, the Bible &c. &c. belonging to the surviving members of this Lodge. It was resolved to dispose of same to Bro. J. P. Simpson and Jas. Farguson W.M. of the Alnwick Lodge No. 1167 for a consideration to be paid by them who undertake the custody of same.

Geo. Nichol Chairman	} J.W. Dec. 27th 1860 }	
John Elliott		S.D. " "
John Stonehouse		Member " "
James Scott		W.M. " "

Note Geo. Nichol Shoemaker, Wooler Initiated 9th Feb 1836  
John Stonehouse, Miller, Wooler " 22nd Dec. 1835  
James Scott, Baker, Wooler " 11th April 1848

This concludes the History of the Lodge as far as can be gathered from correspondence and the minutes that have survived the years.

Let us go back to the first year of the Lodge.

At the meeting on 31st October, 1803, the Candidate was Alexander Dalziel, a young man of the full age of 21 years for he was born in Wooler on 22nd May, 1781. He must have been of outstanding ability for we find him appointed Secretary of the Lodge by March the next year. He is installed as W.M. 1806 and signs the return. He seems to carry the whole of the Lodge on his shoulders.

His great keenness for Masonry is particularly shown by his letter of 18th December, 1815, to Mr. Ed. Harper, G. Secretary of the "Ancients", which also reveals the general state of the Craft in the north and even in Scotland.

Yet five years later, when he is again W.M., he introduces into the Lodge a working and lectures of first degree on 8th February, 1820, and the same for the second degree on 14th March the same year. He is 39 years old and barely 20 years a Mason. Also he appoints three P.M.s as lecturers, one for each degree.

I am quite convinced that these workings and lectures were not his own compositions, but he must have had access to some very old MSS., for they contained matter that is not given in any of the normal lectures. For instance, many of the points mentioned by Bro. G. Oliver in his lecture to the Witham Lodge as being of the old working, are here given in full in their proper places.

The workings and lectures are definitely some years pre-Union, they contain many quotations and references to the New Testament, fixing them as dating from the time when Freemasonry was certainly Christian. As examples of what I mean by the old working, there are "The twelve standing points each point referring to one of the Tribes of Israel and why it is applied to that Tribe". "There is the reference to Ebrank, Blandud and Croceus in the 2nd lecture". "The Hieroglyphics in 3rd lecture".

The first degree lecture has seven sections, the second degree three sections. The third degree four sections and the astronomical lecture.

The following opening of the ritual is interesting, and I give it as the conclusion of this paper:—

The Brn. being all clothed the following arrangement of Officers, Ornaments, Furniture and Jewels takes place. The W.M. is seated in the E. with the T.B. before him, and on it the H.B. opened in R. with the C. & S. thereon, both p. of the C. under the S. The S.W. in the W. with the two Globes before him. The J.W. in the S.; The S. & J.D. at the R.H. of the W.M. and the S.W.; The P.M. in the S.E. with the book of Constitutions before him, and all other P.M.s in the S.E. also; M.M. in the S.W.; F.Cts. in the N.W. with the P.A. or C.S. before them; the E.A.P. in the N.E. with the R.A. before them. The Mosaic P., the blazing S. and the tas. border are represented by a circular board, the ground chequered, the Sun in the centre, with the planets and satellites round it, which with all the other emblems of Science are to be in the E. and the 3 lights in the E.S. & W.

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On the conclusion of the paper, a hearty vote of thanks was recorded on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W. A written comment was received from Bro. E. Ward; the lateness of the hour prohibited further comment.

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Bro. S. POPE said:—

Bro. Booth has given us a very interesting account of the two "All Saints Lodges" at Wooler. With regard to the first of these Lodges, which was under the "Moderns", we read: "In Dec., 1761, at the request of a number of gentlemen, all Masons in the town of Wooler, a large deputation of the (Kelso) Lodge went to that town to assist in forming a Lodge there." In 1761 there was a "Modern" Lodge at Newcastle and one under the "Ancients" at Berwick-on-Tweed, but as there would appear to have been some connection at this time between Wooler and Kelso, it is possible that these "gentlemen of Wooler" had previously made the journey to Kelso to be made Masons.

For about 20 years I have received a Christmas letter from a lady in Scotland who, in her youth, had assisted her father while he was either Secretary or Treasurer of this old Lodge at Kelso. She well remembers the Rev. George Gunn, of Stichill, a Past Master of this Lodge, who was a member of our Correspondence Circle in its early days. At that time Bro. W. F. Vernon, who contributed articles to our *Transactions* on Scottish Freemasonry, was our Local Secretary, and there were four members of our Circle in his Lodge.

Bro. Booth has gathered from many sources a full account of the second "All Saints Lodge" at Wooler. The population of Wooler, according to the Census of 1891, was 1,301, and that of the ecclesiastical parish 1,517. The only schoolmaster in the Lodge came from Fallowden, which in 1891 had a population of 76. When we read that as late as 1869 only one British child in two was receiving any education at all, one realises the difficulties encountered by Bro. Alex. Da'ziel in running this Lodge. The difficulty in communicating with Grand Lodge did not help, and the references to "J. & B." and the publications of William Finch are interesting.



Visitors at the dedication of the new Hall included some Military Brethren from the 7th Veteran Battalion Lodge. The minutes of Prince Edwin's Lodge No. 125 record:—

13th June 1814. Hythe Lodge No. 205. Mr. Josh. Rawlins of the 7th Veteran Battalion was at this meeting proposed, seconded, elected by ballot, initiated and passed.

One can imagine the welcome given to Bro. Lewis Stormont, the Comedian, on his appearance at this small town. Early minutes of our Lodges record visits of Brethren in the theatrical profession who sometimes assisted by giving Masonic lectures. The life of travelling members of the theatrical profession at this time was a hard one, and their appreciation of Freemasonry is voiced by that eccentric genius, George Parker (1732-1800), who, in his *Praise of Masonry*, writes: "To those who have to vary the stages of their lives as Itinerants there is hardly a more servicable or more honourable appellation than that of Free Mason."

As Bro. Booth points out, Bro. Alex. Dalziel appears to have carried the whole of the Lodge on his shoulders, and it is due to the zeal for the Craft of such Brethren that much of what we now have has been handed down to us.

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Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

This paper is typical of W. Bro. Booth, factual, succinct, and leaving precious little to say, except by way of congratulation for a contribution which does not detract from the usual high quality of papers given to this Lodge. If it has one fault, it is that it leaves those who have heard or read it extremely little to say, except perhaps to add additional information, and to put to the Lecturer the usual "piscatorial" queries.

His evidence of the use of "J. & B." is confirmatory of the opinions many of us have had of the value of the so-called Exposures; so are his minutes regarding the Lectures, which were evidently in that state of amplification which might also be applied to the Ritual. The interpolation that the M.W. the G.M. authorised "the Master of a Lodge to deliver the Lectures in a manner best suited to his own abilities and the capacities of the Brethren of his Lodge" was the result of a complaint to the Board of General Purposes, endorsed by Peter Gilkes, against Bros. Broadfoot, Satterly and McEvoy, of Stability Lodge of Instruction, that they were

"working lectures contrary to the stipulations of the Act of Union, they never having been in use in either branch of the Fraternity previous to the Union, and not having received any sanction from the Grand Lodge". (*Sadler's Illustrated History of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement*, pp. 109-112.)

The result of the controversy was that the Duke of Sussex, G.M., stated to Grand Lodge in December, 1819, that

"It was his opinion that so long as the Master of any Lodge observed exactly the Land Marks of the Craft, he was at liberty to give the Lectures in the language best suited to the character of the Lodge over which he presided . . . . But that any Master of a Lodge, on visiting another Lodge and approving of the Lectures delivered therein, is at liberty to promulgate the same from the Chair in his own Lodge, provided he has previously perfected himself in the instruction of the Master of the aforesaid Lodge."

This decision was approved by the Quarterly Communication held on 1st December, 1819, and it has not since been withdrawn or qualified. It is a precedent which appears to have been followed in subsequent attempts to establish a uniform ritual.

Another fact that should not be lost sight of is in the last paragraph, *i.e.*, "the H.B. opened in R.", along with the other details of the opening. There are so many attempts to standardise the ritual that we are sometimes inclined to forget that many old country Lodges and Chapters have customs dating back to pre-Union days. R. iv, 7, is quite a common opening in old "Antient" Lodges, but it would be more appropriate in the Chapter. Psalm cxxxiii is common in Old Yorkshire Lodges and also in America, and there are many variations in the 2° and 3°; but you would not, at this stage, wish me to give a dissertation on the implications of these differences.

Suffice it to say that we have to-day heard a paper which will have its place in our efforts to attain that enlightenment on past history that we all desire; it is, therefore, with the greatest of pleasure that I welcome the opportunity of seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Booth for his worthy contribution to the *Transactions* of this Lodge.

Bro. E. WARD writes:—

The minutes and correspondence in the first decades of the nineteenth century of provincial Lodges in general, and Athol Lodges in particular, often seem to follow a common pattern, and the history of the second All Saints Lodge probably provides a typical instance of the disturbing effect upon Masonry (as in other social matters) of the Napoleonic era.

We have here a Lodge which, within two years of its revival, has lost its original Master, S.W. and Secretary, and within four years not a single name originally on the founders' petition appears again, except in disgrace, in such correspondence as is preserved.

In the letter of December 18th, 1815, *i.e.*, before the decision made at the Union had become effective at Wooler, the reference to the general use by Northern Lodges of the material contained in "J. & B." is particularly interesting in that it appears to give authentic support to the theory that this exposure was in some way related to "Ancient" Working. One possibly significant way in which "J. & B." differs from "Three Distinct Knocks", from which it was mostly copied, is that it purports to include "The Instalment of a Master", and we know that formal installation of the W.M. was an important rite to the "Ancients" long after it had fallen into desuetude by the majority of "Modern" Lodges. The letter dated June 4th, 1813, refers to the officers who were "Installed" on the previous St. John's Day.

The allusion in the letter of May 13th, 1809, by which James Watts is charged with "having the Masters Lecture by him with their parts of passing and Raising in his own hand writing", is rather odd for the late date. One assumes it to mean the password leading to the raising, rather than some local telescopic innovation, but probably Bro. Booth will be able to shed light upon this. That it was fairly common practice to have handwritten *aides-mémoires* is generally agreed, and I have a MS. copy of Pritchard's *M.D.*, dated 1790, which clearly was used for this purpose.

In the petition dated 1802, the previous Lodge of "Ancient" Masons is referred to, and since it clearly stated that some of the petitioners were members of the previous Lodge it could be that the earlier Lodge had transferred its allegiance to the "Ancients". In *Solomon in all his Glory, 1777*, there is a list of "English Regular Lodges . . . by Order of the Grand Master", whose name is given as the Duke of Athol, with Laurence Dermott as "d.g.m." The list is stated as "Brought down to Feb. 10, 1768", and No. 268 reads, "All Saints Lodge at Wooler in Northumberland Jan 1, 1762". This list seems more "Modern" than "Ancient", and is not reliable, but I have not checked it against the engraved lists.

The second Lodge is quoted in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1807 as being held at Wooler.

I much regret not having had the opportunity to inspect the lectures and ritual, but agree with Bro. Booth (*Misc. Lat.*, v. 27, pp. 81-86) that the three personages referred to are most likely identifiable with the three British Kings, EBRAUCUS, BLADUD and CARAUSIUS. I do not think they originally came from Villani's *Universal History*, however, but a much more likely and earlier source, *viz.*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britanicum*, c. 1145. This fabulous work was translated by Aaron Thompson in 1718, reprinted in 1842, and again in 1908 in *Bohn's Antiquarian Library*, edited by J. A. Giles, from which the following are extracted:—

- p. 112 Mempricus being dead EBRAUCUS his son, a man of great stature and wonderful strength, took upon him the government of Britain, which he held for forty years . . . . After this he built a city on the other side of the Humber, which from his own name, he called Kaerebrauc, that is the city of Ebraucus [York] . . . he also built the city of Alclud [Dumbarton?] and the town of Mount Agned [Edinburgh].
- p. 114 Next succeeded BLADUD his son and reigned twenty years. He built Kaerbadus now Bath . . . This prince was a very ingenious man and taught necromancy in his Kingdom, nor did he leave off pursuing his magical operations, till he attempted to fly to the upper region of the air with wings which he had prepared . . .
- p. 159 Then he [CARAUSIUS King of Britain], to reward the Picts for this success gave them a habitation in Albania, where they continued afterwards mixed with the Britons.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes in reply:—

First of all, let me thank Bro. Pope, our Worshipful Master, for his kindly remarks on my paper.

With regard to the connection between Wooler and Kelso, I would point out that in those days there was regular visiting between the members of the "Ancient" and "Modern"

Lodges, and also the Scottish Lodges on the Border. The instructions with regard to visiting between "Ancients" and "Moderns" were practically ignored in the North of England. The very old Lodges, like Alnwick and Swalwell, were really neither "Ancient" nor "Modern", but looked to York as their foundation.

With regard to the dedication of the new Hall, this was particularly interesting to me as locally they say the Lodge never had its own Hall. But here is positive proof from the old minute book, on November 1st, 1819, All Saints' Day. I think that if we had the old minute book for the nineteen years gap between December 12th, 1820, and December 27th, 1839, we would find that sometime during that period there was some trouble between the owner of the Hall and the Lodge, which resulted in the Lodge going later to the Sun Inn as the record of the "Provincial Visit" on the 14th July, 1835, shows.

I thank Bro. Norman Rogers, S.W., for his remarks.

It is quite true that in a paper like this there is little to comment on, for the simple reason that one cannot put into a paper, which is to be printed, what one could deal with in the Lodge Room, or we should soon have trouble with Grand Lodge. My few remarks at the end of the paper, and what I did say after reading it in the Lodge, will prove to those who have some knowledge of the old working, that I could reveal a great deal more that cannot be printed.

I particularly thank Bro. Rogers for giving the chapter and verse that resulted in the authorization "the Master of a Lodge to deliver the Lectures in the manner best suited to his own abilities and the capacities of the Brethren of his Lodge".

With regard to the readings from the H.B.: Psalm cxxxiii (*Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum*) was read from the old Vulgate after opening the Lodge in the days about 1740: Psalms cxxxiv after closing the first degree, and xxv and xv during the degree.

I am very interested in the comments of Bro. Lieut.-Colonel Eric Ward and thank him for the trouble he has taken to give extracts.

I am pleased to have his comments in paragraph four about the difference between "Three Distinct Knocks" and "J. & B."

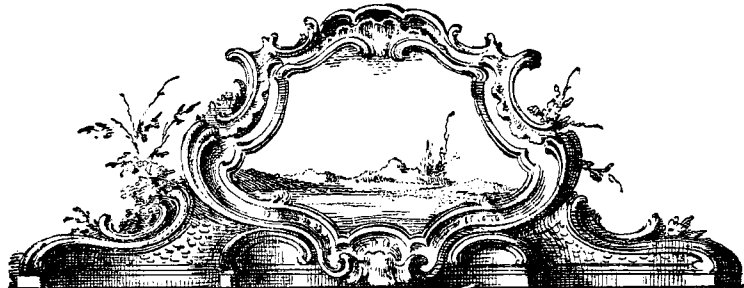
When on 8th November, 1950, I gave as my inaugural address the old Installation Ceremony, which is said to go back to the Duke of Wharton's time, I felt it was the only occasion on which it could possibly be given to the Lodge, especially the part which is now called the Board of Installed Masters, and I gave that part in the B. of I.M.

In the course of my address, I referred to something in Gorden's "Every Young Man's Companion", 1764. Later I was taken to task by Bro. S. N. Smith for not referring to "Three Distinct Knocks", 1760, instead, from which he said Gorden's was derived via "J. & B.". But "Three Distinct Knocks" has no reference to the Installation Ceremony.

In the All Saints' Lodge the new W.M. was always elected on the 1st November, All Saints' Day, and duly installed on 27th December, St. John the Evangelist's Day.

With regard to paragraph five of his comments and James Watts, I can only conclude that James Watts, who was the Secretary to the founders and who had probably never been through the Chair, was found to be in possession of something he had no right to have. I also have a MS. copy of part of Pritchard's *M.D.* on very old paper and brown paper back 6in. by 3½in. Beginning and repeating the letter G—to the end.

I thank Bro. Ward especially for his extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth.





## NOTES

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**THE KEVAN MANUSCRIPT.**—In September, 1954, an old Masonic document was presented to the Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Discovered by Bro. P. D. Kevan, a Past Master of Lodge Dramatic and Arts No. 757, it has been thought fit to name the manuscript after its discoverer—hence the title, “The Kevan Manuscript”.

*Provenance.* In August, 1954, Bro. Kevan purchased a collection of old legal deeds, discharges and documents in the hope of finding among them some examples of early post marks and postage stamps. The collection was a very Catholic one and contained papers going back as far as 1598. Unfortunately, little is known of the source of the collection, but it would appear to have belonged to a firm of solicitors or writers practising in Duns, Berwickshire. Possible previous owners are:—

James Watson, Writer in Duns (1825 *et seq.*)  
C. Watson, Writer in Duns (c. 1872).  
C. S. Romanes, Writer in Edinburgh (1895).

*Materia.* The document is slightly smaller than foolscap, measuring in actual fact 12in. by 7 5/16in. The left hand edge is ragged, but the remaining edges are fairly straight cut. The paper is faintly brown with age—the ink likewise. The illustration reproduced here has been prepared from a photograph taken through a special filter and lens to provide a sharp contrast for the sake of legibility. At one time the document has been folded in four, across the narrow way of the sheet. When discovered, the manuscript was carefully pasted down, along the left hand edge, by a very thin line of fixitive to a stout manilla folder. This would seem to indicate that some previous owner knew and recognized the value of the manuscript. The paper is written on both sides, and carries an early G.R. watermark. The document has been examined by Mr. A. J. Collins and Dr. Schofield, both of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and they are of the opinion that the paper was probably made about the year 1714. It cannot possibly be earlier, and may well be later. From the orthography and spelling one may reasonably ascribe 1714-1720 as a probable date for the manuscript.

*Text—Obverse.* The text can be easily read from the accompanying illustration, and it would only involve the printer in unnecessary typographical difficulties if it were transcribed. The reader will at once recognize the striking similarity to (1) *The Edinburgh Register House MS.*, of 1696; (2) *The Chetwode Crawley MS.*, of c. 1700; and (3) *The Haughfoot Fragment* of about 1702. So similar are these four documents that there is little doubt that they must represent reasonably adequately the ceremony employed around Edinburgh and the Borders for the admission of members to the late operative and early speculative Masonic Lodges in those areas.

*Text—Reverse.* The back of the document has been used to record a number of agricultural payments, which apparently represent rentals or feu duties payable by a number of farmers to their landlord. These entries are undated, and it seems probable that they were made after the obverse of the manuscript was written. I make this statement because on one of the folds, there is inscribed the title, “The Manner of Giving the Mason Worde”, and underneath it a large figure “7”. The agricultural entries run the long way of the sheet; that is to say, at right angles to the written text on the obverse side of the sheet.

It is probable that “The Kevan Manuscript” was used as an “aide-memoire” and may have been one of a number of numbered copies, though it is difficult to understand why as many as seven copies should be made when, at that time, it is very unlikely that there were more than four, or at the most five, Office Bearers in a Masonic Lodge.

G. S. DRAFFEN.

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**La Loge Anglaise de Bordeaux.**—I am indebted to Dr. G. A. Hayes McCoy and Dr. Richard Hayes, of Dublin, for the following notes on Irish families in Bordeaux in the eighteenth century:—

In 1723 Peter Mitchel founded at Bordeaux a glass factory which still exists.

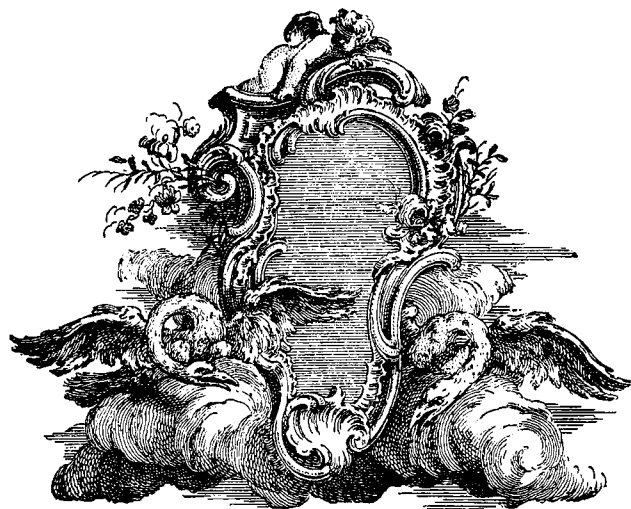
In 1725 Thomas Barton arrived at Bordeaux from his native village of Donaghmore in Ulster, and with Thomas Delop, of Dublin, engaged in the wine trade. Barton's son, Hugh, was imprisoned as a British subject at the period of the Revolution, but escaped to Dublin. Before escaping, he arranged with Daniel Guestier to take over his business temporarily: the joint firm (champagne) still exists. Denis MacCarthy, of the ancient family of MacCarthy Reagh, established in the middle of the eighteenth century a famous mercantile house at Bordeaux, "MacCarthy Frères". Several members of the illustrious family of O'Byrne, of Cabintuly, Co. Dublin, settled in Bordeaux after the confiscation of their estates following the Jacobite War of 1691. Some entered the French Army, others engaged in commerce: John O'Byrne became proprietor of extensive vineyards at Bordeaux.

The first members of the Quin (O'Quin) family settled at Bordeaux in the first decade of the eighteenth century. In 1703, Patrice Quin married at Bordeaux Jeanne Lee. The family were prominent citizens for many generations, and Rue O'Quin in Bordeaux is named after them.

Lawton, a Cork family, settled in Bordeaux in 1739: they were "Courtiers de Vin".

John Black, of Belfast, third of the name, entered the counting house at Bordeaux of George Boyd, also of Belfast, and a relative. He commenced facteur at Bordeaux in 1712 and died in 1767, and was succeeded by his eldest son, also John, 1717-1782, whose nephew, another John, was merchant at Bordeaux, 1811-1868. Joseph Black, M.D., the celebrated chemist, was born at Bordeaux, the ninth child of John Black III.

R. E. PARKINSON.



## REVIEWS

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### A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF FREEMASONRY

By Henry Wilson Coil

(Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, New York, 1954)



RO. COIL describes his work as a "Comprehensive View" without claiming that it is a history. He has read widely and collated intelligently, the result being a work that can be confidently recommended to the beginner, especially the American, for whom it is written.

I was repeatedly reminded when reading the book of an earlier American work, *The Builders*, by the late G. Fort Newton, a book which passed through many editions on both sides of the Atlantic and which, while not entirely faultless (whose work is ?) must have enlightened many thousands of English-speaking Freemasons. Bro. Coil defines Freemasonry as not a hierarchy but a system "of philosophy or of moral and social virtues . . . based upon fundamental truths". Our late Bro. Douglas Knoop once referred to the "lunatic fringe"—Bro. Coil has encountered this; "No vehicle of thought has had so many 'hitch-hikers' aboard as has the literature of Freemasonry, many having distorted its history, or added grotesque themes to the simple, ethical, and moral doctrine".

The author has a light and candid touch—much of Dr. A. G. Mackey's work is handled almost as strictly as that of Dr. George Oliver. The transition from operative to speculative is dealt with in an imaginative manner—it is quite true that nobody has yet accounted for the growing ascendancy of the non-operatives, but a little too much emphasis is laid on "the social stratification which the British people have so long insisted upon". G. M. Trevelyan and other social historians have commented on the remarkable freedom of movement between one class and another in England. Dr. Anderson finds a defender and here Bro. Coil is evidently not in full agreement with the strictures expressed by our late Bros. Vibert and Songhurst.

Much prominence is given to the "Hauts Grades", which, from all accounts, are regarded with much reverence in America, where they have tended to be regarded as steps to the Mystic Shrine, one path leading via the A. and A. Rite, the other via the K.T. It is true the Shrine requires certain Masonic qualifications, but we respectfully doubt the Masonic standing of that beneficent body! The development of Freemasonry in the States may be commended to the English reader, to whom it is too often unfamiliar. It is refreshing to find that Bro. Coil does not attempt to dogmatise on landmarks. The chapter on Freemasonry in relation to other societies is interesting—much is familiar, but the English reader is unfamiliar with, e.g., Mormonism. Many of our younger readers will also be unfamiliar with Prince Hall, an ignorance which has occasionally misled Lodges into admitting those who have no title to sit among us. Lastly, Bro. Coil asks, "What is Freemasonry?" and discusses its relationship to this changing world. One may criticise details, but the intelligent reader will find the book well worth reading.

FRED L. PICK.

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### THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN LEEDS, 1754-1954

By R. W. Matthews

(Published jointly by the Leeds Bi-Centenary Council and the Installed Masters' Association, Leeds, 1954)

The celebration of two hundred years of Freemasonry in the City of Leeds is a great occasion, and the opportunity has been taken to publish *The History of Freemasonry in Leeds, 1754-1954*. It would be impossible to cover all the ground in one volume and the amount of space allotted to each subject has been limited.

The first chapter is devoted to an account of Leeds in the early days. This is most interesting and instructive. There is a folding plan at the end of the book, which enables one to trace the various haunts of our early Brethren. Those who have a knowledge of Leeds at the present time will find this fascinating.

The second chapter is headed "The Industrialisation of Britain". This deals with the conditions of employment, and particularly the problem of transport. This is a great help, as it gives a good picture of the times and helps one to appreciate the difficulties that our Brethren encountered two hundred years ago.

The third chapter is entitled "Cultural, Industrial and Masonic Development". The earliest known reference to Freemasonry in Leeds appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of January 16th, 1721, and is quoted in full. Although the newspaper was dated 1721, the old Calendar was then in use and the actual year of publication was 1722. Nothing further is known about this incident.

#### THE PARROT LODGE No. 243

The first Lodge in Leeds which received a Warrant from Grand Lodge was No. 243, constituted 28th March, 1754. This Lodge first met at the Talbot and then moved to the Parrot, and is generally known as the Parrot Lodge. Little is known of this Lodge, which was erased in 1776. A list of members is included in the account, and this should prove useful to Masonic students. There is no note to state where this information was obtained, but it is believed that the old Minute Book is still in existence.

Unfortunately, the list is not complete, as the Register of the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" for 1768 contains nine members with their trades, and only three of these appear in the list. The following is a copy of the Grand Lodge Register:—

A List of the Members of the Lodge No. 181 Held at the Parrot, Leeds	Their Titles Mysteries or Trade	When admitted Member or made Masons in the Lodge	If expelled, for what cause
Thomas Wallbank	Cloth dresser	1754	
Saml. Denison	Mercht	1761	
Christr. Perkin	Perukemaker	1761	
Duke Rodgers	Carpenter	1763	
Jos. Rodgers	Farmer	1767	
Thos. Wilson	Weaver	1767	
Jos. Lorance	Carpenter	1754	Bad behaviour to the Lodge
Willm. Thackrah	Cloth dresser	1764	Excluded for bad behaviour when Master
Saml. Poplewell	Cloth dresser	1764	Dead

Some further information can be supplied as there is a letter from the Parrot Lodge No. 181 to Grand Lodge, dated 27th December, 1768, concerning contributions to the Charity Fund. This letter is signed "Duke Rogers, Master. Thos. Wilson, Joseph Rogers, Wardens. Tho. Wallbank, Steward. Christr. Perkin, Secty". This gives the Officers of the Lodge for 1768. (Ref. G.L. Letter Book No. 1., "Moderns", page 149).

#### GOLDEN LION LODGE No. 258

A second Lodge, No. 258, was constituted on 8th January, 1761. This also met at the Talbot and later at the Golden Lion, and is usually known as the Golden Lion Lodge. The members appear to have been of a superior social class and the Lodge prospered. A list of members is given with a good deal of information about some of the better known Brethren. This list again is of great value to the student and contains 83 names.

The founders were not members of the former Lodge No. 243, but one or two members joined later.

It is stated that the members of the Golden Lion Lodge "may have been of a different category, more elevated in the social scale", and this is borne out by the following paragraph in the *Leeds Mercury*, of 2nd January, 1776:—

Last week was paid at the General Infirmary; Ten Guineas, being a benefaction from the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons No. 205, held at Mr. Vincents the Golden Lion in Leeds.

Ten guineas was a large sum of money in those days.



There is an interesting letter from the Grand Secretary, Jas. Heseltine, dated 16th January, 1770, to Horace (Horatio ?) Cataneo, of the Golden Lion Lodge, which gives some good advice:—

Your maxim of not admitting Members or making M——ns for unworthy Considerations, is very laudable, and will ever insure the approbation of the G.L. You by that means exclude Men from your Assemblies, who would be a disgrace to the Society. And tho' you may not be very numerous—the Company will be agreeable. Besides you would not wish to have amongst you Men, whose circumstances would be affected by the Expences of an Evenings Entertainment; were that the case, a short period would evince the pernicious tendency of it; and you would have the Mortification to see a Society, founded upon the noblest principles, instrumental to the ruin of Individuals—Contrary to every maxim of the Order. (Ref. G.L. Letter Book No. 2 Moderns, folio 54).

Lewis Bastide, one of the founders in 1761 and one of the best known members of the Golden Lion Lodge, was a Leeds merchant. Strange to say, in the Register of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" there is a list, dated 18th November, 1762, of the thirteen founders of "Singular Ancient Lodge, No. 102 of Amsterdam", and amongst this list the name "Bestide, Lewis" appears.

The spelling of the name Bastide, or Bestide, could easily be caused by difficulty in deciphering handwriting, but it seems hardly likely that Lewis Bastide, of Leeds, could have been in Amsterdam in 1762. Further, the Golden Lion Lodge of Leeds was constituted by the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", whereas the Singular Ancient Lodge of Amsterdam was constituted by the Grand Lodge of the "Antients". There may, of course, have been some relationship, but it is safer to consider the similarity a coincidence.

#### LODGES 243 and 258

Some confusion is caused by the names given to the two oldest Leeds Lodges.

Lodge No. 243 first met at Talbot and then moved to the Parrot. This Lodge is usually called the Parrot Lodge. On looking through the various pages of the history, one finds that the Lodge is called the Talbot on five occasions, the Parrot on eight occasions, and the Talbot/Parrot once.

Lodge No. 258 first met at the Talbot and later at the Golden Lion. This Lodge is usually called the Golden Lion Lodge, but again, on reading through the book one finds that the Lodge is called the Talbot on twelve occasions, the Golden Lion on nineteen occasions and the Talbot/Golden Lion twice.

This is confusing, especially on pages 215 and 219, where Lodges 243 and 258 are both called the Talbot.

#### THREE DEFUNCT LODGES

Chapter three concludes with short accounts of three Lodges that are now defunct: Loyal and Prudent Lodge No. 584, constituted in 1790; St. Alban's Lodge No. 749, constituted in 1822; and Savile Lodge No. 677, constituted in 1839.

Lists of members are given in each case, but in the account of the Loyal and Prudent Lodge it is stated that nineteen members paid in November, 1791, whereas in the list of members on page 49 there are only seventeen names recorded. In the Grand Lodge Register nineteen names are entered for the year 1790, followed by a further twenty-two names up to 1796. No returns were made for three or four years, but from 1800 onwards a further fifty or sixty names are recorded.

The members of the St. Alban's Lodge were all operative Masons or allied to that trade. One would like to know more about this Lodge, which was only in existence about twelve years and was erased in 1833.

#### PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE

The fourth chapter is entitled "Provincial Grand Lodge of the West Riding of the County of York". Little is known of the first two Grand Masters of the West Riding. The article goes on to deal with the Province of Yorkshire. The first Provincial Grand Master for the County of York was Sir Thomas Tancred, who by the way, resided at Boroughbridge and not at York. We then pass on to the formation of the Province of Yorkshire West Riding. Only a few pages are devoted to this somewhat controversial subject, and it is obvious that it is impossible to deal with it adequately in such a small space. Bro. Matthews does not appear to have consulted all the available authorities on the subject, and has written his account chiefly on the basis of the partial information available in the records of the Leeds Lodges.

Bro. Makins, in his *Notes on the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Yorkshire, 1771-1821* (Humber Transactions, 1929) gives a good deal of background information, though he does not allude specifically to the West Riding. Bro. Hanson, in his *History of the Probity Lodge*, published in 1938, tells something of the story, though with a pronounced Halifax partiality. But the fairest overall account was written quite recently and given as a paper to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge by Bro. J. R. Rylands in 1953 (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lxvi, *The Origin of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire, West Riding*). All these authorities should be consulted to obtain a clear picture of the events leading to the formation of the Province.

Chapter four ends with a list of the Provincial Grand Masters, their Deputies and the Provincial Grand Secretaries. The list for the West Riding Province will be found useful for reference, and it is complete from the formation of the Province to the present day. Whether or not it is correct to refer to the "Reconstituted Province" is a moot point. A Provincial Grand Master was appointed in 1739, but this was not the same as forming a Province. For full discussion of this point Bro. Ryland's paper should be consulted.

The list for the Province of Yorkshire, as distinct from the West Riding, is not complete. The date of appointment of Sir Walter Vavasour Bart should be 1779 and not 1780. To the list given of the Deputies, the names of William Spencer (1774) and Robert Pemberton Milnes (1804) should be added. The date of appointment of Richard Garland should be 1780, of Thomas Thackeray, 1790, and of the Honourable Lawrence Dundas, M.P., 1806.

As far as is known, there is no complete list of the Provincial Grand Secretaries, but from the information available, the following is considered accurate. It must be pointed out, however, that on occasions Warrants of Constitution were signed by Brethren who were acting at the time as Provincial Grand Secretary.

Malby Beckwith, 1774 ; George Russell, 1776 ; Nathaniel Frobisher and Robert Houseman (acting jointly), 1782 ; Christopher Wilson and James Rule (acting jointly), 1785. From about 1790 to 1804 the Province was in the hands of John Watson, whose official position was that of Provincial Grand Treasurer, but he acted and signed on occasions as Provincial Grand Secretary. After this period the Provincial Grand Secretaries were James Rule and Lucas Lund (acting jointly), 1805 ; and Lucas Lund and John Munkman (acting jointly), 1809.

#### LEEDS LODGES AT THE PRESENT TIME

Chapter six gives brief accounts of the existing Lodges in Leeds, chapter seven deals with the Chapters, and chapter eight with the other Masonic degrees and orders.

Each article is written by a member of the Lodge or Chapter concerned, and so we have a large number of authors ; this greatly adds to the interest. Much care and study has obviously been devoted by the many authors and the results are pleasing. It is, of course, impossible to comment on each article individually. Complete histories of a few of the Leeds Lodges have been written previously. Naturally, in such a number of histories, a few errors are bound to occur, and attention is drawn to the following:—

In the history of the Lodge of Fidelity No. 289, the claim is made (page 79) that "In this same year (1795), the Fidelity Lodge of Instruction was formed and has continued to this day". This statement has been taken from the *History of the Lodge of Fidelity*, by Bro. Alfred Scarth and Bro. Charles Albert Braim, published in 1894. Bro. Ivor Grantham, in his Prestonian Lecture, 1950, *Lodges of Instruction*, states that "Careful examination of these records shows quite clearly that the claim to continuity cannot be established", and the minutes of the Lodge of Fidelity are quoted to prove the point.

In the history of the Alfred Chapter (page 172) the statement is made that "the first Warranted Chapter in Leeds, Fidelity, having received its warrant from the Royal Chapter of All England at York in 1793". This, of course, is incorrect ; the Warrant was issued by the Grand Chapter in London. Further (page 173) it is stated that a complaint from members of the Newtonian Lodge of Knaresborough was made "to the G.L. at York" ; this, no doubt, is a slip as this complaint was made to the Grand Secretary in London. The letter is dated 4th March, 1791.

#### OTHER ARTICLES

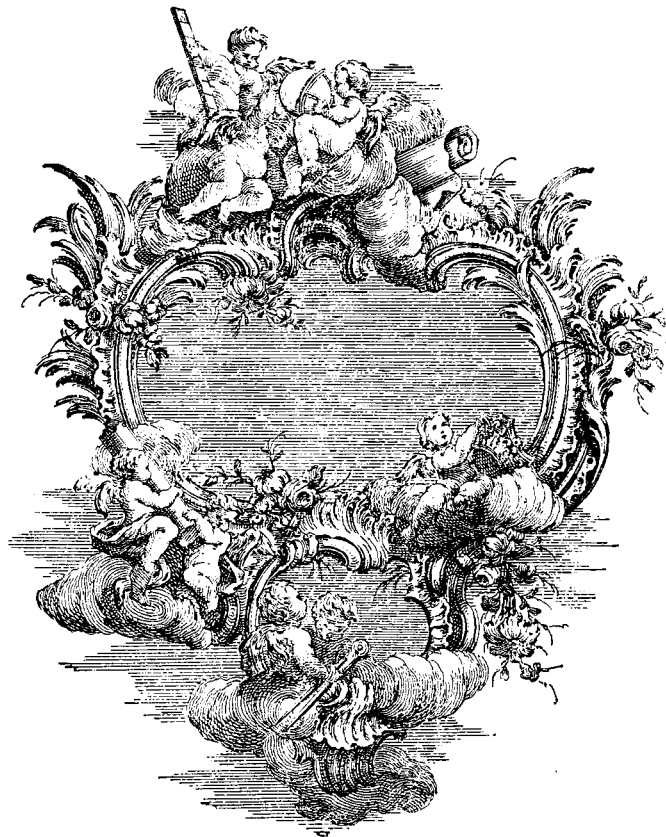
Other articles include The Masonic Benefit Society, The Leeds Masonic Educational and Benevolent Institution, The Leeds Royal Arch Council and Brief History of the Leeds Masonic Relief Committee. It is interesting to note that space has been found for an account of the Installed Masters' Association, which has done such good work for the Province and has now been in existence for fifty years. An account is also given of the Demonstration of an Old-Time Lodge. This took place on 11th February, 1954, and will be long remembered by those who were privileged to attend the performance.

## FORMAT OR MAKE-UP

The book is profusely illustrated; many of the illustrations are reproductions of old engravings which are particularly pleasing.

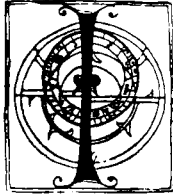
The lists of contents and illustrations are placed at the end of the book, which is unusual; the former does not give the numbers of the various chapters. Some of the half titles are printed on the left-hand page and this does not add to the appearance. The book is nicely bound in full cloth and is uniform with the other well-known publications of the Leeds Installed Masters' Association.

*The History of Freemasonry in Leeds* will be found invaluable for the Freemasons living in the district, and for those living elsewhere, who require a knowledge of Freemasonry in Leeds at the present time, the book will prove most useful.



## OBITUARY

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

**Arnold, George Edward**, of Hadley Wood, Hertfordshire, in November, 1953. Bro. Arnold was a member of Honor Oak Lodge No. 1986, and was elected to our Correspondence Circle in November, 1937.

**Ashman, Elmer Tom**, of Kingsbury, on 12th December, 1953. Bro. Ashman was a Past Master of Fryent Lodge No. 6656 and had received the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1953.

**Atherton, Vincent Ernest George**, of Norwich, on 5th November, 1953. Bro. Atherton was a member of Cabbell Lodge No. 807. He joined the Metropolitan Police Force in 1924, and at the time of his death was Superintendent in charge of the Traffic Department, Norfolk Constabulary. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1953.

**Boak, Brig. Henry Eversley, D.S.O.**, of Victoria, British Columbia, in August, 1954. Bro. Boak was a Past Master of Queen's Lodge No. 578, Canada. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1944.

**Baylis, John**, of Bristol, on March 19th, 1953. Bro. Baylis was a member of the St. Augustine Lodge No. 3108, and also of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in March, 1951.

**Colsell, Robert Frederick John**, of Southern Rhodesia, on 29th December, 1953. Bro. Colsell was a member of the Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland No. 12. He joined our Correspondence Circle as a Life Member in October, 1919.

**Cowlshaw, William**, of Montinez, Argentina, on 8th July, 1954. Bro. Cowlshaw was a Past Master of Excelsior Lodge No. 617, and of the attached Chapter. He was for 20 years District Grand Treasurer, South America, S.D., and held the rank of Past Grand Deacon. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1913, and became a Life Member in 1919. For many years Bro. Cowlshaw was our Local Secretary in Argentina until advancing years forced him to retire.

**Crossle, Philip**, of Dublin, in January, 1954. Bro. Crossle was a member of the Lodge of Research No. 200, I.C., and joint-Author with Bro. Heron Lepper of the first volume of the *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in January, 1933.

**Curtis, T. G.**, of Adelaide, on 12th July, 1953. Bro. Curtis was a member of Goodwood Lodge No. 107, S. Australia, and became a member of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1929.

**Daymond, John Dudley**, of London, on 21st February, 1953. Bro. Daymond was a Past Master of Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge No. 12, and Past First Principal of the Forum Chapter, No. 3537. He had received London Grand Rank. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in October, 1944, and had been very regular in attending our meetings.

**Duggua, Alfred George**, of Stoke, Devonport, in February, 1954. Bro. Duggua was a Past Master of the Lodge of Fortitude No. 105. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in June, 1945.

**Faiers, Cecil Henry**, of St. Heliers, Jersey, in 1953. Bro. Faiers was a Past Master of the Prince of Wales Lodge No. 1003, and a member of the Royal Sussex Chapter No. 491. He had received the rank of Past Provincial Grand Deacon of Jersey, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1953.

**Frye, Robert, G.**, of Winton Park, Florida, on 25th December, 1953. Bro. Frye was a Past Master of Timothy Chase Lodge No. 126, Maine. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

**Fitzgerald, Dr. E. J.**, of Finchley, on 22nd September, 1954. Bro. Fitzgerald was a member of Burton Court Lodge No. 3864 and of the attached Chapter. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1954.

**Harrison, Richard**, of Limington, in June, 1954. Bro. Harrison was a Past Master of the Lodge of Perseverance No. 345. He held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since May, 1934.

**Henderson, John Laidlaw**, of Mombasa, in September, 1953. Bro. Henderson was a Past Master of Mount Kenya Lodge No. 5638, and a member of the Faith and Charity Chapter No. 329, S.C. He held the rank of Past District Grand Sword Bearer, and became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1939.

**Hill, Robert Ernest**, of St. Albans, in January, 1954. Bro. Hill was a Past Master of the Old Leysian Lodge No. 4520 and a member of the Public Schools' Chapter No. 2233. He had received London Grand Rank, and was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1946.

**Heaton, E. Vincent, J.P.**, of Bradford, on 31st August, 1954. Bro. Heaton was a Past Master of King Edward VII Lodge No. 3442, and a member of Sincerity Chapter No. 600. He held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1949.

**Jackman, Frank**, of Halifax, on 18th January, 1954. Bro. Jackman was a Past Master of the Lodge of Friendship No. 750 and a member of the Zetland Chapter No. 603. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

**Jardine, John**, of Carlisle, in April, 1954. Bro. Jardine held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, and joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1933.

**Lamb, Sir John Edward Stewart, C.M.G.**, of Dar es Salaam, on 13th April, 1954. Bro. Lamb was a Past Master of the Haven of Peace Lodge No. 4385 and held the rank of Past Grand Deacon. At the time of his death he was Assistant District Grand Master, East Africa. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1949.

**Lillie, Alfred Cuthbert Miller, J.P.**, of Preston, on 31st December, 1953. Bro. Lillie held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1945.

**Lusk, John Keith Butler**, of Tauranga, New Zealand, on 28th November, 1953. Bro. Lusk was a member of the Tauranga Lodge No. 125, N.Z.C. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1938.

**McLeod, Robert Henry**, of Enfield, on 31st August, 1954. Bro. McLeod was a Past Master of the Old Masonians' Lodge No. 2700, and Past First Principal of the Mount Lebanon Chapter No. 73. He had received Grand Rank as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919. He was the senior partner in the firm who have audited the Lodge accounts for a large number of years.

**McNairn, William Harvey, M.A., Ph.D.**, of Dundas, Ontario, on 12th November, 1953. Bro. McNairn was a member of the University Lodge No. 496, Canada. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

**Marsh, Jesse Marshall**, of Keokuk, Iowa, in January, 1954. Bro. Marsh was a Past Master of Eagle Lodge No. 12, Iowa, and Past First Principal of Chapter No. 7 of the same State. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1948.

**Martin, George**, of Dundee, on 2nd March, 1952. Bro. Martin was a member of Ancient Lodge No. 49, S.C., and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1917.

**Mitchell, Edward Henry**, of Carshalton Beeches, on 31st October, 1953. Bro. Mitchell was a Past Master of Carshalton Lodge No. 4429, and Past First Principal of the James Speller Chapter, No. 3577. He held the rank of Past Provincial Grand Deacon of Surrey, and joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1945.

**Oubridge, Henry**, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in August, 1954. Bro. Oubridge was a Past Master of the Northern Counties Lodge No. 406 and of the de Sussex Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle for more than thirty years, having joined it in June, 1922.

**Parsons, John Horatio**, of Birmingham, in January, 1954. Bro. Parsons held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1936.

**Porter, John William**, of Carlisle, on 4th August, 1952. Bro. Porter was a member of the Bective Lodge No. 1532 and of Chapter No. 174, S.C. He was elected a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1946.

**Ramsden, Clifford, J.P.**, of Halifax, in August, 1954. Bro. Ramsden held the rank of Past Grand Deacon. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1929.

**Richtmeyer, C. Ross**, of Albion, Michigan, on 14th June, 1953. Bro. Richtmeyer was a Past Master of Murat Lodge No. 14, Michigan, and a member of Chapter No. 32. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1951.

**Silver, Saul**, of London, in February, 1954. Bro. Silver was a member of Lodge Sincerity No. 189. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1944.

**Smith, Alick Henry**, of Rickmansworth, on 1st April, 1954. Bro. Smith was a Past Master of Abbey Lodge No. 2120. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**Smith, Arthur William**, of Forest Hill, London, S.E.23, in April, 1954. Bro. Smith was one of our oldest members, having been elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.

**Stansfield, Charles Edwin**, of Rio de Janeiro, in January, 1954. Bro. Stansfield was a member of Eureka Lodge No. 5557. He became a member of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

**Swanson, Peter**, of Sevenoaks, on 29th May, 1954. Bro. Swanson held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and was a Past District Grand Master of South America (N.D.). He joined the Correspondence Circle as a Life Member in October, 1929.

**Thomas, John Weyman**, of Miami, on 11th January, 1953. Bro. Thomas was a member of the Coconut Grove Lodge No. 258, Florida. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1952.

**Underwood, Frederick John**, of Worcester, in September, 1954. Bro. Underwood was a member of the Worcester Lodge No. 280 and of the attached St. Wulstan's Chapter. He joined the Correspondence Circle in 1925.

**Walker, James Alexander McGill, M.B.E.**, of Calcutta, on 24th October, 1953. Bro. Walker was a Past Master of Doric Lodge No. 1205, S.C., and a member of Chapter No. 632, S.C. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1953.

**Warren, William John**, of Gillingham, Dorset, on 9th January, 1954. Bro. Warren was a Past Master of Kings Court Lodge No. 2689, and held the rank of Past Provincial Grand Registrar of Dorset. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1950.

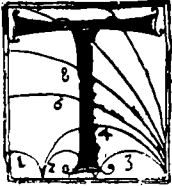
**White, Herbert**, of London, in January, 1954. Bro. White was a Past Master of Excelsior Lodge No. 1155 and a member of the Noel Chapter No. 2444. He held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer. He was elected a member of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1924.

**Woosnam, Richard**, of Grimsby, in December, 1953. Bro. Woosnam held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in June, 1946.



## ST. JOHN'S CARD

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THE following were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year 1954:—

### *LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*

The Grand Lodge of Vienna  
The Grand Lodge of Iceland  
Loyal Lodge No. 251

Conyers Lodge No. 1916  
Walsingham Lodge No. 2148  
Crane Lodge No. 2660  
Foreland Lodge No. 3209  
Northumbrian Masters' Lodge No. 3477  
Sussex Masters' Lodge No. 3672  
Addison Potter Lodge No. 3807  
Reculvers Lodge No. 4123  
South Kent Lodge No. 4303  
Sancroft Lodge No. 4347  
Corinthian Lodge No. 6029  
St. Raphael Lodge No. 6261  
Valley of Elham Lodge No. 6649  
Snar Gate Lodge No. 6770  
Ordinges Lodge No. 6866.  
Tynemouth Lodge No. 6935  
Pharos Lodge No. 6967  
Estuary Lodge No. 7009  
St. Ambrose and Wilbury Lodge of Instruction No. 1891  
Remuera Lodge of Instruction No. 1710  
Cavendish Royal Arch Chapter No. 2620  
Surrey First Principals' Chapter No. 5888  
Whyalla Masonic Club and Study Group, South Australia  
Mount Caro Marion Lodge No. 140, Canada  
Hurley Lodge No. 55, New Mexico  
Charleston Lodge No. 44, Guam, Phillipines  
Weber Lodge No. 6, Utah  
Panama Canal Lodge of Perfection  
Pasadena Scottish Rite Cathedral  
Guildhall Library  
London Rank Association  
Masonic Temple Association, Dayton, Ohio

### *BRETHREN*

Cecil Vetus Abbott  
Horace A. Abdale  
John Raynor Acworth  
Alfred Frederick Adams  
Charles F. Adams  
Munro Hamish Andrew  
Knut Arvid Astrup

Sidney Montague Austin  
Arthur Cecil Ayers  
Royal Victor Aynsley  
  
Charles Porter Barrett  
Emanuel Cohen Beber  
Albert Joseph Beecher Stow

Elias Benjamin  
 Ernst H. Bergman  
 James Edmund Billings  
*Dr.* Cuthbert Charles Harber Binns  
 Robert Neville Birley  
 Charles Blueman  
 Percy Symons Boardall  
 Henry T. Bock  
 Robert Bornoz  
 Flt.-Lt. Grahame Ashley Bowen  
 Floyd F. Boyer  
 Harold Frederick Bremerman  
 Henry Fitzherbert Briggs  
 James Laurent Brighton  
*Rev.* John Brooke  
 George Brown  
 Douglas Bruce  
 Percy Brydon Bruce  
 Harry T. Buchanan  
 Thomas Buckler  
 John Burgess  
 Hubert Cedric Burnell  
 Tom E. Butterworth

Kenneth Walter Mussen Campbell  
 James Royal Case  
 Alexander Panagioti Cawadias  
 Charles Eric Causer  
 Felix James Chatelain  
 David George Chegwin  
 Edward Henry Clark  
 Stanley Douglas Clarke  
 Wilfred Frances Clement  
 Herbert William Clifford  
 Arnold David Colaco-Osorio  
 Kenneth D. Coleman  
*Rev.* Anthony Collea  
 Frederick William Collison  
 John Cecil Conder  
 Eugene L. Cornfield  
 Leonard Wilfred Crew  
 Joseph Crook  
 Thomas George Croucher  
 Charles K. Cunningham  
 William Henry Curzon-Howe

Jack Dailley  
 Ralph S. Davis  
 Sumner G. Davis  
 Earle Leslie Davison  
 James Stanley Dawson  
 James Morrison Deans  
 Harold Dearnley  
 Clarence Ralph de Vore  
 William Douglass  
 Raymond H. Dragat

Nils Emil Edestad  
 Wilfred Campbell Ellis

George Davis Ernest, Jr.  
 Frank Herbert Eul

Basil Frank Falloon  
 Harold Cushing Faxon  
 Robert Arthur Paul Fleming  
*Dr.* E. J. Fitzgerald  
 Ivan Artur Flodin

Charles Damaso Galarraga  
 Walter Rodney Gamble  
 Reginald Edwin Gill  
 Aaron Glasser  
*Rev.* Rolf Gledhill  
 George William Henry Glover  
 Earl Goldenberg  
 Harrold Gould  
 Joseph S. Gowland  
 Clyde Nelson Graham  
 George Graham  
 Kenedy Jackson Graham  
*Dr.* Armas Gräsbeck  
 Cornelius Greenway  
 James Greenwood  
 Leslie Roland Kenneth Gregory  
 Fred Grundy  
 Jens Chr. Gundersen  
 Rowland Spencer Gunning  
 Noah Gunzburg  
 John Wilfred Gwyther

Miles Creighton Halton  
 George Aldred Hanson  
 Edgar George Harris  
 Charles Cyril Harrington  
 Edwin Irving Harrison  
 Harry Heath, *J.P.*  
 William Wandrille Hedgpeth  
 William Broke Heywood-Waddington  
 Henry G. Hill  
 Oliver Hoffman  
 George Holland  
 Auguste B. Holm  
 John Holmes  
 Frank Holt  
 Nathan M. Honig  
 Ernest Edward Horide  
 Edward Becker Horning  
 George Anthony Geoffrey Howard  
 John Wallis Howling  
 Ernest G. Hudel  
 James Anderson Hunter

Lewis K. Ingram  
 Lewis Karl Ingram, Sr.

Sydney Talbot Jackson  
 Charles MacKechnie Jarvis



Alex. B. Jeffs  
 Arthur Ronald Jones  
 Charles Curry Jones  
 Leslie Edwin Ladlow Jones  
 William Sydney Jones, *C.B.E.*  
 Samuel Joseph  
 James Arthur Jukes

Ivan Maurice Katz  
 Jack Garvin Kay  
 Curtis M. Keating  
 John Frank Harford Kenning  
 Ernest Hurtle King  
 Leonard James Kingston  
 William Saul Klitzner  
 Anthony Frank Kohne  
 Hans Kupper

Norton Harold Lapkin  
 Johan C. H. Larsen  
 William Thomas Leckie  
 Kurt Leemann  
 Daniel Lecht  
 Frank Letch  
 Louis Lesser  
 William Henry Lewis  
 Lowell Matney Limpus  
 Ashley Woodward Lindsay  
 Harold Littlejohn  
 John Edbrooke Lloyd  
 George Ernest Lockett  
 John G. Longbottom

Edwin Charles McBride  
 Charles Keet McClure  
 Joseph McGibbon  
 James MacHaffie  
 John Francey McIsaac  
 Herbert John Mackey  
 Angus Elrick William McLachlan  
 Russell Mabley  
 John Neill Malcolm  
*Lt.-Col.* Ralph Mansell  
 Percy George Marks  
 Miller Hamilton Mason  
 William Matthews  
 Norman Alexander Maurer  
 Wiley O. May  
 Philip Bernard Mayne  
 Raymond Henry Mead  
 Reginald Marcus Melhuish  
 John Lansbury Merchant  
 George James Merz, Jr.  
 Ivor de Mesquita  
 Herbert Charles Middleton  
 Robert Arthur Miller  
 Ralph E. Miller  
 William Miller

Alan Edwin Beresford Mills  
 Denis Wood Moore  
 Walter Moore  
 Richard Alfred Coleman Mordant  
 Bert Jasper Morris  
 Fateh Muhammad  
 Alan Muir  
 Erik Thoralf Camillus Mogens Müllertz  
 Joseph Erle Redmond Munro  
 Robert Stewart Murray  
 C. Clyde Myers

Denis Neville  
 Wright William Nelson  
 Philip G. Nikolai  
 Arthur Reginald Nines  
 Arthur Sydney Nunn  
 J. T. Nutting

Solomon Edmund Odamtten, *O.B.E.*  
*Dr.* John Osborne Oliver  
 William Orleck

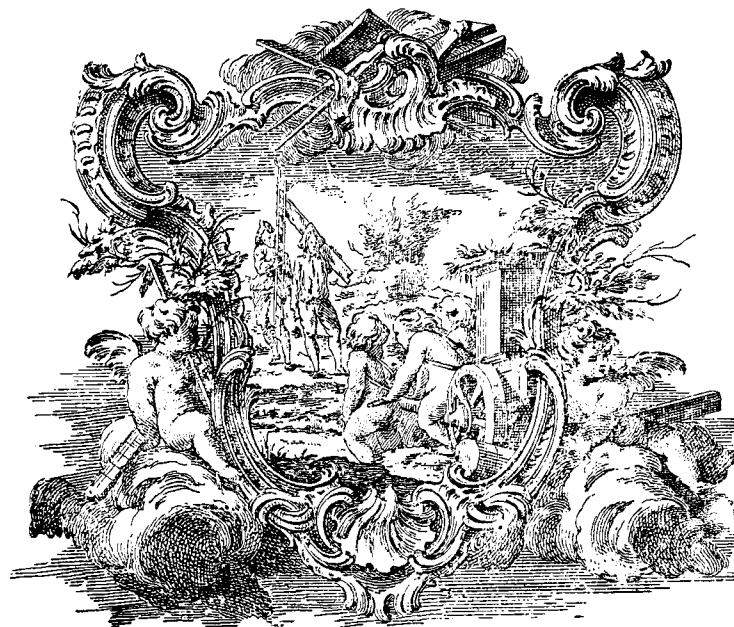
Kenneth B. Page  
 John Charles Palmer  
 John Carlyle Parsons  
 George Arthur Peachey  
 Edmund Tolstoy Pearson  
 Leslie Allan Pearson  
 Charles Albert Peirce, Jr.  
 James Foster Petree  
 Harry Clandillon Phibbs  
 Irving R. Picard  
 Paul R. Pinkham, Jr.  
 George H. Platt  
 Howard J. Porterfield  
 William Henry George Price

Fred A. Rader  
 John Landis Randall  
*Capt.* George Henry Noel Reay  
 Joe Rice  
 H. Melville Richards  
*Rev.* W. O. Richards  
 Hepburn Kirk Richardson  
 Raymond McKinley Rideout  
 Harold Herbert Ridge  
 Arthur Frederick Rolton  
 Frank Romanelli  
 Giles Hugh Rooke  
 Sidney Rosenblatt  
 Alexander C. Ross  
 Frank Royston  
 John Lawrence Runnalls

Theodore Alfred Sanson  
 Kenward May Sargeant  
 Derek Rowland Scorer

Thomas Seach  
 Thomas R. Shannon  
 Robert James Sharp  
 Mark A. Shaw  
 Allen Thomas Simpson  
 Arthur Worth Stamford Smith  
 DeWitt Wylie Smith  
 Gordon Clive Smith  
 John Carey Smith  
 Herbert W. Snobel  
 Leslie Sommers  
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 Christopher Stocker  
 Henry Gilbert Thomas Stone  
 Roy George Stoner  
 Ian Stroebel  
 Clifton Stroud  
 Einar Ingiberg Swanbergson  
 Alfred Valentine Swartz  
 Horace Sykes  
  
 Albert Taylor

Harold Arthur Taylor  
 Richard Stanley Tackels  
 John C. Thie  
 Walter Thompson  
 Frank Vernon Tilsley  
 Alan Stewart Trapnell  
 Frank Gilbert Trudgeon  
 Forrest Edward Turvey  
  
 Garth Theodore van Rooyen  
 Ewart Leslie Vanstone  
 Edward Johnson Verrill  
  
 Brian Oswald Walsh  
 John Spilman Walton  
 William Fawcett Warburton, *M.B.E.*  
 Peter Jackson Wardill  
 Harold Edward Watts  
 Godfrey Reginald Spencer West  
 Eugene F. Westheimer  
 Allen Weyl  
 Lloyd Willis Wharton  
 Cyril Willcox  
 Gilbert Lucas Wright  
 Thomas Shirley Woollaston  
  
 Joseph Yahuda  
  
 Stanley George Zier



# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London

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No. 3. "The Prestonian Lecture for 1933," by <i>Rev. H. Poole</i> (out of print)			
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There are also many Reprints of Papers from the *Transactions*; on enquiry, the Secretary will be glad to report whether a Reprint of any specified Paper is available, and its price.

FACSIMILES OF THE OLD CHARGES.—Three Rolls, *viz.*, "Grand Lodge No. 2 MS.," "Scarborough MS." and the "Buchanan MS." are available. Lithographed on vegetable vellum, in the original Roll form. Price, Two Guineas each.

BINDING.—Members returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary can have them bound in dark blue canvas, lettered gold, at 13/6 each. Cases can be supplied at 7/- each. When ordering, the date and number of the volume should be specified. Alternatively, members can place a standing order for bound volumes, adding 13/6 when remitting their annual subscription. This will mean a few weeks' delay in the receipt of the volume, but the bound volume travels better.

MEMBERSHIP JEWEL.—Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured from the Secretary only. Gilt, with bar, pin and ribbon, as breast jewel, 30/- each. By sanction of the United Grand Lodge of England this Jewel may be worn on all Masonic occasions under the English Jurisdiction.

## THE LODGE LIBRARY

A Library of considerable extent and value has been formed, partly by purchase and partly by donations from members and well-wishers. Members of both Circles may use the Library, and there is a Reading Room where students can work at 27, Great Queen Street. It is regretted that books cannot be sent out on loan, owing to serious losses in the past.

There is also a considerable collection of Certificates, Newspaper Cuttings, etc., to which the Secretary can give access on application.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



**SECRETARY:**

**J. R. DASHWOOD, P.G.D.**

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