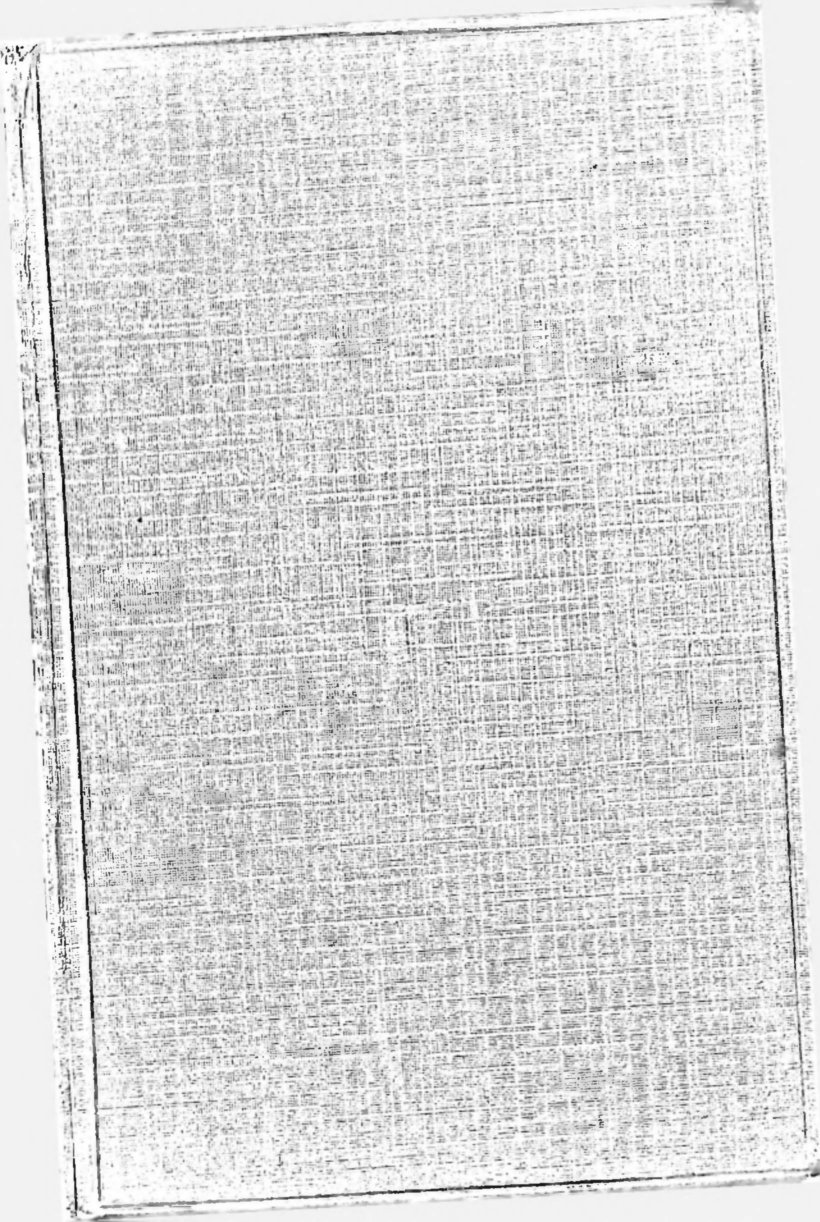

IN MEMORIAM.

W.BRO.ARTHUR LIONEL VIBERT, *I.C.S.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., SECRETARY,2076.

Brethren,

It is with very great regret that I have to report the death of Bro. Lionel Vibert, which occurred on 7th December, 1938. Bro.Vibert was born in July, 1872, at St. Petersburg, where his father was at the time Professor of English at the University. Bro. Vibert was educated at Victoria College, Jersey, where he distinguished himself by winning the Queen's prize for History. He passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1891, and went up to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was in residence from 1891-1893, after which he proceeded to India and served in the Presidency of Madras for twenty-five years, retiring in 1918. On retirement he settled in Bath, where he became connected with a number of local Societies; he was Hon. Treasurer Mid-Somerset Musical Competitions, a member of the English Folk Dance Society; he was co-opted on the Municipal Library and Art Gallery Committee in Bath, and was a member of the British Numismatic Society. When he became Secretary of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge at the end of 1928 he left Bath to reside in London.

As a Freemason Bro.Vibert was initiated in the Royal Alfred Lodge, Jersey, in 1892, and became W.M. of Lodge Southern Cross at Palamcottah in 1896. He was a member of several other Lodges in India; and, when in Bath, joined Royal Cumberland Lodge amongst other Masonic bodies. In 1904 he was appointed Prov.G.S.B. Jersey; in 1911 Dist.G.S.W. Madras; and in 1934 Prov.G.S.W. Somerset. In 1928 he was given Grand Rank as A.G.D.C. With regard to Quatuor Coronati Lodge, he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1895, became a member of the Inner Circle 1917, was Master in 1921, and Secretary from 1928 to 1938. He had the honour of being appointed P.G.W. of the Grand Lodge of Iowa.

In the Royal Arch, Bro.Vibert was exalted in the Pitt Macdonald Chapter, Madras, in 1894; was a Founder of Rock Chapter, of which he was Z. in 1908, and became Dist.G.J., Madras, in 1911. In 1928 he received Grand Rank as P.G.St.B.; and had been Scribe E. of Royal York Chapter of Perseverance. In the Mark Degree Bro.Vibert was advanced in Macdonald Ritchie Lodge in India in 1894; was Master of R. Cumberland Lodge, Bath, in 1926, also Master of Hiram Lodge in 1937, and was appointed G.J.D. in 1934. As a Knight Templar he was installed in Madras in 1898; was E.P. in 1907 and became Sub-Prior of Madras. In 1932 he received Rank as P.G.S.B.(B.), and in 1937 was E.P. of Studholme Preceptory. He was received into the Cryptic Degrees in Constantine Council in 1930, and was T.I.M. at the time of his death. In the Rosicrucian Society he joined the Robert Fludd College in Bath in 1919, and the Metropolitan College in 1929; he became Celebrant of the Metropolitan College in 1936, and D.G. of C. in 1932. He was a member of also the Red Cross of Constantine, th e Royal Order of Scotland, the Order of Eri, and the R.A.K.T.P.

Bro. Vibert was Prestonian Lecturer for two years consecutively in 1925 and 1926, the subjects of his Lectures being "The Development of the Trigradal System' 'and "The Evolution of the Second Degree".

When he came home to England he became the Editor of *Miscellanea Latomorum* and held that position for 18 years till 1938. Bro Vibert's achievements in Masonic literature are widely known and highly appreciated. Amongst his numerous publications may be mentioned particularly:

The Story of the Craft
Freemasonry before Grand Lodges
Rare Books of Freemasonry
Anderson's Constitutions of 1723
The Compagnonage
A Lodge in XIVth Century
Vestiges of Early days
Masonry amongst Prisoners of War
Survey of Masonic Research

Bro Vibert was well known as a Lecturer on Masonic Subjects; and during the past year alone he lectured to over 30 Lodges in London and the Provinces

A.Q.C., vol. 52

THE

Story of the Craft

A Simple Account of the Development of Freemasonry

BY

Wor. Bro. LIONEL VIBERT

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Member of Royal Cumberland, No. 41,
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LONDON, W.C.2.

NOTE.

The following pages being intended primarily for those who have not yet begun the study of our history, all references to authorities are purposely omitted; but my readers may rest assured that there is good warrant for every statement of fact made in the book.

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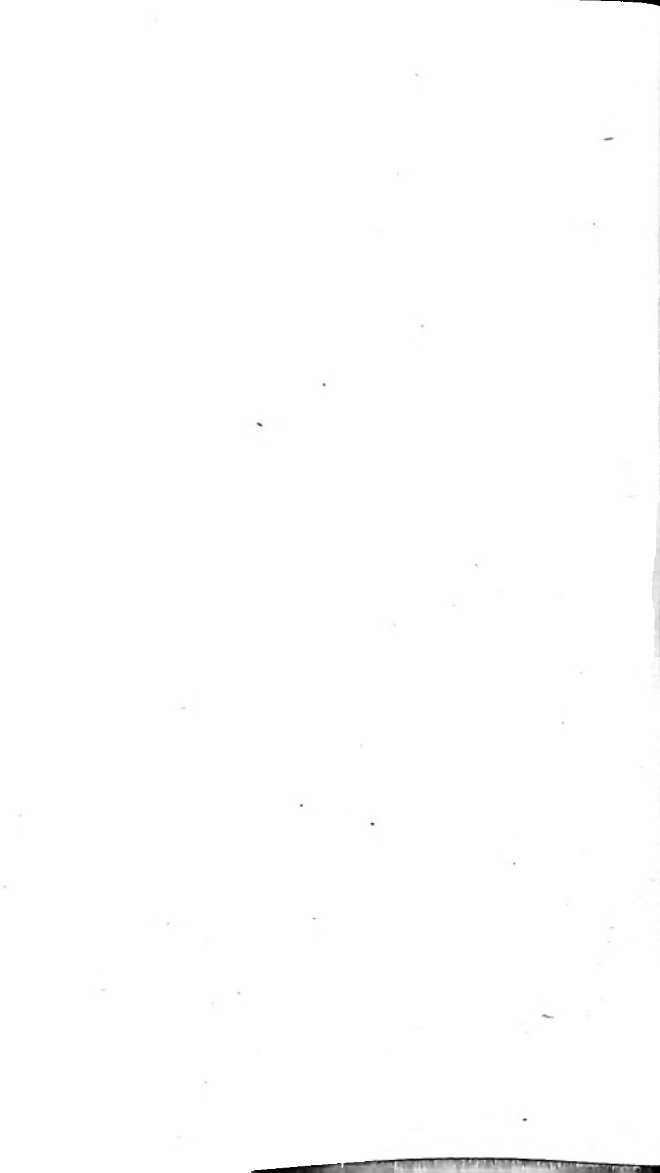

CHAPTER I.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOTHIC STYLE.

THROUGHOUT Western Europe the twelfth century was a period of growth and development in the political and artistic life of the community. The towns were freeing themselves from the control of their feudal lords and becoming self-governing bodies, and an ever-increasing commerce was bringing them a constant accession of wealth. Within them the artisans were organizing in Gilds which, while they no doubt operated to keep each trade in the hands of as few craftsmen as possible, yet made it their business as well to maintain a high standard of work and of fair dealing. Further it was a period of remarkable development in the monastic orders. The Regular Canons, or Augustinians, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the Premonstratensians, all in turn spread over Western Europe and covered it with religious houses. Under the great impetus thus given to Architecture, by the monastic orders on the one hand and the wealthy towns and Gilds on the other, it developed into a science, involving a constantly increasing degree of technical knowledge and constructive skill. The Norman or Romanesque, with its semi-circular vaulting, was a style that had presented no serious problems

of construction; as the weight was carried by the vault itself acting as an arch there was no more lateral thrust than could be overcome by the weight of the walls. It was a feudal and monastic style, and the monks and barons were in a great measure their own architects. But before 1100 A.D., at Durham, a new principle had been introduced that then appeared almost simultaneously all over Western Europe, namely that of the ogival vault, or vault the section of which is a pointed arch, the whole weight being carried on ribs. This principle once established, the architect was able to develop his building in height, in width, and in diversity of ground plan and elevation, for he was no longer restricted to the square bays and semi-circular apses of the Romanesque. But as he did so, and as the style we call Gothic grew under his hands, Architecture became more and more a highly technical science, and the possession of a single craft. In England and France the early builders were called *Caementarii*, a Latin word, and from the thirteenth century *Lathomi*, a Byzantine word. But side by side with these terms a new name comes into use. We find the French craftsmen described by a word that is variously spelt 'maschun,' 'maszun,' 'masson,' 'mason,' and 'maçon.' The word occurs in a twelfth century paraphrase of the Old Testament, and the actual passage is worth quoting: "e li maschun Salomun e li maschun Yram les taillerent;" *i.e.*, "Both Solomon the mason and Hiram the mason cut them (the stones)." From this time onwards

the word is of constant occurrence in France, and we have the King's Mason and the art of 'Maçonnerie.'

The German builders of the twelfth century and perhaps earlier called their most skilled workers 'Stein-metzen,' to all appearance a cognate word. But they were not as yet builders of Gothic, which, except for a few sporadic cases at monastic centres, was not introduced until the building of Cologne Cathedral in 1248.

In England we have the French word, spelt 'mason,' in a Statute of 1350, which is written in French, but the first appearance of it as an English word that is known to us is in 1376 in a list of the London Companies, in which occurs the entry 'freemasons,' which the writer has then scored out, and he has entered the Company further down as 'Masons.' Apparently he first wrote the popular name, and when correcting the entry substituted the official designation.

The French name 'maszun' must have become familiar in England as soon as French craftsmen were employed here, that is to say, from Norman times; and, in fact, it occurs in an English vocabulary of 1217, but as a French word. Still from the early thirteenth century at least the builder is associated in all three countries with a name that is either our present word Mason itself or what seems to be its philological equivalent.

But the term Freemason, which we saw was used by the compiler of the list of City Companies in 1376, is English and is unknown outside our

own country until the eighteenth century. When it came into use first of all, or what exactly it was then intended to mean, is uncertain. Manuscripts which have come down to us from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggest that the Craft was organised all over the country, and that the masons who were engaged in building the Abbeys and Cathedrals saw to it that the travelling craftsman would find work and welcome wherever he came. A member of such a Fraternity would be independent of the authorities who controlled the artisans working in the towns, and one explanation is that the Freemason was so called because, as an independent craftsman, he was free from the trade restrictions that were enforced by local Gilds. Such a craftsman would necessarily be more skilful than any resident in a town, even if that town were London itself, for he would be abreast of the very latest developments and discoveries of the masters of Gothic Architecture throughout the country, and the Freemason, when we first meet with him in the fourteenth century, is, in fact, a more skilful craftsman.

There was another special term which was well established among the fraternity in England at a very early date, and that was the word 'lodge.' The masons carried out their work in sheds put up beside the structure itself, and in Germany these are called 'Hütte' or Bauhütte,' that is to say 'huts.' The French workmen called their sheds 'ouvroirs,' or 'boutiques.' But the English mason, as early as 1292, spoke of his workroom

as a 'Lodge.' The contemporary sense of the word in both English and French—there seems to be no such word in German of the same period—is 'booth,' or 'hut' made of branches, and there is a second thirteenth century use in England of a confined space. But the English masons alone among craftsmen had for their workshop this particular technical name, which has come down in the Craft to modern times.

The Cathedral was the centre of the artistic life of the community, just as the monastery was the centre of its intellectual life. The monastery had its treasures of vestment and illuminated missal, while on the Cathedral the townspeople lavished the work of their most skilful goldsmiths and carpenters, the frescoes of the best artists, the finest glass they could procure. The statues and carvings that covered front and screen and porch were, in Ruskin's phrase, the peoples' Bible, while the great craftsman under whose direction the whole fabric had come into being was honoured as a Master, and as we see at St. James of Compostella, Amiens or Notre Dame, Strasburg, or our own Westminster, when his time came he was commemorated in many cases by an inscription in the building, if, indeed, he was not honoured, as at Rheims, by actual burial there. The position of Master of the Craft was one of distinction, and was only to be conferred on those who had attained a real standing and had proved their skill; and the Master was not merely associated with the square and compass, but he also wore his

robe of office and the cap that betokened his dignity, just as would the Master of the Gild of letters.

The new method of construction was adopted in turn in Southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Sicily and Italy, in each developing with their own local peculiarities. The styles of Northern France and England were for a long time closely similar. Canterbury, built by William of Sens, is practically a French cathedral on English soil, while the influence of English artists is discernible in many a French building of the period. But when for political reasons the intercourse between the two nations became less happy, they soon diverged into distinct styles of their own. Germany derived its Gothic from France, and the intercourse with the English masons can never have been very close, although traces of English influence in German work are not wanting. But the craftsmen of England and France were still working in close contact at a time when their organization in each country must already have reached a considerable stage of development. Accordingly while we have little or no connection with the early history of the Craft in other countries, that of Germany presents certain similarities while that of France is of quite special interest.

CHAPTER II.

The Craft Gilds.

The organizations known as Social or Religious Gilds go back in England and North-western Europe to a period anterior to the Conquest. They were associations of men and women who paid periodical subscriptions into a common fund from which the sick were assisted, masses said for the dead, and usually an altar maintained in a church. There were periodical meetings and feasts, and they often devoted their funds to other objects of a social and religious character. In the twelfth century the Crafts began to organise in the towns, and their associations were also known as Gilds, although their objects were not altogether the same as those of the earlier bodies. The Craft Gild was directly concerned with the affairs of the trade, which soon came to be its monopoly in its own locality. It regulated prices and hours of labour, and superintended the processes of manufacture. It recognised three grades of membership, the apprentice, the fellow, and the master, and these distinctions were common to all crafts. The artisan crafts—as distinguished from the merchant crafts, who were mainly concerned with selling—usually had their own special processes of manufacture or

construction, which were jealously guarded trade secrets. The Gildsman was bound by an oath not to reveal the mysteries of his craft to anyone not entitled to learn them, and among the artisan crafts this must have involved a very real obligation.

In all crafts there was more or less unskilled work to be done, in amount varying with the conditions of each, and accordingly a class of servants or 'journeymen' (the word means day labourer) soon comes into existence, who, as a rule, are not eligible to be advanced to the position of fellow, with the knowledge of the mysteries that that implies. In the building trades there must always have been a large amount of this unskilled labour from the very earliest times.

There is another point in which the conditions vary from one craft to another, and also in different countries, and that is the extent to which the younger members of the craft move about from place to place, partly to gain experience, but also from a very definite necessity to go where there is work to be had. This necessity is one that is absolute in the special craft of the skilled builder, or mason, and affects all members of it whatever their standing, for those who have been engaged for the construction of some particular work must needs, when it is completed, go elsewhere to find the only work they are prepared to do.

Thus the builder's craft, in common with all others, has its grades of apprentice, fellow, and master, its Gild members who are bound by

oaths, and its journeymen and other unskilled dependents. But the special circumstances of the work involve that the craftsmen are constantly presenting themselves in strange places to ask for work from the Fraternity, and for its protection there has to be instituted a regular system of means of identification which must be such as will enable one illiterate man to prove himself a member of the Fraternity to the satisfaction of others as illiterate as himself.

In France and Germany there was in most trades a recognised system of sending the apprentice out of his indentures to make a tour of the country before he was allowed to settle down, and journeymen also did this. In England this practice was all but non-existent, and after 1350 it was actually illegal. But the Freemason must always from the very conditions of his calling have been accustomed to go from place to place to follow his vocation, and his means of identification will have been one of the most closely guarded secrets of the Craft.

But although in all three countries the original organisation and conditions of the mason's calling were so closely alike, and the styles of architecture that they were developing were founded on an identical principle, yet each produced its own distinctive type of association. The Germans worked out a system of their own. In the French building trades the control passed entirely out of the hands of the Masters' Gilds, and came to be centred in the Compagnonnage, which was an association of journeyman of all trades. The

English and Scottish craftsmen evolved another and a distinct organisation, in which a gradually increasing element of non-operative or speculative members developed the elaborate ceremonial of that system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols, that we know as Freemasonry to-day.

Germany probably first learnt her architecture from British missionaries, while Benedictines coming from both Britain and Italy, and Lombard artists, developed it at a later date. From at least as early as the ninth century there were skilled builders, and we meet with a master builder, Enzelin, in 1133. But, as in other countries, it is to the twelfth century that we must assign the first development among these artists of a Gild organisation, when the monks were no longer the sole employers; for the prince bishops, and wealthy towns were now able to offer more work and better pay. The builders were at first members of a Gild that comprised several small trades, but they separated to form their own fraternities, one of which is the Steinmetzen, a name which is a compound of 'Stein' (stone), and '*Metz*,' which, as already observed, seems to be philologically the same word as the French '*Maszun*' or *English* 'mason.' Their special handicraft was the carving of stone, an art which they carried to a marvellous perfection, and the preparation of architectural drawings or plans. Of their organisation prior to 1459 little is known, but there was one particular in which the craft differed from others, and that was that in each

local Lodge, or Gild rather, the fellows and the journeymen were all members together under the control of the master; the journeymen did not separate into societies of their own. Certain ordinances of 1459 have come down to us, and apparently the isolated Gilds all over Germany and Switzerland were then united in one universal fraternity, in four provinces each with its own chief judge, at Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, and Bern.

A highly specialised craft such as this was bound to be thrown on individual employment as soon as the great cathedrals were no longer under construction; and the Reformation, and the Thirty Years War, finally brought about their disappearance as a distinct society. The building craft in Germany now only distinguished two classes, the *Gruss-maurer*, or masons who identify one another by a greeting, and the *Brief-maurer*, who have diplomas, and this distinction has continued to modern times. Such Lodges (Hütte) of Steinmetzen as survived were finally extinguished, with one or two isolated exceptions, when in 1698 Strasburg became a French town; and in the following century all Craft Gilds were made illegal. When the English Freemasonry of the eighteenth century was introduced into Germany no one identified it as in any way connected with the Steinmetzen although their vestiges were still to be found.

The Steinmetzen were a Craft Gild, and, like all other Craft Gilds in Germany, had a secret form of greeting. They had no other system of

identification and no initiation ceremony, and they called their workrooms "Hütte"; the general meeting of a province being spoken of as a Chapter. It is very doubtful if they allowed non-operatives to join the Society, and in any case they never developed any non-operative system such as came into existence in our own country, nor do they appear to have made any more extended use of symbolism than did the other Gilds around them. Just as the Germans developed Gothic architecture on lines of their own, so did their masons develop an association of their own which was always distinct and remained independent.

The Craft Gilds of the masons in France were in no way different from that of any other Craft. Such Gilds certainly existed in the thirteenth century, and probably earlier. But they soon became close corporations of masters and masters' kin, and the control of labour passed out of their hands entirely. There are traces of ceremonies at the making of a master (this is also found in the German Craft Gilds), and the production of a masterpiece by the would-be master was an essential preliminary to promotion. These Gilds were closely associated with the Religious Gilds, each as a body belonging to one; and at a later date they were identified with them. At the Revolution the whole system was swept away.

But in France another system developed which has a much closer resemblance to our English Craft, and that is the Compagnonnage. This

was an association of journeymen only, and originally, in the fourteenth century, was restricted to the four building trades of stone-cutter, carpenter, joiner, and locksmith. These travelled through the country, and their journeys were at a later date systematised into a prescribed itinerary known as the *Tour de France.* In the seventeenth century they began to admit other trades to their ranks, and by the end of the next century almost every trade in the country was represented. The masons as such are in no way distinguished from the rest. But the system as a whole had an elaborate ceremonial connected with the incidents of the *Tour*, and with funerals, and each trade had its own initiation ceremony. Being a journeymen's association, there were originally not three grades but two, as masters were excluded; but a third grade was introduced early in the nineteenth century, on the analogy of Freemasonry. Some of the initiation ceremonies are known to us from an exposure of the seventeenth century, and they consisted of a baptism and other rites, the details of which varied, but all followed more or less closely the services of the Church. The meeting place of the Compagnons was not the workroom but an inn, and in every town of importance each trade had one allotted to it as its headquarters, where all its business was done, and most of its ceremonies took place.

Thus the system is distinct from Freemasonry in that its ceremonies are adaptations from church offices; it excludes masters; and its meeting-

place is not the Lodge or workroom. Further it all hinges on the *Tour de France,* and thus depends on a practice which by the fourteenth century was already obsolete in England. Nevertheless there are similarities of ceremonial, and the legends of both systems have certain features in common.

CHAPTER III.

SAINTS, LEGENDS, AND ORDINANCES.

THE Social and Religious Gilds were usually identified with a particular Saint; they met on his day, and maintained services in his chapel. The Craft Gilds followed the same practice, and by the twelfth century the Crafts had, as a rule, patron saints of their own. The patron saints of the English masons were the Quatuor Coronati, whose day, November 8th, is given in the eleventh century Sarum Missal. The legend is very confused, but is apparently of Italian origin. A church dedicated to them stands to-day on the Caelian Hill, and is said to have been founded in the seventh century; it was certainly in existence in the ninth. They had a church at Canterbury in the seventh century. The name is explained as being due to the fact that one form of the legend makes them soldiers, and 'Coronati' was a Roman military rank. They were martyred either because, as soldiers, they would not worship an image of Aesculapius, or because, as sculptors, they refused to carve one. There is a special reference to them in our earliest record, which is of date late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and the Masons' Company of London enacted in 1481 that every freeman of the Craft should

attend mass on their day, a practice which continued until the Reformation. When the German Steinmetzen were organised they also adopted these as their patron saints.

The French mason's Gild was under the protection of St. Blaise, and we also read of a *confrèrie*, or Religious Gild of masons dedicated to SS. Simon and Jude. The French journeymen adopted St. Mary Magdalene, a favourite Provençal saint, but at a later date they replaced her by their legendary founder Jacques, the place of pilgrimage remaining the same.

The ordinary Craft Gild was, as a rule, content with the legends of its patron saint, and seems to have concerned itself but little with its own past history, or with claims to antiquity. But the masons evinced a different spirit. This is only natural, for alone among mediæval crafts would the masons have the great works of their predecessors still standing in their midst. We find accordingly in our very earliest records a legendary history already in existence, and we have the same thing in France. The German masons appear to have had no legend connecting them with antiquity. They were content with the bare statement that the Steinmetzen were founded at the erection of the cathedral of Magdeburg in the days of Charles II., an assertion which antedated that edifice by two centuries. Of the French masters' legend, if they had one, nothing seems to have been preserved, but they claimed that Charles Martel had given them special privileges of exemption from watch duty.

The French journeymen have a most elaborate legend which has undoubtedly been greatly expanded in comparatively recent times. But in its simplest form it seems to have been to the effect that a certain Maitre Jacques was with Solomon and Hiram at the construction of the Temple, and that he came thence to France, accompanied by a certain Père Soubise, and there taught the science. Solomon had himself incorporated the stone-masons; Jacques incorporated the joiners and locksmiths; and Soubise the carpenters.

The earliest legend of the English Craft is to the effect that Euclid founded masonry in Egypt, and that it spread from country to country until it reached England. There after many years it was in great disorder, but Athelstan reorganised it, and gave the masons a 'certain rule.' Thus the earliest glimpse we have of the Craft shews once more that each country goes its own way in this respect also, and of the two legendary accounts the English is the nearer to actual fact, for it is correct to say that Egypt was the first home of geometry, and some knowledge of the science may well have been possessed by the builders who were brought to England in the seventh and eighth centuries. It is the English legend of which we have the earliest record; we have it in a form which may have been in existence in MS. in the thirteenth century. And there is some ground for believing the legend itself to be actually older than either the Steinmetzen statement or the Compagnonnage story.

All Craft Gilds had their rules, framed to ensure good work and protect the interests of the trade; they regulated the admission of apprentices, and the employment of unskilled labour. Each trade also had its peculiar customs and its own secrets. There have been preserved two very early sets of rules of the mason's craft in England. Our earliest text is a poem, now in the British Museum, which is variously known as the Halliwell Poem, the Regius MS., or the Regius Poem. In date it is somewhere about 1400. This gives us the simple legend, a metrical version of the early rules, an account of our patron saints, the Quatuor Coronati, and a very confused account of the seven sciences, and then goes on to transcribe two lengthy passages from contemporary poems on behaviour and manners. Our next oldest text, which is known as the Cooke MS., is apparently of the fifteenth century, and consists of a long and learned quasi-historical account of the Craft; but tacked on to this is a transcript of a much earlier work, called the "Book of Charges," which consists of the legend and the early set of rules very much as they are given in the Regius Poem. These are simply Gild regulations, and except in two particulars they differ in no respect from other Gild ordinances. They are in two parts. The first counsels morality, honesty and courtesy, and obedience to the laws of the Gild, prescribes the conditions as to apprentices, and prohibits the supplanting of one mason by another. The second part prescribes loyalty to God and Holy Church,

honesty and contentment, secrecy as to the counsel 'of the fellows in Lodge,' peaceable and chaste conduct, strict impartiality in him who is put in charge of the brethren by the master, and readiness to help the unskilful fellow. The two parts are distinguished by being spoken of as the Charges and Manners respectively, the detailed enactments being Articles and Points. And although the distinction is not anywhere clearly expressed, the Charges appear to be the law imposed on the Craft from outside, while the Manners are their own time-immemorial customs. This distinction, with its hint of a great antiquity, is one that other Gilds do not appear to make; and the second point of dissimilarity is the provision in the rules for a periodical general meeting of the Craft throughout the country, which is known first as the Congregation, and then as the Assembly. This system was unknown in other Crafts in this country, and was not introduced into Germany till the fourteenth century, the Steinmetzen adopting it, as we have seen, at a still later date (1459), when they designated their provincial meetings Chapters. But the references to it in our early laws suggest that it was a well-established custom in England at a distinctly earlier date, although the descriptions we have of its constitution present considerable difficulties, as the passages in both texts are very corrupt.

The rules enjoin secrecy, but so do the rules of almost all Gilds. They however use the special word 'Lodge,' which was already the technical name of the masons' workroom. But beyond this

these two oldest texts, the Poem and the Book of Charges, disclose nothing as to the existence or otherwise of ceremonies, and tell us nothing as to much else that we should have been glad to hear about. We see, however, that by the fourteenth century the English Craft was already a well-defined organisation, distinctly different from the corresponding organisations on the Continent. It had a terminology of its own, and a legend of its own; it apparently had long since instituted a system of control over large areas that was introduced into Germany in the fourteenth century, but that seems to be unknown among the French Gilds. There were certainly operative secrets, as also secret means of recognition, of which, however, we know nothing. There is also nothing that will enable us to make any statement either for or against the existence of ceremonies of admission or initiation, and as yet there is no evidence for the existence of non-operative members of the society further than that it is suggested by the fact that someone, we know not who, has compiled a poem for the use of the Craft.

CHAPTER IV.

The Period of Transition.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the architecture of England developed in a similar fashion to that of France and that of Scotland; being always a little behind the former and in front of the latter. There was a community of technical knowledge, and the advances and developments in it made in one place were so rapidly adopted elsewhere that it is plain that the members of the Fraternity must have been in constant touch throughout the kingdom, if not in organised relations with one another, And just as England and Scotland were coterminous, so were England and France, for the dominions of the King of England included nearly all of what is south-western France to-day.

As time went on the science of Gothic Architecture became increasingly intricate and difficult; the days when the monks could build their own chapel had long since passed away. Many of the earlier abbeys and cathedrals were apparently designed by the men who built them. The same individual was both architect and contractor as well as himself working on the structure. Elsewhere the design is the work of an ecclesiastic who superintends its execution by the master

and workmen. At Gloucester and some other centres we seem to have schools where the monks and master masons join together to work out their designs. At York and doubtless elsewhere the masons' Lodge becomes a permanent institution and the Chapter maintains a regular staff of craftsmen, who are reinforced for special works by skilled men brought from outside. But the designs are all the work of practical men who think in stone. There is as yet no drawing as a science apart, of edifices which another is to build. This close interdependence between designer and workman had a very definite effect upon the Craft in this country.

The Regius Poem suggests that the Lodge was a place in which non-members of the Craft were not welcomed, and it is obvious that it must have become so at a very early date. But while the craftsman would resent any inspection of his methods and implements by outsiders, yet the clerics in charge of the masons would require to be able to enter the Lodge whenever they thought fit, and such of them as were skilled amateurs in the science would actually be welcome even though they might not be able to qualify as working members. As a way out of the difficulty the masons appear to have adopted a practice which was already familiar to the London Companies, and that was to make such persons free of the Lodge on a non-operative footing. Edward III was made a member of the Linen Armourers' Company in this fashion, and his example was followed by his nobility. In the narrative portion of the Cooke

MS. we find a statement that Athelstan's youngest son loved well the science of Geometry, and he became a mason because he knew they had the practical knowledge, and he wished to add that to his speculative knowledge. As a statement of a historical fact this is no doubt erroneous (Athelstan had no son), but it *is* evidence that at the time this narrative was composed men were being made masons because of their theoretical knowledge of the subject, and it is especially noteworthy that this fifteenth century text uses the actual word we are familiar with to-day, when it tells us that the prince was a master of *speculative*.

But the great days of Gothic were by this time already passed. The fourteenth century saw our intercourse with Scotland cut off, after Bannockburn in 1314, not to be resumed for nearly three centuries. Some twenty years later the Hundred Years War began, not to conclude till we had lost all our French possessions, save Calais, and had turned the French into hereditary foes. The ravages of the Black Death in this same century and the social upheaval they brought about were followed by a period of unrest and civil strife which did not end till the days of Henry VII. By about 1500 the art seems to have lost all power of growth. Once the great cathedrals were completed there would in any case have been less demand for the work of the highly skilled mason ; but the Reformation swept away at once the schools of the art and its greatest patrons, and by the time of Elizabeth even the ability to construct a Gothic building had all but

disappeared. The Renaissance style had already begun to come in, and it was firmly established in the succeeding reign, and this was a style which did not require the master of Gothic and was independent of all his technical secrets and methods.

Accordingly the profession of builder in the Gothic style now disappeared in England. The term Freemason was, however, preserved for a long time as a trade designation.

The London Company described themselves officially as Freemasons in 1537, and continued to use that style till 1655. In 1604 a Gild of Freemasons, Carpenters, Joiners, and Slaters was incorporated at Oxford, and as late as 1671 there was founded at Gateshead a "Fellowship and Company" of eighteen trades, first among whom stand the Freemasons. Individuals use the style well into the eighteenth century. On the other hand it is absent from Elizabeth's Statute of Apprentices (1562), which codified the whole law on the subject of labour, although carpenters and rough masons are expressly named therein. This suggests that by this time (*a*) the word had come to have other meanings, and (*b*) the masons' craft could now be sufficiently described without its use. By the end of this reign there can hardly have been any locality in which it was necessary for operative reasons to continue to treat the workroom as a place to be closely guarded, accessible only to the initiated or accepted mason.

Still the decay of the Art was not accompanied by the disappearance of the name by which its

craftsman had been designated. But exactly what was going on in the Lodges during this time we do not know.

From the Fabric Rolls of the cathedrals we get information as to wages and hours of work, and they preserve other details of interest. The term Freemason occurs in those of Exeter cathedral from 1396 onwards, and its use is widespread in the succeeding century. But our only other sources of information are the Statutes that deal with the Craft, together with such information as is furnished by the records of the London Company and the Gilds in the provinces, and a series of documents of our own known as the OLD CHARGES. In Scotland the position is different and it will be separately dealt with.

We have, commencing in 1350, a series of Statutes prescribing wages, and some of these distinguish two classes of mason. Thus we have, in 1350, the 'mestre mason de franche pere' (master mason of free stone), who is mentioned separately from the other masons, and similarly the 'chiefs mestres' of masons in 1360; in both cases these draw a higher pay. Masons generally are often referred to, and are classed with 'carpenters, plasterers, tylers, and all manner of labourers' (London in 1350), or 'carpenters, tilers, thatchers, daubers, and all other labourers' (Statute of 1423). The actual English word Freemason does not occur in the Statutes till 1495, though 'frank mason,' which seems to be the same thing, is used in 1445 in a Statute which is written in French.

In 1356 the masons of London propounded for the approval of the City authorities a set of regulations which were to put an end to disputes that had arisen within the trade. These are adapted from the Rules in the Book of Charges, the very phraseology of which is echoed in places; and we are told that the differences which had arisen were between the masons who were hewers and the light masons and setters, because their trade was not governed by its own people as were other trades in the City. In these rules the word Freemason does not occur.

The Statute of 1350 expressly prohibited alliances and 'covines' (secret agreements) of masons and carpenters, and their congregations, chapters, and ordinances, and annulled all oaths betwixt them made. And in 1425 this prohibition was repeated as against the masons, who were forbidden to assemble in their yearly congregations and confederacies.

During this same period the Gilds were attracting the attention of the legislature, and this not merely because of their increasing wealth, but also because the Craft Gilds in particular were accustomed to have regulations of their own, and these were, doubtless, at times in conflict with the law of the land. At the end of the fourteenth century returns were called for from *all* Gilds, which were to furnish particulars of their property, charters, and regulations. At this date Gilds of masons in the provinces do not seem to have come into existence; at all events there is no record of them, and at Norwich in 1375 we

know they did not exist as a separate body but were attached to the carpenters. This legislation may not, therefore, have affected the Craft. But it was repeated in 1437, from which date all Gilds were required to submit their ordinances for official approval. In consequence apparently of this enactment and that of 1425 the Craft now took steps to regularise its position, and we have a code of laws, of date about 1450, that was drawn up for the Fraternity as a whole, not for the Company or any Gild, and that is stated to have been approved by King Henry VI and his Council, which may well be a historical fact. The first article or 'charge,' as the separate clauses are now called, is that 'ye be . . true men to God and the holy Church, and that ye shall use neither error nor heresy,' a reflection of the times, for Wyclif had died in 1384, but persecutions of Lollards had gone on for more than forty years after his death. The second enjoins loyalty to the King, 'and if ye know either Treason or treachery, look ye . . . warn the King or his Rulers.' Later on in the code attendance at the Assembly is enjoined if it be within five miles.

In 1425 the yearly Assemblies of the masons had been forbidden; but such national organisation as there was in earlier days was perfectly law-abiding, and when it assembled in the interests of the community's greatest art, it was a public benefit. The Regius Poem and the Cooke MS. tell us that these Assemblies were under public and official patronage. But when with the decline of the art itself different economic con-

ditions had also arisen, it seems as though in the fifteenth century the masons of the towns were meeting under colour of their old trade custom for what were, in fact, illegal objects. We find some hint of such a state of affairs at Worcester, where the ordinances of 1467 forbid the Tylers of the city to set any parliament among them to make any of them to be as a master and all others to be at his commandment. Again at Norwich in 1469 the mayor is called on to reform divers things for a long time used by the masons to the dishonour of their craft. It would be an error to assume that this legislation was directed against oaths or ceremonies connected with admission to the Craft, although this interpretation has been put on it. The reference is to the condition of affairs in towns, where the artisan classes banded together to defeat the attempts of the legislature to impose on them arbitrary rates of wages; and the building trades would be particularly liable to constantly recurring trouble over this very question, owing to the peculiar conditions under which they worked. The owner of a dwelling-house would usually engage both masters and workmen, and by their 'alliances and covines' they would have him at their mercy in the absence of any legal protection. This also explains why the Statutes are always so particular in specifying the rates of the masters' wages.

Accordingly the framers of the code were not prevented by the recent legislation from introducing into it a reference to their old and good

custom of a periodical assembly, but when doing so they added a provision which finds no place in the older law to the effect that the attendance at it was required only of those within five miles or who were specially summoned. This is a sufficient indication that the widespread organisation of former days was now no more than a tradition. At the same time the code also provides that the master who can offer no work to strange masons shall help them on their way to the next Lodge. This is another survival from the practice of an earlier day before legal restrictions were placed on the movements of the labouring classes. Thus the code, even when it was framed, contained provisions that can hardly have corresponded with existing conditions, and much of it had no relevancy at any time to the non-operative member of the Society. Yet it was this set of laws, or Charges General and Special, to give them the name they were always known by, which was the law of the Craft until the Constitutions were entirely recast in 1723; to it every newly admitted member swore allegiance, and a copy of it no doubt found a place in every Lodge.

In 1472 a coat of arms was granted to the "Hole Craft and Felawship of Masons," and was soon in general use. Although the grant was in the first instance made to the London Company, yet Gilds and individuals elsewhere adopted it without hesitation and apparently without objection. The Craft was still felt to be one Fraternity throughout the kingdom.

Of the legend in the simple form in which it existed in, and no doubt before, the fourteenth century, something has already been said. It tells us how, once upon a time, Euclid in Egypt taught the sons of the nobility how to turn a knowledge of geometry into a means of livelihood, and he called this application of the science 'Masonry.' Also he gave them a Charge, to honour the good workman as master, and to respect all, even those of less skill, for all alike were to be called 'fellows.' And so it went from land to land till it came to England, and there after many years King Athelstan reformed it, and ordained periodical congregations. The name of the geometer is written Englet or Englat, which suggests for the legend a Saxon rather than a Norman or other origin. But the story itself is as simple as possible, and is told in the simplest language. The Regius Poem turns this same narrative into verse. The author says it is 'writ in old books.' He goes on to add other fragments of legend, and he gives us a somewhat different, and apparently later, set of articles. The rest of the poem has already been described.

In the fifteenth century a most elaborate historical narrative was compiled, with learned allusions, Latin quotations, and references to classical and contemporary authorities. The compiler may have worked in existing legends as well, and he used the legend of the Book of Charges in any case, as Euclid and Athelstan both reappear. It is out of the question that such a work should have been written for mere

working craftsmen. Yet it must have been intended for some society of masons, and it was valued and preserved by the Fraternity, for we find copies of the narrative being made late in the seventeenth century for Lodge use.

In about 1520 the narrative was re-written, the learned allusions and quotations being eliminated, although the historical sequence was maintained. By this time the code of Henry VI was apparently in general use, and accordingly from now onwards the texts of the Old Charges give (unless they are imperfect) first a narrative that is textually derived from the sixteenth century recension, and, secondly, a more or less exact version of the code, to which, however, additions are made in the next century.

That this code was apparently compiled to satisfy the authorities as to the loyalty and law-abidingness of the Fraternity, and also to comply with the statutes, we have already seen. But the history, even as revised, was never written for an audience of mere workmen, although until we come to the seventeenth century we have no information as to where, or by whom, any single copy of the Old Charges was used. We have only one text, at present, that can with certainty be assigned to this period, and that is dated 1583. It is known as Grand Lodge No. 1, and is now in the G.L. Library. It was used in Lodge, and the oath the candidate had to take is referred to at its close. Two other versions are described by their writers, no doubt with perfect truth, as being transcribed from originals of this time.

They are the Levander, the original of which was dated 1560, and the text known as Melrose No. 2, the original of which bore the date 1581, and referred to 'our most Soveraing Lady Elizabeth.' The Dauntesey enjoins loyalty to the King *and Queen*, and if this reading was found in its original, that text would seem to have been of the time of Philip and Mary. In the seventeenth century, the history and Code were transcribed over and over again, and of the copies so made a very large number have come down to our own days.

CHAPTER V.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (ENGLAND).

BEFORE the seventeenth century there is no authentic record of a single non-operative member of the Fraternity in England. We know the names of many architects and individual Freemasons, and no doubt these met and worked in Lodges. So long as Gothic architecture was a living art the Lodge was essentially the workroom, and there was no membership of the Lodge in the sense in which that expression is used to-day. Freemasons were members of a Fraternity, and all those at work in each locality assembled and worked in its Lodge under the instructions of the Master of the work, while in the room itself a senior mason, appointed by his fellows, was responsible for discipline.

But as time went on a new state of affairs developed. Originally when the masons met to work, non-operatives were allowed to be present only because they individually had an interest in or could advance that work. But when work was no longer to be had, the masons in many localities nevertheless continued to meet and to admit other persons as members of the Fraternity. They spoke of their meetings as Lodges ; they preserved and read the Old Charges, copies of

which they were at pains to transcribe from time to time; and they kept up some of the practices not only of the Craft Gilds but also of those old Social Gilds which had been done away with at the Reformation. Thus we read of Lodges which elected their officers annually on a stated day, these being usually a Master and Wardens; provision was also made for aged and sick members, and the brethren dined together and in some cases still went as a body to church on particular days. And in their hands the admission of new members now became a formal and important ceremony. The societies that kept up these ancient customs also maintained the designation Freemason, and spoke of themselves as the Fraternity or Society of Freemasons, and their new members were said to be admitted or accepted. This latter word had been used by the Craft for centuries to signify the admission of working apprentices, and this use of it is still found in the eighteenth century. But in London in the seventeenth century 'accepted' was the term used for the admission of members to the non-operative Fraternity which was itself there called the Acception. At the same time the term Fraternity came to be more especially associated with the Accepted Masons, although both they and the Masons by trade used indifferently the words Company, Fellowship, and Society, and seem to have made no distinction between them. Again while we still read of Freemasons by trade, and they are so described in the by-laws of the Masons' Gild at Durham in 1657, yet there is a

clear tendency to restrict the term to the members of the non-operative body, which alone preserves the word Lodge. The true operative Lodge or workroom is now all but obsolete. The Fraternity uses the word now to describe the actual meeting called for the purposes of the Craft. These are held in any convenient place where the brethren will be undisturbed ; sometimes out in the open, but more often at taverns, and when the same set of men are meeting again and again at one tavern it becomes both natural and convenient to speak of *them* as the Lodge at the Rummer and Grapes, or the like, and by 1721 this use of the term is fully established although the older meaning still survives.

The term most generally used outside London to describe the Fraternity in its new form was 'Society,' and all the evidence we have indicates that in the seventeenth century this Society had members all over England. There is no clear evidence of the existence of any general organisation, but those admitted in one locality were free of the Society in another. The historical connection with the operative Craft was never lost sight of, and we find this indicated by a rule that the Lodge which meets to admit members shall always include one mason by trade. To what extent this rule was followed in practice we do not know, but it is found in what are known as the New Articles which are a seventeenth century addition to the Old Charges.

The existence of the Society was well known, and they did not treat their versions of the Old

Charges as secrets but allowed antiquaries and historians to read and even to copy them. But it was generally known that they had a system of secrets of recognition, and a 'very formal' ceremony of admission; and the literature of the period contains occasional references to the supposed compelling powers of the 'masons' sign.' In the Tatler, Steele speaks of persons who have signs and Tokens like Freemasons.

The Acception was a sort of inner circle of the London Company; persons could, however, be accepted in it as masons who were not members of the Company itself. Although the funds were under the control of the Company, there were distinct payments made for joining the Acception, and it had its own officers. We have entries relating to it in the records of the Company from 1620; and the first entry relating to a person being accepted who was not a member of the Company occurs in 1650. It also preserved as its 'Constitutions' its own copies of the Old Charges. The Rules of the Company, on the other hand, were a distinct matter, and the distinction was also made elsewhere, as for instance at Norwich, Gateshead, and Alnwick. The trade bodies on incorporation drew up appropriate sets of rules which had little or no connection with the Charges General and Special of the Code of Henry VI. But the Society clung to their old law, and it was preserved all but unaltered, the only changes made taking the form of additional or new articles, and even these seem to have been local.

We hear of the Society at Chester and Warrington, and it is here that Ashmole was admitted in 1646 together with a Colonel Henry Mainwaring, these being the first specific instances as yet known of the admission of non-operatives into English Freemasonry. There is a reference in the Grand Lodge Minutes of 2nd March, 1732, to a brother who had been made a mason at Chichester in 1696, and we also have a record of a meeting in 1693, where five brethren held a Lodge at some undetermined locality in the neighbourhood of York. Dr. Plot, who published a *Natural History of Staffordshire* in 1686, writes of Freemasonry as 'of greater request [there] than anywhere else, though I find the custom spread more or less all over the Nation.'

Several lists of names of members have come down to us, and we see that the Society drew its membership from all classes. It included antiquaries, like Ashmole and Randle Holme of Chester, landed gentry, civic dignitaries, and many others besides the regular working masons. It was, however, as yet composed mainly of persons of no great eminence either socially or intellectually, and assertions made at a later date that it numbered among its members celebrated architects and philosophers of European fame, as well as reigning kings of England, find no support in contemporary documents.

It is, however, sufficiently clear that the Society had no longer any direct concern with the actual processes of building, and that its objects were solely social, moral, and philosophical; it was an

object of interest to antiquaries, and while operative masons still joined it, they had their own Companies for the advancement of purely trade purposes. No doubt in certain localities these were connected more or less intimately with the Society, but an increasing proportion of its members now consisted of persons who had no direct connection with building as a profession or a means of livelihood.

The extent to which the Society was independent of any association of operatives in its neighbourhood varied from place to place. The proportion of its members who were non-operative was also different in each locality. But the aims of the Society were, so far as we know, similar everywhere, and they may be summed up as follows:—the preservation of the traditions, customs and ceremonies, and moral teachings, of the old operative masons, and their old documents, without reference to contemporary working conditions; and by persons, as to whom it was wholly immaterial whether they were or were not connected with that or any other craft or profession. In pursuance of this object they maintained the old terminology and spoke of their meetings as Lodges and themselves as Freemasons.

CHAPTER VI.

The Formation of Grand Lodge.

In 1677 the Company of Masons was reconstituted and given a new Charter, and from this date the Acception could no longer be officially recognised as associated with it. We know that a 'Lodge' was held at Masons' Hall, London, in March, 1682, at which Ashmole was present, which we may presume was held by members of the Acception, but the subsequent history of that body is unknown. There is a tradition of lodges being held by the Masons connected with the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, which suggests that they preserved the old customs, and apparently something of the same kind took place at Greenwich. But except for a late and somewhat doubtful allusion to a Lodge that was held in London in 1693, we know nothing of what was going on in the metropolis from now until 1716. Governor Belcher of Boston, New England, speaking in 1741, said that he had been admitted into the Society thirty-seven years previously, and he was in England in the year this indicates, 1704. But that he was so made in London rather than anywhere else is merely a probability, and cannot be asserted in terms. When for the first time, in 1729, the Lodges then recognised were arranged

in order of seniority and assigned dates of constitution, the Lodge that met at St. Paul's Churchyard was stated to have been constituted in 1691, and to that meeting at Westminster no date was assigned. But at a later date these two Lodges preferred the description 'Time immemorial,' and that description they retain to-day, and it is fully warranted. Neither in 1691 nor at any other date prior to 1721 does it appear that any authority in fact existed which could constitute a Lodge.

Although the Jacobites were by no means silenced by the failure of the rising of 1715, yet the Hanoverian succession was now felt to be assured, and there was a general revival of social and scientific activities in consequence. In the next year a movement was set on foot to bring together the Freemasons in the metropolis. What, if anything, was behind this movement we do not know. It can hardly have been political; it would not seem even to have been as yet an intellectual movement; it was at all events originally controlled by wholly obscure persons, and they at first did no more than bring together members of the Society in London and Westminster. With the Provinces they were in no way concerned.

We are told of four different taverns where the Fraternity were accustomed to meet: the Goose and Gridiron, in St. Paul's Churchyard, the meetings at which may well have been kept up by masons who had worked on the Cathedral, completed in 1708; the Crown, in Parker's Lane, near Drury Lane; the Apple Tree, in Charles

Street, Covent Garden; and the Rummer and Grapes, in Channel Row, Westminster. No doubt there were meetings elsewhere. In 1716, or 1717, the brethren meeting at these houses, and with them in all likelihood other individual Freemasons not associated with any particular tavern, seem to have instituted a practice of an annual feast of the whole Fraternity in London and Westminster. This was a custom they were familiar with as an old Gild practice still kept up by the London Companies. They called it the 'Assembly,' which was the old term in use among the Craft centuries earlier, and at the Assembly of 1717 they elected to preside over them a Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, whom they styled the Grand Master. This was a new departure, the title and office being as yet unknown to the English Craft. Of Anthony Sayer's previous career nothing is known. He was clearly not a mason by trade. He was not in sympathy with the further developments which took place at a later date, and still later he was in receipt of charity from the Craft, dying in poverty in 1741 as Tyler of the Lodge at the Old King's Arms. As Grand Master he was supported by two Grand Wardens, of whom also little or nothing is known; one of them, Joseph Lamball, is described as a carpenter, and he used to attend Grand Lodge in later years, but he also ended his days in poverty. The other, Mr. Joseph Elliot, passes out of sight altogether after his appointment.

These proceedings attracted no public attention at the time, and the only account of them we have is that written by Anderson, which he published in 1738; it may have been derived from Lamball himself, but it is full of details for which he is our only authority, and, unfortunately, Anderson was, as a historian, untrustworthy and deliberately inaccurate.

He tells us that the meeting was held on 24th June, 1717, and this statement we can accept, as when four years later theannual meeting is referred to in the contemporary press, it is held on the same day. But no other meetings than the one annual Feast and Assembly are as yet recorded.

No other names have come down to us, and we know nothing of the membership of the Society in London at this date. It obviously included persons who were not masons by trade; but the fact that an individual was elected as Grand Master who would seem to have been both obscure and of small means suggests that it did not at this time include any one of any social standing. Ashmole had been dead many years.

At the Assembly in 1718 Mr. George Payne was elected Grand Master. He seems to have been fairly well off, but he also was not a mason by trade, while his two wardens were described as a carpenter and a stone-cutter, but of them again little or nothing is known. He at once began to take a prominent part in the affairs of the Society, and he is one of those to whom the new developments that now rapidly ensued are to be mainly attributed.

In 1719 the Grand Master was a really distinguished individual, who was a well-known man of science and a member of the Royal Society, the Revd. T. J. Desaguliers ; and in 1720 Mr. George Payne was re-appointed as Grand Master. We may reasonably suppose that the choice still lay between him and his predecessor, and that as yet no one more distinguished had joined the Society. As Grand Master, Payne now took a step which was to have a remarkable effect on our history. He drew up a set of regulations for the management of the Craft in London and Westminster, which completely altered the whole position of the brethren. The Lodges were now to be regularly organised bodies, with set officers and days of meeting, and by-laws, and they were restricted as to their powers of admitting masons. The Grand Lodge constituted itself a supreme authority and forbade new Lodges to be formed without its warrant, and it retained in its own hands the power to advance apprentices to a higher degree. Elaborate rules were also drawn up for the conduct of business in Grand Lodge, and for its periodical meetings.

Persons who presumed to form their own Lodges without the permission of the Grand Lodge were to be treated as 'rebels.' Although Anderson asserts that there were already twelve organised Lodges in existence at this date, an analysis of the lists of Lodges preserved in the Minutes of Grand Lodge, and the first engraved lists taken from them, shews that on the occasion when the new regulations were promulgated, the 24th June, 1721, there can have been no more

Lodges in existence than the original four and possibly one other. The former are always known as the FOUR OLD LODGES, and for none of them can any date of founding be assigned; we merely know that they were in existence prior to 1717. The Lodge meeting at the Goose and Gridiron afterwards became the Lodge at the King's Arms, and is to-day the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2 on the Register of the Grand Lodge. The Lodge at the Crown was erased in 1736. It seems to have failed to conform to the rules regarding attendance at Grand Lodge and contributions to the Charity Fund. The Lodge at the Apple Tree moved to the Queen's Head, Knaves' Acre, and became No. 11 in the first list of Lodges that was made out according to seniority in 1729, although it was entitled to a higher place. But its position was decided by the date of the Constitution which had been given the Lodge, 'though they wanted it not.' This Lodge is now the Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland, No. 12. The Lodge at the Rummer and Grapes was afterwards moved to the Horn Tavern, and eventually became the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4. The one other recognised Lodge which does appear to have been in existence before 24th June, 1721, was held at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street, and a list of members is given in the list of Lodges of 1723 that is preserved in the Minutes of Grand Lodge. But by 1725 it had already ceased to exist.

On Jan. 6th, 1721, the Revd. Wm. Stukeley was admitted a mason. He was a keen antiquary, and

as a member of the Council of the Royal Society from 1718 he would be associated with Desaguliers, who was now its Curator. He admittedly joined the Craft because he expected to find in it the remains of the Ancient Mysteries. His account is as follows :—

"Jan. 6, 1721. I was made a Freemason at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock St., with Mr. Collins, Captain Rowe, who made the famous diving engine."

and in another place he writes, at a much later date :—

"I was the first person made a freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately after that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members."

The Salutation Tavern is not recorded as one of the meeting places of any of the first Lodges that were recognised by the Grand Lodge, but as Stukeley was admitted before the new regulations came into force, this is immaterial. He tells us that in December, 1721, he was made Master of a new Lodge at the Fountain in the Strand, which was constituted by the Dy. Grand Master, the Grand Master being also present, and this Lodge comes ninth in the first list of Lodges we possess. But by now the Craft had leapt into prominence and popularity. Antiquaries, scientists, and men of rank sought admission to it, and this was in part no doubt due to the influence of Desaguliers. The Duke of Montague, who was

also a man of scientific acquirements, had been admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society on the same day as Stukeley. When he joined the Craft we do not know, but at the annual meeting of June, 1721, when we are told 'several noblemen and gentlemen were present,' he was elected Grand Master; and from that moment the success of the new Society was assured. Accounts of this meeting were published in the newspapers of the time, and these are actually the first specific reference of the kind to the Craft in its new form, and Freemasonry became fashionable.

In 1722 the Duke of Wharton joined the Fraternity, and he succeeded in getting himself elected the next Grand Master. He was at this time a Jacobite, and he made a determined attempt to capture the new association for his cause. But, fortunately for the Fraternity, he failed to do so, and he then left it to found a rival society of his own, the Gormogons, which, however, collapsed with his death in 1731. But he nevertheless founded masonic Lodges in Italy and Spain, and possibly in Belgium during his wanderings as a political exile, and the Lodge he founded at Madrid was recognised by Grand Lodge in 1728.

Lodges were now constituted in rapidly increasing numbers, and the movement spread to the provinces, as we find in 1723 that Lodges have been constituted at Edgeware, Acton, Greenwich, and Richmond, and in 1724 there are Lodges at Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, Chester, Caermarthen, Portsmouth, and Congleton in Cheshire.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS.

GRAND MASTER Payne's Regulations were drawn up expressly for the Lodges in and about London and Westminster; and under the designation of 'Constitutions' a work was issued in 1723 'For the use of the Lodges,' which included them, and a history and a set of Charges. These their author, Dr. Anderson, asserted he had extracted from the ancient records, and they also were 'for the use of the Lodges in London.' It was no part of the original intention that the system should extend any further, nor was it anticipated at the time by either Payne or Anderson. But when Lodges came to be formed all over England it became necessary to abrogate the restrictions originally placed by Payne on the advancement of apprentices to a higher degree. Accordingly the rule directing that this could only be done in Grand Lodge was unanimously rescinded at the meeting of 27th November, 1725. There were not merely individual Freemasons but Lodges in London itself which were not as yet prepared to recognise the authority of the new body.

In some cases the Lodges that were now formed in the Provinces succeeded to traditions of earlier bodies. At Chichester a custom of an annual meeting had actually survived, and elsewhere we have definite evidence of Lodges meeting and working both before and after 1717, or 1721, that were wholly independent and self constituted, and not all of which gave in their adhesion to the new system. The Old Lodge at York had records which shewed that as early as 1705 it had a regular constitution with a President and Deputy President, and minutes have been preserved of meetings from 1712. The individual meetings were called private Lodges ; the meeting of June 24th was a 'General Lodge,' or 'St. John's Lodge,' and the meeting of December 27th was spoken of as 'St. John's Lodge in Christmas.' The brethren were 'admitted and sworn' (not accepted), and they spoke of themselves as 'The Society of Freemasons'; the word Fraternity was also used. The Constitutions of the Grand Lodge at London were published in 1723. We find the title 'Master' occurs at York for the first time in 1725, and the next Master has two Wardens. In this year also the Lodge drew up articles for the guidance of the Society, thus following the example though not the model of the London body, and at the St. John's Festival of this year they appointed a Grand Master and a Deputy. The rules do not contemplate the constitution of other Lodges, although the Lodge itself appears to have held meetings at Scarborough in 1705 and Bradford

in 1718; they relate to the concerns of a single body, the meetings of which are spoken of as Lodges. In fact there was never more than the one Lodge under this first Grand Lodge of York. In a speech made in 1726 Junior Grand Warden Drake put forward the claims of York Masonry to a greater antiquity than anything London could shew, on the strength of the references to York in the Old Charges. The Fraternity at York had a perfect right to set up their own Grand Lodge if they chose; however, they now proceeded to style it the Grand Lodge of All England, and, as Drake said in his speech, they were content that the masons at London should enjoy the title of Grand Master of England. To all this the London authorities appear to have taken no exception, and the Old Lodge at York and its Grand Master are recognised in the next edition of the Constitutions, published in 1738. But, after 1735, it in fact gave very few signs of life until 1761, when the Grand Lodge at London ventured to constitute a Lodge at York itself. The earliest records we have of the Old Lodge at York clearly shew it as no longer an operative body, but as meeting not to work at the trade but for purposes of the Society or Fraternity; its members included landed gentry as well as civic dignitaries, but it also included brethren who were apparently craftsmen by profession, and we read of persons who could prove themselves masons being admitted as joining members, as we should say to-day.

Further north, but still on English soil, we find other independent lodges with regular officers and records. The Lodge at Alnwick, which called itself the 'Company and Fellowship of Freemasons' drew up a set of rules in 1701, and these, while they enjoin secrecy and forbid irreverence and bad language, are still purely operative in character. The appointed day for the election of officers (two wardens) was Michaelmas, and only then could apprentices out of their time be admitted Fellows. We have entries relating to the acception of apprentices year after year till 1722, and we know that this Lodge used a version of the Old Charges in its proceedings. It was still directly concerned with the trade, and its apprentices were craft apprentices who had to serve their seven years; the members, so far as can be seen, were all actual masons by trade, and the Lodge was a building and the common workroom.

In 1748 the members of the Lodge, with the assistance of Freemasons brought in from the neighbourhood, founded —as we should now say —a speculative Lodge, which was quite independent of any Grand Lodge either at London or elsewhere. It was not regarded locally as in any way irregular or clandestine, and masons from other lodges visited it. We hear no more of it, however, after 1757, and a Lodge under the Grand Lodge at London is constituted at Alnwick in 1779, and is a distinct body.

At Swalwell, near Gateshead, there was an operative Lodge to which gentlemen also belonged, who are so designated in the minutes, to distin-

guish them from the working masons. It has records going back to 1725, and had at that date already been some time in existence, the tradition being that it was founded by operative masons from the south in 1690. In 1735 this Lodge accepted a warrant from the Grand Lodge at London, without making any changes in its rules or character or apparently altering its methods in any way. In 1844 it removed to Gateshead, where it is working to-day as the Lodge of Industry, No. 48.

We read of other independent Lodges at Newcastle in 1730, and Hexham in 1736, existing side by side with and apparently on perfectly good terms with constituted Lodges (*i.e.*, Lodges under the Grand Lodge at London) in their neighbourhood, and no doubt there were many others.

CHAPTER VIII.

Scotland and Ireland.

THE actual records of many individual Lodges in Scotland go much further back than the oldest we have in the Southern Kingdom, while on the other hand conditions which had in England passed away by the seventeenth century persisted in Scotland almost to our own days. Thus we have, as late as 1842, a true operative Lodge consisting exclusively of masons by trade and attending to the affairs of that trade, although they also admit their members with the Craft ceremonies. In 1620 this Lodge is on exactly the same footing as other Lodges which include members who are not masons by trade, and as early as 1670 we find a Lodge in which these latter outnumber the operatives by five to one.

The very earliest minutes that are known are those of the Lodge of Edinburgh, Mary Chapel, and they disclose the presence of a non-operative, Mr. John Boswell, of Auchinleck, in 1600. There is evidence of a Lodge at Aberdeen in 1483 of which the present Lodge may well be the direct representative. The Old Lodge of Dundee is mentioned in 1536, while the Lodge of Edinburgh has actual minutes from 1598. In this same year we read of three Head Lodges, of which Edin-

burgh is the senior, Kilwinning the second, and Stirling the third. Each used to constitute Lodges, and they indeed, at times, invaded each other's jurisdictions. There are twenty-five lodges definitely known to have existed in or before the seventeenth century, and at least six of these are much older. Claims which are asserted to be based on tradition trace the descent of Scottish Masonry to Bruce and the early kings, or to the foundation of the great abbeys; but these are unknown before the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1736, and they merely remind us of the fables of the first historian of the Grand Lodge at London. The Scotch Craft can in fact put forward a very well-founded claim to a continuous descent, not from cathedral builders, but from the operative Gilds, of whose existence there is historical record.

The practice of the Scottish civic authorities was to grant charters to the craftsmen in the city, who thereupon became 'incorporated,' and no craftsman could thenceforward carry on his trade in that city until he had been admitted a freeman of his craft. This privilege was only conferred after he had produced a masterpiece to the satisfaction of his fellow craftsmen. We read of the masons being so incorporated at Edinburgh in 1475, and at Aberdeen in 1532, in both cases jointly with other crafts.

The term 'entered apprentice' meant that the apprentice was duly enrolled on the register of the borough, the journeymen being entered merely in the books of their own craft. And the

freeman, once admitted, was spoken of as a 'Fellow of Craft' or, later, 'Fellow Craft,' and Master, the two terms being synonymous. There was, however, a distinction in respect of the Master as an employer. The right to take work as a master was only conferred by the Incorporation; the Lodge, that is to say the craft association, entered the apprentices and passed them Fellow Craft; but the craftsman had then in order to proceed Master to take up the freedom of the borough at the hands of the Incorporation. This must not be confused with our Master's degree; the only ceremony and secret in early days appears to be that connected with the apprentice and his being entrusted with the Masons' Word.

The Craft was regulated by an officer known as the Lord Warden General, and the Statutes promulgated by Schaw who held this office in 1598, have come down to us. Under him were officers in charge of wide areas known as Wardens, and the Statutes issued by Schaw for the particular area of the Kilwinning Warden in 1599 are also still extant. Certain details of both these enactments remind us so much of our own Charges General and Special as to suggest that Schaw was familiar with the English Code. But they also embody earlier Scotch Craft regulations. There also exist two documents known as the St. Clair Charters, of dates 1602 and 1628, and these confer the position of hereditary Patron and Judge for a particular area on the St. Clair family. In the seventeenth century free intercourse with England was at length resumed and

we accordingly find six Lodges have copies, all made after 1650, of our Old Charges; but while these have, as was to be expected, their own peculiarities, they shew their English origin in unmistakable fashion, one even inculcating loyalty to the King of England.

The Scottish Craftsmen were no doubt well aware of what went on in London in 1717–1721, when, indeed, many of the Scottish nobility made it their business to be in London and evince their loyalty to the new dynasty. We also read of a special conference that Dr. Desaguliers held with the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary Chapel) in 1721, when he was at Edinburgh on a professional visit. He was able to prove himself a mason to the satisfaction of the local brethren. *Per contra*, the influence of Scottish Masonry (through Desaguliers, Anderson, or others) is obvious in the Grand Lodge at London, which now, in the 1723 Constitutions, introduces the hitherto unknown terms 'entered apprentice' and 'fellow-craft' into the English Craft.

At this date Freemasonry in Scotland was still closely associated with the trade, and there seem to have been as yet no exclusively non-operative Lodges. In many the non-operatives predominated, and we repeatedly find the Master of a Lodge, or Deacon as he is more usually styled, is a peer of the realm. The practice of chartering or constituting Lodges was long since recognised, and the ceremony of admission was still apparently of the simplest description. Masons could be made by others, away from the Lodge, and it was thus

that Sir Robert Moray was made when with the army before Newcastle, by members of Edinburgh Mary Chapel, in 1641. But from 1721 onwards the influence of the developments in progress in London was increasingly felt, the more so as the successive English Grand Masters were many of them Scotch Peers. In 1735 a movement was set on foot to erect a Scottish Grand Lodge on the English model, and at a meeting held on 15th October, 1736, thirty-three Lodges out of over a hundred that had been invited to send representatives met to bring the new body into existence, and they approved Constitutions and elected a Grand Master.

There was never any question of conflict or interference between the two Grand Lodges; each spread eventually over the whole world and there are Lodges in every part of the British Empire to-day that have sprung originally from one or other of them. At the date of the erection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland the ceremonies and system of degrees in the two bodies were closely assimilated. But the new body was by no means universally accepted in its own country. Many Lodges held aloof, while some that came in at first severed their connection later on. The Lodge of Melrose pursued an independent career till 1891. The Lodge of Kilwinning even constituted itself an independent Grand Lodge and issued its own Charters, nor were the two bodies finally reconciled until 1813. But the later history of the Grand Lodge of Scotland is one of continued growth and expansion, and it

stands to-day second only to the Grand Lodge of England as to numbers and as to antiquity of history of its individual Lodges unrivalled and unique.

While individual Lodges in Scotland can shew a greater antiquity, the Grand Lodge of Ireland is second in seniority only to that of London and followed it at a very close interval. But there was in Ireland no indigenous masonry. The Cathedrals were built by Lodges of masons who came over from England, and who returned when their special task was completed.

But Dublin was always in close touch with London and copied its social activities, and we find the existence of Freemasonry with its peculiar tenets and secrets was well recognised in Dublin in 1688. The University had a custom of allowing a representative of the undergraduates to make a satirical speech at the annual conferring of degrees; and the speech of 1688 contains reference to 'being free-masonised the new way,' to the mixture of classes from which the craft is recruited, and to a 'mason's mark' which is supposed to be found on a body in the anatomical library. All these jests indicate that the Craft and its ways were matters of common knowledge at the time. There is also evidence of at least one Lodge meeting in 1712, when Miss St. Leger, who was afterwards the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth, was caught eavesdropping and was thereupon made a mason. But the narrative is not one that finds universal acceptance. Yet there must have been considerable masonic activity, not only in

Dublin but in Cork and elsewhere, although no record of it has been preserved. In 1725 we find the Grand Lodge of Ireland already at work, its previous history being unknown. In that year the Earl of Rosse as Grand Master took part in a public ceremony at Dublin, which was reported in the contemporary journals. In 1726 and again in 1727 pamphlets are published in Dublin replying to a London pamphlet of 1725 which was intended to expose the Craft, and the latter of these was the work of Dean Swift, who would appear to have been a member of a London Lodge. We also find Anderson's Constitutions of 1723 on sale in Dublin at this time. These are clear indications of a local demand for masonic literature.

In 1725 we find the Society of Freemasons at Cork applying to the Corporation for a Charter, and in 1726 we have the first records that have been preserved of the Grand Lodge of Munster, which also comes before us as a fully constituted body meeting at Cork, though when it was founded we do not know. Its regulations of 1728 suggest the existence of several Lodges, though in fact we only know of three; the 'First Lodge of Ireland, Cork,' and Lodges at Waterford and Clonmel. This Grand Lodge seems to have come to an end in 1733, and from 1730 onwards we have information about the Grand Lodge of Ireland at Dublin, which since 1733 has been the governing body of the Craft in that country. It published a Book of Constitutions in 1730, which was little more than a

reprint of the English Constitutions of 1723 brought down to date, but telling us nothing of its own early history. From various sources, including the subsequent editions of this publication, the history during the eighteenth century can be collected, but, unfortunately, the actual records of the Grand Lodge itself prior to 1780 have been lost.

This Grand Lodge like those of Scotland and England has at times constituted Lodges all over the world; but its most noteworthy activity was the encouragement it gave to military Lodges, which carried their Warrant wherever the regiment went, and thus had no settled place of meeting. This example was followed by the sister Grand Lodges, and the English Grand Lodge also warranted Lodges on four men-of-war. But the history of the Military Lodges in India and America, and indeed all over the world, is a subject of the greatest interest, and they have had an important share in disseminating the Order. Two of those warranted under the English Constitution still survive, and there are others under both sister Constitutions still at work.

CHAPTER IX.

The Eighteenth Century and the Union.

On the 24th of June, 1723, the Grand Lodge at London ordered that Mr. William Cowper of the Horn Lodge, at Westminster, be Secretary to the Grand Lodge. This was the Lodge that in 1717 was meeting at the Rummer and Grapes, and from its earliest lists of members we see that it was the Lodge of almost all the peers and other prominent personages associated with the Craft up to 1725, and it also included Anderson, Payne, and Desaguliers. From this date we have minutes of Grand Lodge; and the first minute book also gives us three lists of Lodges, one of 1723, a second of 1725, and a third of 1730, with in many cases the names of their members at the time. We have also a list of Grand Masters and Wardens, beginning with Anthony Sayer in 1717.

The Constitutions of 1723 were compiled by Dr. James Anderson, who came from Aberdeen to London in 1710 to be the minister of a Presbyterian chapel. Where he was initiated into Masonry we do not know, but he was familiar with the Scottish terminology. He does not seem to have taken any part in the proceedings of Grand Lodge before the accession of the Duke

of Montague as Grand Master, but when he did come in—as the Master of a new Lodge that has not been otherwise identified—he at once undertook to furnish the new body with a revised history and set of Charges, which were to replace the traditional 'Old Charges' of the Craft. Of the actual occurrences which led up to the formation of Grand Lodge, and of its history prior to 1721, he at the time knew nothing. He wrote an account of Masonry from the days of Adam, using the word as equivalent to the Science of Architecture, and introducing us to Grand Master Moses. Solomon is of course referred to at length; Nebuchadnezzar was a Grand Master Mason; and the science came through Persia, Greece, and Sicily to Rome where the final perfection of Architecture, the Augustan Style as he terms it, was at last evolved. For this Gothic was but an inferior substitute, the work of men unacquainted with the 'Royal Art.' But Scotland, with its Lodges kept up without interruption for many hundred years, preserved the tradition, and when James I came to England the Augustan Style was recovered from the ruins of Gothic ignorance, and flourished under our great Master, Inigo Jones. Under James II the Lodges languished, but after the Revolution matters improved, and under His Gracious Majesty King George they still further advanced until now—the freeborn British Nations have a quarterly communication and an annual Assembly —under our present worthy Grand Master, the Most Noble Prince, John, Duke of Montague.

In the concluding passage there are no dates and no names either of Lodges or of any earlier Grand Masters.

In despising Gothic architecture Anderson was merely following the taste of his time; but he also not only deliberately superseded the old texts which the Fraternity had treasured for centuries, but he ignored the pious invocation of the Trinity with which they had always opened, and in his Charges he substituted for the time-honoured injunction of being true to God and Holy Church a vague phrase that it is thought more expedient only to oblige masons to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves. Whether this represented the views of the Grand Lodge Officers, or was done under their instructions, we cannot be certain, but the very first minute of Grand Lodge shews that the book was by no means well received although it was already in print; and Anderson seems to have thought it wise not to appear again in Grand Lodge for many years. The innovation of allowing apprentices to be advanced only in Grand Lodge necessarily had to go by the board when the Craft extended to the Provinces; the second innovation, of refusing to acknowledge as masons the members of Lodges which had failed to apply to the new Grand Lodge for recognition, was one Grand Lodge itself, was only prepared to enforce in respect of Lodges within ten miles of London, and as we have seen there were independent Lodges in existence for years afterwards.

But the innovation introduced by Anderson in his Charges was in a different category and raised serious opposition, and the publication of the Constitutions was the signal for the commencement of a series of attacks on the Craft in the press and in pamphlets, and of so-called exposures and rituals, which went on all through the century. Notwithstanding this the first twenty years of the Grand Lodge at London were years of remarkable progress during which Lodges were founded not merely in England but all over the world, in foreign countries as well as in British possessions, and Provincial Grand Masters were appointed wherever Lodges were founded. But it must be remembered that " no single Freemason ever lived on the continent or elsewhere whose masonic pedigree does not begin in Great Britain." Undoubtedly the English masons abroad were in the habit of meeting as the Craft had been accustomed to do before Grand Lodge was invented, and making masons on their own responsibility, before they thought it necessary to obtain the sanction of Grand Lodge to their proceedings, the ' deputation ' as it was originally called. But the foreign Lodges all in course of time set up Grand Lodges of their own and went their own way.

There seems to have been a Lodge meeting at Paris in 1725 ; and the earliest recorded deputations for Lodges in France are associated with the Grand Master of 1732. They formed their own Grand Lodge in 1736, but a separate body was set up in 1773 which is the present Grand Orient of France.

A deputation to a Provincial Grand Master for Lower Saxony is associated with the G.M. of 1729; but no Lodges are known in Germany before that at Hamburg in 1737, and even this did not take out an English warrant till three years later. In 1740 the first of the German Grand Lodges was founded, and there are now no less than eight with independent Lodges as well.

Of the other countries in Europe, most of which have now, or have had, Grand Lodges of their own, or equivalent bodies, mention need only be made of Italy, where, in Rome, Scotch Jacobites were meeting as a Lodge in 1735–37, but apparently without any political intention. Other lodges appear to have come into existence about this time, and in 1738 Clement XII issued the first of a series of Bulls against Freemasonry, since when naturally the Craft and the Roman Church have, in all Latin countries, been not merely dissociated but antagonistic. The grounds of condemnation in 1738 were that the masons admitted members of all religious sects, and bound themselves by an oath of secrecy. This was equivalent in the eyes of the Church to an admission of depravity. In England the Bull was at first of no particular effect, and in Ireland both it and its successors were long ignored, for it was not until the eighties of last century that Irish Roman Catholics finally abandoned the Craft.

In the United States there was a Lodge at Philadelphia in 1730, and it was then spoken of

as one of several. It was apparently self-constituted and met by inherent right. The Grand Lodge at London warranted Lodges at Boston in 1733 and at Savannah and Charleston in 1735. Benjamin Franklin took a leading part in Freemasonry in Philadelphia where he was in 1734 styled Grand Master; and he now published an edition of the 1723 Constitutions. Henry Price, who established the Boston Lodge, was also constituted a Provincial Grand Master for New England, and just what the relations between him and the Grand Lodge at Philadelphia were cannot be stated with confidence. The number of Lodges increased and in 1749 Franklin was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Pennsylvania. In 1767 a Provincial Grand Lodge under Scotland was also set up. At the time of the War of Independence there were seven Provincial Grand Lodges under one jurisdiction or another. Grand Lodges were now formed first in Massachusetts, and next in Virginia, and to-day there is one for every State.

There are also Negro Grand Lodges, which derive from a negro of the name of Prince Hall, who, with others, was initiated in 1775 in a military Lodge. He and his followers were then permitted to meet as a Lodge. Two independent negro Lodges then came into existence at Philadelphia and Providence, and in 1808 these three bodies combined to form the African Grand Lodge, to be later on known as the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. This body and the Lodges and later Grand Lodges deriving

from it in America are not recognised in the official Year Book of our own Grand Lodge.

In 1738 a second edition of the Constitutions was published for which Dr. Anderson re-wrote the historical portion. He now gives us a detailed account of Grand Lodge since 1717; of which so much as is later than 1723 can be checked from the official minutes. When the earlier portion can be checked from other sources it is found to be quite unreliable, and the rest of the history is a farrago of absurdities, which was nevertheless perpetuated verbatim by later editors and by other writers.

The feeling against the Grand Lodge was still very strong, and we see from the minutes themselves that there was constant friction over the question of independent, or as the authorities called them 'irregular' Lodges, among which no doubt the traditional usages were still preserved. In the 1738 Constitutions Anderson somewhat modified the wording of his first Charge, but later editions reverted to the original and vague phraseology that had given offence. Masonry was definitely dechristianised, but precisely when it first admitted non-Christians to its ranks is uncertain. We have the names of the members of the Lodge at Daniel's Coffee House in Lombard St., which was constituted on 23rd Dec., 1731, and it includes Solomon Mendez, and Isaac Baruch, besides others which also suggest that the brethren were Jews. But there are no unquestionably Jewish names of any earlier date in the lists in Grand Lodge Minute Book.

The Grand Lodge of England has never abandoned this attitude of religious toleration. A native prince in India, a Mohammedan, was initiated in 1775, and Hindus and Parsis have been admitted to the Craft since the middle of last century if not earlier. At the time, however, the policy was one that by no means found universal favour, and it was not, for instance, altogether acquiesced in by the sister Grand Lodges.

There now appeared in London a number of Irish Freemasons, men of very humble social standing for the most part, but Masons nevertheless, and following the usages that in their minds were associated with the Craft from time immemorial. Not only did they find the Grand Lodge following different practices, but these Irish masons were refused recognition by that body.

They thereupon, in 1751, took the strong step of forming a Grand Committee of their own, which in 1753 they made into a Grand Lodge, and they called themselves the Antients, to indicate that they stood for the true tradition, and the original Grand Lodge they described as the Moderns, in reference to the innovations it had introduced. Further, at this time the Grand Lodge at York, which had long since asserted, apparently without objection, that it alone was of great antiquity, was dormant. The Antients, therefore, also described themselves as 'York Masons,' meaning thereby no more than that they, like the masons at York, preserved the true tradition of the operative Lodges and the Old Charges, which refer to an Assembly held

at York by Edwin. The moving spirit in all this was Laurence Dermott, who was Secretary, and later on Deputy Grand Master, and in 1756 he issued Constitutions, under the title of 'Ahiman Rezon' (which has been explained as meaning 'faithful brother Secretary'). They also very soon had a peer as their Grand Master, and the circumstance that at a later date two Dukes of Atholl presided over them, the second being their last Grand Master before the year of the Union, also led them to be known as the Atholl Grand Lodge. No doubt they attracted to themselves many who were dissatisfied with the original Grand Lodge and its methods, but it must be clearly understood that in its inception the Grand Lodge of the Antients was not a seceding but an independent body.

The Moderns, as they must now be called, constituted a Lodge at York in 1761, and this had the effect of reviving the local Grand Lodge. From now till 1792 it worked with more or less energy and it constituted some ten Lodges in its neighbourhood. In 1779 the Lodge of Antiquity, a London Lodge under the Moderns, had a difference of opinion with Grand Lodge, and in consequence some members of it applied to the Grand Lodge at York, who authorised them to constitute themselves the Grand Lodge South of the Trent. At this time there were, therefore, actually three Grand Lodges in London alone. But the Grand Lodge South of Trent was not destined to survive. for after warranting two Lodges it passed out of existence in 1790 when

the Lodge of Antiquity brethren were reconciled to the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge at York also ceased to exist in 1792. In 1770 there had even arisen in London a self-constituted Scotch Grand Lodge, which had five Lodges under it, but it collapsed in 1776.

The Antients, however, were endued with more vitality. They warranted Lodges all over the world, but towards the close of the century the two Grand Lodges began to draw together, and in 1809 the Moderns enjoined the several Lodges to revert to the ancient Landmarks of the Society, their attitude being that, in or about 1739, they had made changes — that was conceded—but it had been done to protect the Craft against irregular masons. This concession paved the way for a Lodge of Promulgation, which was set up by the Modern Grand Lodge in order to restore the true ceremonies, but which very soon in fact became a committee of representatives of both bodies, who set to work to decide on terms of union.

In 1813 the Duke of Atholl as Grand Master of the Antients resigned in favour of the Duke of Kent, while the Moderns elected the Duke of Sussex; and the two Royal brothers then formally, and with much ceremony, effected the Union of the rival bodies, which, under the Duke of Sussex, now became the UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER X.

Ceremonies and Degrees.

The development of the Society and Fraternity has now been traced. We have seen how, at a very early period in the history of the operative Craft in Great Britain, persons not masons by trade were 'accepted' as brethren, whose numbers and influence steadily increased. In the seventeenth century in Scotland they were in many Lodges already in a majority, and the movement in the Craft in London in 1716 and 1717 which brought about the formation of a Grand Lodge was associated with them if it was not indeed due to them in its entirety. The Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland were also purely speculative in character, and what operative elements there were in the Craft in either country sooner or later disappeared entirely.

The claims to great antiquity which are put forward on behalf of our Order are for the most part based not on the historical record but on the fact that we preserve a system of ceremonies which finds analogies in the Egyptian Mysteries and in other religious observances of antiquity. There are similarities even more remarkable in character connected with the Royal Arch and with certain additional degrees. Arguments

founded on these analogies and similarities are quite distinct from any that might be based on the narrative which in the Third Degree is used as the vehicle for inculcating a great religious truth. Dr. Oliver has warned us that our present Third Degree is "not architectural but traditional, historical, and legendary; its traditions being, unfortunately, hyperbolical, its history apochryphal, and its legends fabulous." It would be quite fallacious, therefore, to argue from the existence of this narrative or rather parable that the Craft claims to derive in unbroken descent from builders at the Temple. But the question of the antiquity and the derivation of our symbolism and ceremonial is an entirely different matter. To the antiquity of the Society or Fellowship of Freemasons a limit can be assigned. How, when, and by whose instrumentality that Society became possessed of teachings which have obvious affinities with others that take us back to the dawn of civilisation are questions to which as yet no answer is forthcoming.

The Scotch operatives in early days had but one ceremony and that was of the simplest nature. The English had a form of admission for the apprentice and may, on continental analogies, have had some sort of feast at all events for the apprentice out of his indentures, admitted to full membership of the Gild. But of ceremonial beyond an oath and prayers and the reading of the Charges there is no clear evidence. Neither in Scotland nor in England was the operative master distinguished from the Fellows

by the possession of any further secrets, or by anything that we should call a degree.

But we find at a very early date a simple moral teaching associated with the square and compass; and as we have seen the Craft had legends of patrons and founders and traced its descent from Egypt and the Patriarchs.

The degrees were reorganised after the formation of Grand Lodge. Those who then arranged them may well have had at their disposal within the Craft itself material existing not in the form of ceremonies but as traditional teachings, involving references to symbols of all sorts, including many not directly connected with the building trade. Of such as were so connected not merely the square and compasses but the two pillars and the rough and perfect ashlars, among many others, were familiar to mystics and Rosicrucians. Geometrical symbols such as the five and six pointed stars or the point within a circle were also known outside the Craft; while emblems such as the stream of water, the winding staircase, or the secret chamber had similarly been vehicles for teaching of moral and philosophic lessons in other systems. There were no doubt traditional allegories and parables as well. The name of Hiram the architect was familiar to all, but it is significant that the Old Charges almost invariably avoid writing this name in the passage in the legendary history in which it occurs, but substitute Anon, Aynon, or the like for it. This suggests that the name itself was a password, and it may, in that case, have at a very early

date had associated with it some narrative or parable.

The exact course of development by which the one simple ceremony of early operative days expanded into three degrees cannot be stated with confidence, and has been the subject of a whole literature of its own. At all events by 1723, in England, there were two ceremonies recognised. One was the apprentice's ceremony and the other the Master's Part. By 1731 there were three, but their exact relation to the previous two is not clear. It seems probable from a consideration of the ceremonies themselves and on other grounds that the apprentice degree was split into two, the second being the Fellow Craft. We probably still have to-day a very close approximation to the three degrees as they then stood.

In these ceremonies, as well as in the formal openings and closings, much that was a genuine possession of the Craft in earlier days was no doubt utilised; although much may have been then worked in from external sources as well. The Third Degree might be reconstructed as a mediæval miracle play; but in fact among the many such plays extant none has been found that resembles it, and there is no evidence that there ever was one.

But from the very earliest days of the organised degrees we find hints of other ceremonies; and it is not difficult to see that the want of them would very soon come to be felt. In the first place a degree of gain and recovery is the necessary sequel to one of loss and substitution, and

accordingly we find at a very early date indications of the degree we now know as the Royal Arch, a degree at first only given to Masters who had passed the Chair. In the second place the Craft had been dechristianised; and we very soon find brethren in all three kingdoms and on the Continent engaged in developing the knightly and Christian degrees; whether their intention was to preserve earlier traditional material that the framers of the trigradal system had deliberately discarded, or whether they felt that for a Christian brother the system as it stood must be incomplete until it had incorporated into its teachings the special features of his religion. For him the Temples of Solomon, Josiah, and Zerubbabel would naturally be followed by the Temple of the Crusaders, and the teachings of the old law must remain incomplete without the exemplification of the New Commandment.

The actual dates at which these additional degrees were drawn up are unknown in every case. The first mentions we have in By-laws, Lodge minutes, or elsewhere, all indicate a system already at work. There are hints of the Royal Arch as early as 1723, but the first express reference to it occurs in 1744, and the earliest reference in Lodge minutes is found in the U.S.A. in 1753. A degree that is referred to as 'Scotch Master' is mentioned at Bath in 1735, and there was a Scotch Masons' Lodge in London in 1733, which may be the same thing; but its exact nature is now uncertain. The Royal Order of Scotland is a knightly and Christian system of two degrees,

and a Grand Lodge was working in London in, if not before, 1741. Notwithstanding its name it was in fact unknown in Scotland itself before 1754. It includes a degree of Rose Croix. Allusions to Knights of St. John and Knights of Malta are found as early as 1729, but unmistakable evidence of the working of the degrees so named is not known earlier than 1769, at Boston, U.S.A. However they had certainly been worked in Ireland prior to this.

From now onwards there arose on all sides a multiplicity of degrees and systems, many of which had but the slenderest connection with the original Craft, and for some reason these were in many cases associated with Scotland, and more particularly Kilwinning, without any sort of historical justification. In France androgynous masonry was introduced, and the Order of Felicity and other bodies admitted both sexes with ceremonies of their own invention. Even to such additional degrees as were linked with the Craft ceremonies the Grand Lodge of the Moderns refused recognition, while the Antients, on the other hand, worked the Royal Arch degree themselves, and their Lodges considered their warrants a sufficient authority for the working of additional degrees, and the same was the case in Scotland and Ireland. But the attitude of the Modern Grand Lodge as a body was not adhered to with any strictness by the individual brethren.

In 1813 the attitude adopted by the United Grand Lodge, in deference to the Antients, was to recognise the Royal Arch in terms, and to

leave individual Lodges and Chapters to work the 'Orders of Chivalry' 'according to the constitutions of the said Orders.' The Grand Lodge of Ireland has always recognised the degree, but the Grand Lodge of Scotland has refused to do so officially.

There is one other additional degree which requires a special mention. The operative mason put a personal mark on every stone he cut, and this custom was familiar in the Scotch Lodges where all the brethren, whether masons by trade or not, had marks assigned to them which are found in the minute books. We may surmise that in operative days the mark was not selected or conferred without some sort of formality, conducted in open Lodge. We first hear of the Mark as a degree in 1769, at Portsmouth, when it is associated with the so-called masonic cypher; and after that date there are frequent references to it. At the Union it was disregarded and even to-day it is not officially recognised by United Grand Lodge. In Ireland it is recognised, and in Scotland it is officially adopted as part of 'St. John's Masonry,' *i.e.*, the Craft degrees. The degree is also worked under the Grand Chapter of Scotland and there is mutual recognition between the two bodies. The great difficulty that confronted the promoters of the Union was not, however, with regard to these extraneous matters but concerned the actual Craft ceremonies themselves. A Lodge of Reconciliation was appointed which worked for three years and eventually succeeded in arriving at complete

agreement as to the way in which all the ceremonial work of the Lodge was to be conducted. It did not reduce this ritual to writing and it was left to the Masters of Lodges to acquaint themselves with it by actually witnessing the working. It is not likely that the original intention was to prescribe a complete, or insist on an exact, rendering in which every word and every gesture was immutably laid down, and in fact the actual working as practised in London was by no means universally adopted. But the brethren of the Lodge of Reconciliation spared no pains to instruct all who would learn of them, and in particular they founded a Lodge of Instruction known as Stability, which is working to-day, and preserves an unbroken record of Preceptors who have handed down the Reconciliation working.

Other Lodges of Instruction soon came into existence, and they insist to-day on a very high standard of exactness in delivering the ritual they teach. The circumstance that these Lodges now differ from one another in details need not disturb us. There are no essential points of disagreement. Many Lodges jealously preserve special variations of their own, and rightly so. The Grand Lodge has always resolutely declined to commit itself to any statement or expression of opinion as to what is, or is not, 'correct working.'

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRAFT TO-DAY.

To the Union of 1813 the Modern and Antient Grand Lodges each brought a list of several hundred Lodges. There was at that time no other English Grand Lodge, and no Lodge was ever constituted out of England by any of the other English Grand Lodges. At the head of the Modern List was the Grand Stewards' Lodge, founded in 1735 as No. 117, but placed at the head of the list without a number in 1792, and this position which it was again assigned at the Union it retains to-day. The other Lodges were then combined in one list, an Antient and a Modern alternately in order of seniority, and this notwithstanding that while the earliest Antient Lodge to be included was of date 1752, there were at the time nearly sixty Modern Lodges older than this, of which two were Time Immemorial. The result is that all the earlier Modern Lodges occupy a position lower down in the list than their true seniority would warrant. The last Antient Lodge to come on the list received the number 463, but the last Lodge on the list to-day that derives from the Antients is No. 247, Lodge of Union at Demerara. Since 1813 the list of numbers has been twice closed up, in 1832 and in 1863.

The Craft To-day.

The numerous Modern and Antient Lodges in the United States had all severed their allegiance during the War of Independence to erect their own Grand Lodges. During the nineteenth century many of the Colonies, as their Lodges increased in number, formed similar bodies, and thus we have to-day nine Grand Lodges in Canada, of which the earliest was erected in 1855, and six in Australasia. But India, Burma, Ceylon, the West Indies, and a number of Lodges in New Zealand still retain their connection with United Grand Lodge, as do the Lodges at the Cape, where, indeed, there are four Grand Lodges represented, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Holland, all dwelling together in perfect accord.

But Masonry seems to be a plant that can only retain its true characteristics in British or Anglo-Saxon ground. In the kindred soil of the United States it has thriven amazingly, and the Craft there yield to none in their zeal for the exact preservation of the true tradition, while the Fraternity have extended the principle of Relief to an even wider sphere than that with which we on this side are familiar. In Northern Europe the system has followed a different path of development, so that the working in Scandinavian countries is now distinct from ours, and they are much more closely identified with the additional or High Degrees. In Latin countries the history of the Craft has been one of vicissitudes. It has at times departed from even the vague Deism of Anderson's first Charge. It has also not been free from a suspicion of concerning itself with

politics, and has, in consequence, been in conflict with Governments as well as with the Roman Church. Of the Lodge at Granada in 1825 the seven master masons who were caught were summarily hanged, while the unfortunate brother who had just been initiated was sent to the galleys for five years. But gradually during the nineteenth century Grand Lodges and Orients have come into existence with which our own Grand Lodge has been able to enter into fraternal relations. Of independent Grand Lodges among populations not themselves Christian there are as yet none with the single exception of Egypt; but in their own countries Mohammedans and members of other faiths join Lodges under one or another of the Grand Jurisdictions.

The Craft that in 1721 was so signally advanced by the accession to its ranks of the Duke of Montague has since then shewn itself to be a force that is independent of and superior to all social distinctions, all external advantages of rank and fortune. To-day it still asks of its members only that they shall be well and worthily recommended and desirous to render themselves more serviceable to their fellow-creatures. At the same time to enumerate its distinguished members during the last two centuries would be to mention most of the great names of America and Western Europe, not omitting Washington or Wellington. Even Napoleon was said to be a mason as First Consul, although as Emperor he forgot the Craft.

The succession of contemporary Grand Masters which in 1813 culminated in the two Royal

brothers, the Dukes of Sussex and Kent, then gave place to a single ruler, the Duke of Sussex. In 1874 a Royal Prince was once more at the head of the Craft, to be succeeded when, in 1901, he ascended the throne as Edward VII, by our present Grand Master, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.

The operative Gild, with all its care for the proper training of the craftsman and faithful execution of the work, never lost sight of the claims upon it of the sick and infirm ; and we find that the Grand Lodge at London, within a very few years of its inception, set up a Charity Fund. A committee appointed in 1725 submitted proposals which were brought into force in the following year by which every Lodge was to make voluntary contributions at its periodical attendances at Grand Lodge, and brethren were not eligible for relief unless they belonged to a Lodge that did so.

Desaguliers identified himself with the General Charity, as it was called, and worked hard in its interests. But it was not till 1729 that any contributions were, in fact, paid by the Lodges. In 1730 a standing committee was appointed, and an annual grant of five guineas was sanctioned to the Infirmary at Westminster, which was prepared to take care of any poor Brother who might happen to be disabled. Nine years later the amount of the General Charity Fund balance was £135.

To-day the Fund of Benevolence, the direct descendant of this committee of Charity, to

which the Lodges pay an annual contribution for every member on their registers, is administered by a special Committee of Grand Lodge, and controls an income of over £30,000 a year; while, in addition, we have our three great Charities with their expenditure of over a quarter of a million annually, besides the local institutions of many provincial bodies. In our own country to-day we still can look on the cathedrals well and truly built by our operative predecessors. The Craftsman's simple doctrine of brotherly love, and the moral lessons he used his working tools to illustrate, have under the sympathetic guidance of his speculative successors developed into the great system which, around the world to-day, stands ever at its meridian. But there exist no grander illustrations of the practice of our third great principle than the Fund of Benevolence, the splendid Masonic Schools at Clapham, Weybridge and Bushey, and the Masonic Benevolent Institution.

CHAPTER XII.

WHAT TO READ.

THERE will, I trust, be many readers of the foregoing pages who will now enquire how they can set about studying in detail a subject of which necessarily they have here been given no more than an abstract. The greatest work of all on the Craft and its History is Gould's monumental work in three volumes, but it is a work of reference rather than one to read through, and moreover is now in some respects out of date. Gould himself wrote a Concise History, which is published at 10/6, and there has recently been brought out a revised edition of this work, corrected in accordance with later knowledge. The other great names are Hughan, Lane, and Sadler for England, Lyon for Scotland, and Chetwode Crawley for Ireland. Hughan has written the two standard works on the Origin of the English Rite (1909 edition) and the Old Charges (1895 edition). Lane's Masonic Records (1895 edition) exhibits in tabular form the dates, numbers, and places of meeting, of every Lodge that has ever been warranted under the Modern, Antient, or United Grand Lodges. Sadler's Masonic Facts and Fictions, and Reprints and Revelations, are invaluable but only to be procured secondhand.

There are several lexicons and cyclopædias, of which the Concise Cyclopædia of E. L. Hawkins is both handy and reliable. So also there are

numerous Lodge Histories, but most are principally of local interest. A recent work by Bro. Arthur Heiron combines with the History of the Old Dundee Lodge a great deal of information as to the Craft generally in the eighteenth century, while Bro. Golby's book 'A Century of Stability' is important, as it carries on the history of the Ritual since the Union. The Manchester Association (Secretary's address: 50, Murray St., Higher Broughton, Manchester), publish a pamphlet 'Suggestions for a Course of Masonic Reading,' which gives a classified list of simple and advanced books dealing with the Craft. A recent publication is Bro. Fort Newton's 'The Builders,' a picturesque blend of facts, theories, and symbolism.

This last is a subject which has attracted many writers; but there is a vast difference between the scientific studies of Goblet D'Alviella and the easy and attractive writings of less exact students, and those who have written on the subject must in many cases be read with considerable discretion.

Finally the Mason who wishes to carry out the injunction to make a daily advance in Masonic knowledge should take in at least one periodical, and belong to the correspondence circle of at least one Research Association. Of these may be specially mentioned the Lodge of Research at Leicester, and the Associations of Manchester and Leeds in this country, the National Masonic Research Society of Iowa in the U.S.A., and, greatest of all, the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in London.

New Books on Freemasonry

A Century of Masonic Working.

Being a history of the Stability Lodge of Instruction, 1817-1917, by F. W. GOLBY, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. Showing the lineal Descent of the Stability Lodge of Instruction from the Lodge of Reconciliation, which settled the working adopted by the United Grand Lodge in the year 1816, for universal use throughout the Craft.

The author discusses Masonic workings generally and traces the origin of the Metropolitan, North London, South London, East End, West End, and other present day Masonic Workings.

Demy Octavo, 300 p.p. (about). With four Illustrations **10/6**

Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18.

A book for the young Mason. Stories of the days of long ago, by ARTHUR HEIRON, L.R., No. 18 (W.M. 1901 and 1917). P.Z. Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 2076 (Corr. Circle) and Sir Thomas White Lodge, 1820 (P.M.)

THIS BOOK IS NOT AN ORDINARY LODGE HISTORY.

Dedicated to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge (the premier Lodge for Masonic research), it contains various articles relating to, and explanatory of, the Ancient life of the Craft from 1722 to 1820, and includes numerous extracts (published now for the first time) taken from the records of one of the oldest Lodges in the world (No. 9 in 1755). The Illustrations include about 50 pictures of the ancient Furniture and Jewels of the Lodge: a portable tracing board (1790): Engraved plate for Summons (1750); various Masonic celebrities (1722-1813), and other objects of Masonic interest **21/-**

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